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A TEST OF SIMMEL ON THE SECRET SOCIETY: THE DOUKHOBORS OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

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ABSTRACT

The Sons of Freedom sect of the Doukhobors of British Columbia serves as a test case for some of Simmel's statements of the operation of a secret religious society. The recent collapse of the organization indicates the need for setting some limits and making some extensions to his hypotheses. Extensions are: the transmission of secret aspects of culture through the generations may contribute to a general dissociation from reality, as may the contradiction between the picture of reality taught to the child within and outside the group; individual and social disorganization may arise from lack of a clearly recognized enemy or from the continuation of secrecy as a goal after the original purpose has been fulfilled; these dangers increase with the intensity of secrecy. Limits are: the tolerance for contradictions in belief within a secret society is smaller than Simmel indicated; the outer circle of the partially initiated can serve to break down rather than to protect the inner circle.

A study of the religious community of the Doukhobors undertaken during 1950 and 1951¹ by a team from the University of British Columbia and other institutions furnished information on their social organization. Some elements of it represented the remnants of a secret society, apparently in the last stages of its existence as such.

While analyzing the life of the Doukhobors of British Columbia as part of a report to the provincial government, the team had to forego, temporarily, the pleasure of any use of the data that was primarily scientific. Nor was the exploration of Doukhobor culture and personality carried out with quite the same method and plan that would be used when there is no practical aim. Yet the work revealed facts of Dou-

khobor life that bear on a number of questions of interest to the social scientist and the psychologist. Some of the facts are offered here as the basis for a comment on Simmel's analysis of the secret society.

Essentially, Simmel's treatment of the secret society is a series of notes, brilliant and penetrating but without any pretense to major substantiation.² It would be unjustifiable to take the data from a single secret society and rework his notes too elaborately, yet in some ways this single instance furnishes a number of useful exemplifications and allows the possibility of suggesting some revisions. During their earlier history the Doukhobors seem to have illustrated aptly some of Simmel's conclusions, although there are a few significant departures from

¹ Harry B. Hawthorn (ed.), *The Doukhobors of British Columbia* (Vancouver: J. M. Dent and Sons [Canada] and the University of British Columbia, 1955). The co-authors whose work is used here are Claudia Lewis and Alfred Shulman.

² Only the translation of Simmel by Wolff was used: Kurt H. Wolff (trans. and ed.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press), pp. 330-76. Page references in this article are to Wolff's translation.

his exposition. Additional facts are provided by the period of decline of the Doukhobor communities, and their recent history allows the formulation of some limiting conditions and of some minor extensions to his hypotheses.

Simmel presents several types of secret society and defines some conditions entailed in their operation. The Doukhobor illustration is pertinent to the religious society whose existence is known but some of whose purposes and rules and activities are kept secret. During either growth or decay, secrecy can be invoked as a measure of protection by a small religious group at odds with a dominant sect or with a government. In relation to the various sorts of secret society, Simmel postulates a large number of conditions and functions. Those which this example tends to confirm or to question are: the development of an elaborate hierarchy can become almost an end in itself; ritual is likely to multiply in a similar way; both reflect the pleasure in the power realized in planning; there is a relation between the regimentation within a secret society and the freedom the society enjoys from external law; the members of the secret society are always conscious of belonging to their group and are always aware of the boundaries between themselves and others; the society must have signs by which a member can be recognized; the society draws in part on the common motive of people to separate themselves as an intensively exclusive group; the existence of an outer group of partially initiated is a protection for the inner circle; discord between members of a secret society has unusual potentialities of destructiveness; intense authority is needed to maintain cohesion; the ultimate development of an unknown leadership gives special, at times mystical, qualities to the obedience demanded of members; the growth of a certain equality is a usual attribute of the religious secret society.

The Doukhobors in Canada, and a review of their earlier history in Russia, can be used to throw some light on these points. A fuller

examination would be provided could a study be made of the Doukhobors who remained in Russia. Apparently as a religious community they no longer exist. Some Doukhobors in British Columbia have made continual efforts to seek out, through the intermediacy of the Quakers and others, their close kin in Russia. One or two have been located, once more in Siberia as were their leaders in the last century. But nothing can be established on what the group passed through before its disintegration. Presumably secrecy met with unlimited force and was vanquished.

Other tests of some of Simmel's formulations, including some not summarized here, could be made by a comparative study of the secret organizations of non-literate peoples. Many of his minor conclusions suffer from faulty ethnographic fact, and even from the faulty interpretation of it. This, however, would be a major and a different study.³

A number of fieldworkers carried out close studies of family life, personality, economic and social organization, and ideology of the Doukhobor communities in British Columbia in the summers of 1950 and 1951. In addition, and bearing especially on the covert aspects of the organization the Sons of Freedom, within the communities, there were other sources of information. Confessions of various illegal acts of violence, gathered officially from hundreds of Sons of Freedom on the occasion of a mass repentance, were available, some in detail and many more in general outline. Most of these confessions gave the background of the act and of its direction or organization. Further information came from a large number of

³ Viz., the controlled test of hypotheses by using the data from a sample of non-literate cultures, on the lines of the models set out by Ford, Horton, and Murdock using Human Relations Area Files. Some extensive compilations of secret society data have been made, such as Noel P. Gist, *Secret Societies: A Study of Fraternalism in the United States* ("University of Missouri Studies" [Columbia, 1940], Vol. XV, No. 4), and others cited in the bibliographical footnotes of J. Wach, *Sociology of Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944).

letters written by the Sons of Freedom, some of which were organizational directives and others official records.

In spite of the ready availability of information, the factual part of this presentation is uncertain at key points. There were limits to the understanding the study group could achieve of the covert organization and operation of the Sons of Freedom. In the first place, although the fieldworkers were welcomed as friends and taken as guests into homes, none received full confidence; at least for the main phase of the study they remained outsiders, however sympathetic. Secret organization even in decline remains largely secret. In addition to this, however, was a larger barrier to a full understanding of the social organization, a barrier which would have proved equally difficult for a Son of Freedom who set out to make an assessment of his own society: confusion and near-breakdown in mutual understanding within the society itself. These conditions are apparently the result of various and changing external pressures from Canadian institutions; of the failure of Doukhobor social structure to adjust to the new situation and needs; and, finally, they appear to show some limits to the principles of the secret society's operation itself.

The separation of the Doukhobor sect took place in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Russia, and conflict with state and clerical authorities continued during the nineteenth century. A central core of Doukhobor beliefs was based on the assumption that direct revelation guided each person. Thus there was no need for church organization, for government, or for force. "Inasmuch as all men are equal and the Children of God do good willingly without coercion, they do not require any governments or authority over them. Government, if needed at all, is needed only for the wicked." These beliefs were eventually extended to include others: self-denial, communal property, vegetarianism, the goodness of natural states (for the Sons of Freedom this includes nudity), and so on. They have come to as-

sume a high degree of apparent coherence, and every Doukhobor child has been thoroughly catechized in them.

The sect aroused opposition and its survival was endangered by individual exile and imprisonment, mass uprooting and repressive violence. Later, after migration to Canada at the end of the nineteenth century, the main threats to its survival came from the peaceful inducements to conformity and the continuous attractions toward individual assimilation. To meet these earlier threats, the community had adopted a tight integration, developed a close uniformity of belief and action, and cultivated strong leadership.

The last characteristic, a clear, strong pattern of internal authority, was especially vulnerable to attack; leaders could be removed, if they could be identified. To evade the external enemies, therefore, the leaders themselves led a partially underground existence in the Russian Doukhobor communities; one, indeed, seems to have tried to lose his identity by the feint of a false death and burial. Other leaders merged with the community, differentiated but little in outward life, avoiding public recognition or the public exercise of command. There were also the beginnings of the development of a secret language of command. In addition to these deliberate protective adjustments, the extreme exclusiveness of the communities might itself have led to the growth of some elements of secrecy, as Simmel suggests is likely to happen with intensively exclusive communities in any circumstances.

This is a fairly extreme but otherwise not unusual instance of the small, persecuted religious sect which adopts some measure of secrecy as a means of survival. Consciousness of membership was intense and tribal in nature; one could be a Doukhobor only by being born one. Only the one language would serve as the vehicle for Doukhobor concepts; in Canada later they declared English unsuitable for the purpose.

As of 1900, the group would appear to have had a fair chance of maintaining its existence indefinitely, short of extermination

by force. And, indeed, considerable force had already been used against it without final success. Complications arose, however, from the religious philosophy itself, from some qualities of Doukhobor character that are perhaps to be related to the self-perpetuating nature of this community, as distinct from a voluntary association joined by adults, and from the inducements to assimilated life in Canada.

Doukhobors felt a need to reconcile strong leadership with their belief in individual revelation and the worthlessness of governments. This was accomplished with superficial ease by granting that the leaders had the same divine source of guidance but were in closer contact with it. The weakness in this tenet was that anyone might claim to the same extraordinary endowment: no mechanism was set up to furnish satisfactory public examination and recognition. As a matter of fact, later on in a time of decline and schism, leaders did proliferate. And from the beginning the combination of external secrecy and the general belief that authority had no right to exist and no proper function ultimately proved a weighty burden for even the covertly accepted government of the communities.

Additional burdens came from the psychological qualities described by Shulman and Lewis: passivity and dependence required a strong leadership; autistic qualities made its operation uncertain. The assertion of power, which Simmel sees as inherent in the secret society,⁴ was made willingly enough, though it lacked the necessary consensus on its legitimacy and its mode of governing. In the absence of the opportunity to test the shared meaning of an order, variable and private interpretations could and did lead to wildly erratic execution.

Notwithstanding these difficulties, the partially underground leadership of the religious community might have continued to work in the primary group setting of the *mir*. Patterns of family authority, not obviously challenged by anti-authoritarian belief, would have transmitted rules and com-

mands; more continuous face-to-face relationships would have maintained a larger element of shared meaning; and a non-monetary economy would have created fewer stresses within the community. Simmel's comments on the binding force of a secret society that can be considered a whole⁵ apply to this earlier setting of the Doukhobor communities.

In contrast, this hidden social structure was inadequate for the altered life in Canada, when 7,400 Doukhobors migrated, forming a large number of new settlements, each according to plan. The common local unit was a "hundred," with its own program of construction, production, selling, wages, and its own problems of relationship to other hundreds and to the government. A rather detailed over-all system of management was instituted, and, as far as the economic direction of the communities was concerned, this became a fairly open leadership. Yet the belief in individual guidance through direct revelation continued and could determine any man's course of action. And the leaders continued to issue secret instructions, often countering their public proclamations. Before and during the migration, moreover, the leadership was deliberately obscured. The English Quaker, Maude, who played a major part in aiding the emigration, was unaware for years of the incapacity of the group to come to a decision without a certain member who was exiled in Siberia. Misunderstandings on the terms of entry into Canada resulted largely from the fact that the delegates appointed could not make decisions.

Through the following years the Doukhobor communities split. The majority came to accept governmental demands other than for military conscription, gradually obtained employment outside of the communities, and sought schooling. The Sons of Freedom, on the other hand, set themselves resolutely against compromise. In reference to schools, they declared: "The person who has submitted to higher education is a truly insane animal," and withheld their children.

⁴ Wolff, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 360.

They saw more sharply than the others the acculturative force of schooling, and some of them have up to the present tried to prevent their children from attending. They also opposed demands for registration, for taxes, or for the fulfilment of any governmental requirement that could be construed as threatening their beliefs or leading to assimilation—which came to the same thing in the end.

Thus, the Sons of Freedom found themselves once more threatened. The situation differed from that of the earlier centuries in Russia, not only in respect of the comparatively gentle inducements to integration with the majority but also because the large numbers of acculturating Doukhobors blurred the lines of demarcation and made the threat an inner one. It has been the Sons of Freedom who have made the greatest efforts to maintain secret organization, and the remainder of this exposition refers primarily to them.

In reaction to the pressures on them, the Sons of Freedom directed their main hostility first of all toward the other Doukhobors, because of the danger created by their backsliding. The near-anarchic autonomy which Simmel postulates as one of the features of the secret society⁶ had allowed the Sons of Freedom to arise as a group completely without control by the majority or the existing leadership. His hypothesis of an inverse relationship between the rigor of the internal order of a secret society and the severity of law in the external society is based on his general assumption that human nature requires a certain equilibrium between freedom and restriction. The rise of the Sons of Freedom appears to contradict his conclusion; the high degree of external freedom allowed a high degree of disorder within the secret society.

The continuance of a secret language, or, rather, of a belief that the meaning of a command was to be obtained by the elaborate interpretation of the words in which it was thought to have been given, gave rise to a jungle of private meanings. A prominent

Son of Freedom a few years ago sent word to another community that he wanted help with some construction work. It is our conclusion that he meant nothing more than he wrote. But his message was interpreted as an order to burn down some buildings. And still earlier, when most of the Doukhobors of British Columbia lived in the co-operative communities, lesser breakdowns in communication were a cause of the failure of their enterprises. Lack of co-ordination affected productivity, and uncertainty of what to expect from others caused individual insecurity. Rumor and resentment of unequal treatment within the communities aggravated the trouble. Revelations grew into prophecies and inspired sections of the communities to take actions that were destructive of property, confidence, and co-operation. Although buttressed with theocratic supports, the leadership faltered and failed to hold the communities together. The leadership was open to question, it is true, on grounds of belief, as stated above, and it was continually undercut by the autistic elements of Doukhobor personality. But most probably, had the leaders carried out their responsibility with complete openness, as might well have been done in the mild political climate of Canada, they could have dispelled confusion sufficiently to permit some integration between the various communities, as they had succeeded in doing in the *mir* organization earlier. Simmel, in describing the decline of the Waldenses through the growth of splinter movements consequent on the lack of continuous and effective centralization,⁷ is also stating exactly what happened to the Doukhobors.

An illustration shows the great short-term effectiveness of the co-operation that could still be achieved even by a group of children, using the devices of hidden structure and command. Through generations the children had been taught the appropriate replies to inquisitive outsiders, such as: "There is none among us greater than others; God tells each what to do." When a large number of parents from among the

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 361.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 371.

Sons of Freedom were imprisoned in 1932, seventy-five of their children were placed in the Provincial Industrial School for Girls. There they obeyed the leaders who arose among them on the matter of orders of the staff they should follow. Usually the identities of the leaders were unknown to the staff. The outstanding difference between this situation and that of the disintegrating communities was that the group was clearly delimited from the staff, whom they were able to define as the enemy, and that the situation was defined by the schedule and nature of the staff's actions. There were comparatively few possibilities for confusion to arise.

In the Sons of Freedom communities, however, disorganization proceeded to a point of chaos. Yet everyone continued to assume that a secret leadership existed among them, long after no effective leadership could have been in existence. Even other Doukhobors believed in it. Of course, they believed in it as a general principle for all societies. One man, talking with Shulman and being told that the Research Committee had not made any fixed plans for the Doukhobors, replied that undoubtedly the director had plans which he had not divulged to the rest of the committee. Both his belief in secrecy as a universal principle of social organization and the persecutory attitudes which this belief had allowed to grow were shared by many others.

The formation of new splinter groups has continued recently within the Sons of Freedom themselves. It has usually been accompanied by the familiar recriminations against the assimilating backsliders, and at times also by accusations to the authorities implicating the leaders of other splinter groups in illegal acts. Moreover, in this period of decline, many conflicts of interest have been growing: in his role as parent a man wants to spare his children from suffering; in his role as Son of Freedom he wants them to become members in the partially secret and hostile organization.

Among the consequences for the Sons of Freedom of this disorganization and confu-

sion has been a susceptibility to destructive manipulation and to exploitation. Key words and symbols, like "The Master," have had an almost magical persuasiveness and can be appropriated by anyone. Without a clear recognition or proclamation of a structure of authority and leadership, there can be no satisfactory public scrutiny of claims to the position of leader or of the actions sanctioned as emanating from him.

Simmel notes that the hiding of leadership gives rise to the coloring of obedience "by the feeling of subjection to an intangible power whose limits cannot be traced, and which can nowhere be seen, but must, for this reason, be suspected everywhere."⁸ Shulman observed that this condition among the Sons of Freedom allowed "the free activity of pathological individuals who exploit the group for their own ends. Some of these individuals seem to be suffering from schizophrenic illness." There has been a succession of claimants who have returned from visits to Heaven. The most bizarre extortion was exacted by a man who sent messages that money and girls were to be supplied to The Master, who was hiding from the authorities and being served by the hooded messengers to whom the supplies should be delivered.

Thus, the earlier part of Doukhobor history fits Simmel hypotheses, without diverging from them significantly. Perhaps these earlier periods suggest the need for one major extension of his analysis. If secret aspects of culture are to be transmitted through the generations without contributing to a general dissociation from reality and rendering the social structure inoperative, special mechanisms of transmission apparently are required. Obviously, the need for such special mechanisms and precautions would vary according to the degree of secrecy and the type of organization.

The later phases during which there was general community breakdown provide material for a number of other extensions. These are:

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

1. In the absence of clear transmission of the leaders' orders, or of an easily recognizable enemy with well-defined purposes, a society such as a religious community with elements of secrecy is a prey to considerable internal confusion. Under some circumstances, this may contribute to individual and social disorganization.

2. After the original goals of a secret society (such as a resistance movement) are achieved, or the conditions which gave rise to it no longer exist, adjustment to the new reality may be hindered because secrecy itself has become a goal.

3. A society of this type which continues to exist beyond the first generation will exert special influences on the personality of those born into it, as contrasted with those who join it as adults. The difference between the external appearance of the world, including the behavior of outsiders, and the picture of reality which is taught is likely to be great. It may conduce ultimately, in some children at least, to a schizoid nature, since the community teachings appear to be contradicted by what is learned in the public school. In fact, it is difficult to see how the group can perpetuate its secret aspects through the generations if the children are subjected to the intense pressures for conformity in the public school. The child who also accepts the beliefs in hidden meanings and hidden mechanisms of authority and co-operation may never make contact with consensually validated reality.⁹

4. Secret societies have developed well-recognized techniques for reducing the danger of betrayal and for estimating the individual's capacity to resist pressure to become a traitor. The potential threat to the organization of certain types of personality

has apparently not been as seriously considered.

5. Intense forms of secrecy, when the identities of key figures are hidden and when both power and obedience take on mystic overtones, offer opportunities for exploitation not only by members but even by outsiders. In this way a measure taken to insure the highest degree of protection itself entails some vulnerability.

6. More than most organizations, secret societies appear to need beliefs which justify their structure and operations. Simmel suggests there is no real conflict between the equality and the despotism of secret societies; on the contrary, the revolts and splintering of the Sons of Freedom indicate that with special conditions the tolerance for contradiction is small and the conflict can be fatal.

7. A type of authority and a set of rules adequate to maintain a secret society in the face of a clearly envisaged and implacable enemy may not survive in a milder setting which conduces to defections. This is merely a special instance of some general processes of acculturation and resistance to it.

8. The separation into an inner circle and an outer group of the partially initiated, Simmel infers, is a protection for the inner circle, because the others act as a buffer between it and the external world. The Sons of Freedom can be looked at as an inner circle as contrasted with the less conservative and assimilating remainder. Yet acculturation is taking place more effectively among the Sons of Freedom today precisely because Doukhobor friends and relatives who are on the fringe of their group are leading the way.

⁹ *Ibid.*

SOME ASPECTS OF URBANIZATION IN THE BELGIAN CONGO¹

J. COMHAIRE

ABSTRACT

Differences in colonial policy are not reflected in the ecology of Leopoldville and Brazzaville, which are alike and reminiscent of American patterns. A class of Westernized Africans is growing up, with marginal characteristics, some apparently universal and others local, but the urban masses remain tribally conscious and mix little. This does not prevent the growth of intertribal customs, which today include significant extended family relationships, dowry or bride price, and some recognition of the father, even in families with a matrilineal tradition. The African heritage appears to be strong enough to keep these traits alive indefinitely.

The usefulness of comparative study in urbanism has been clearly demonstrated in a special series of papers in the *American Journal of Sociology*.² More particularly, the study of non-Western cities has been advocated with a view to determining how far currently accepted propositions about urbanization are applicable to underdeveloped countries.³ The present paper sets forth some aspects of urban life in Leopoldville, the capital of the Belgian Congo, based on three years of field work and on statistical and other reports.

ECOLOGY

A situation unique in the world is found in the Lower Congo region, where Leopoldville, the capital of the Belgian Congo, and Brazzaville, the capital of French Equatorial Africa, face each other over a distance of 1 mile across the Congo River. In spite of the identity of geographical circumstances, the two places are far from alike, the Belgian capital being a bustling business center, proud of its American appearance, where trees, though abundant, are kept carefully

trimmed and unobtrusive; and the French capital, a sort of garden city, where trees often are more prominent than residences. The two countries so far have stayed poles apart in their colonial policy, and the army, as is often the case, offers striking illustration of the difference. While native officers have been a common sight in Brazzaville ever since the beginning, the Belgian government was still content to announce in 1954 that the Congolese would have an opportunity to be promoted to corporals in new commando units in two years, instead of the customary five, with the rank of technical sergeant still the ceiling.

The ecology of the two capitals nevertheless remains fundamentally the same after about seventy-five years of parallel development. The founder in each case selected for his headquarters a plateau, which ever since has remained the favorite residential area, though the Belgian governor-general, who is more directly controlled by his superiors in Europe than is his French counterpart, was later requested to move to a lowland site nearer the business district. The traders, from the beginning, settled on sites located on the shores of the Congo River, so far away from administrative headquarters that two distinct white communities existed for a long time with little contact with each other. As the European population grew, an increasing number of Africans drifted to both towns, especially in the boom years that followed both world wars, and they were accommodated in relation to the white

¹ The main points of this paper were the subject of discussion at several scholarly meetings and especially at the University of Chicago seminar on urbanization in the fall of 1955.

² "World Urbanism," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 5 (March, 1955).

³ Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, "The Cultural Role of Cities," in *Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of Chicago, May 24-26, 1954: Economic Development and Cultural Change*, III, No. 1 (November, 1954), 53-73.

settlements, so that two distinct native "locations" were set up in each capital. Industry came last and was in each case allocated a site along the river, close to the white business center and to the corresponding African community.

One difference between America's and the Congo's city patterns is that racial segregation in both colonies is a legal rather than a private practice, though the French provide for exemptions.⁴ As a result, "neutral zones" were set up to isolate the native sections, but repeated shifts in the distribution of the population played havoc with the neutral-zone system, in spite of denunciations by European officers armed with pseudo-scientific material on the effectiveness of neutral zones in the prevention of disease. Another difference is that religious interests in both Congo towns secured extensive properties halfway between government headquarters and the business district. In Leopoldville it was the Baptist Missionary Society of London, and in Brazzaville the Catholic Fathers of the Holy Ghost. Both later sold tracts which are now occupied in part by whites of junior rank who are not entitled to mansions in the vicinity of the governor's palace.

The most characteristic feature of both capitals is probably the low rate of density of their populations. Each has about eleven square miles of municipal territory, whereon Leopoldville accommodates 310,000 residents and Brazzaville less than one-third that figure. Low density, combined with extensive power of colonial governments, which are less hampered than American authorities by civil rights and other constitutional considerations, makes possible a great number of deviations from natural developments; but this renders the similarity in general pattern between the two towns only the more striking. Both capitals are typical twentieth-century towns, made possible by widespread use of modern means of

transportation,⁵ which in the case of Leopoldville include a fleet of 50,000 bicycles.

STRATIFICATION

Stratification patterns, at first glance, look familiar, since many Belgians see the mission-educated Congolese, commonly known as *évolué*, in exactly the same way as Americans see members of their own minority groups. The similarity in stereotyping is actually so great that a recent visitor to America published articles to tell how much like the Congolese the American Negroes looked, with faces black as shoe polish.⁶ Such stereotypes are as far away from the African reality as from the American and clearly originate in European folklore.

The professed Belgian policy today consists in developing stratification founded on achievement. About three hundred and twenty-five Congolese hold "civic merit cards," which free them from a number of discriminatory practices. This idea was borrowed from the French and the Portuguese, but only the Belgians insist on Christianity and monogamy as a prerequisite. The growth of a native middle class is expected, but some Belgian observers take the view that this cannot be, unless the Congolese are granted the right to hold private property. All land in native sections, for the time being, is government property. In addition to the right of private property, Catholic missionaries argue it is necessary to extend family allowances to the natives. These were granted in 1952. There was a significant increase in the female population of Leopoldville between 1952, when there were 50 women to 100 men, and 1954, when the proportions became 55 to 100.

Self-employment is expected to be the backbone of the Congolese middle class. Hence 7,070 licenses to native entrepreneurs were granted in 1954 (7.3 per cent of the labor force), as against 2,853 in 1944 (7.4 per

⁴ J. Comhaire, *Aspects of Urban Administration in Tropical and Southern Africa* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town School of African Studies, 1953).

⁵ K. Davis, "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, No. 5 (March, 1955), 437.

⁶ L. Bruyns, "Les Noirs aux États-Unis," *Zaire* (Brussels), October, 1954, pp. 787-814.

cent). However, it will be noted that their relative importance did not increase. More than one-third (36 per cent) of them, moreover, are foreign subjects, though 82.52 per cent of the general African population in town was born under Belgian colonial rule. More than 27 per cent of the self-employed group consists of Portuguese subjects from Angola, whose success reflects the different attitude of Portuguese whites to their African country fellows.

MARGINALITY

Some light on the house that the Belgians are building was thrown by an inquiry into the thoughts about the future of 374 school children in Leopoldville.⁷ The first finding

TABLE 1
AMBITIONS OF 374 SCHOOL CHILDREN OF
LEOPOLDVILLE

AMBITIONS	Boys		GIRLS ALL
	Catholic	Protes- tant	
1. Office worker . . .	82	42	..
2. Salaried manual . .	70	64	..
3. Independent	7	5	..
4. Soldier	3	..	..
5. Learning	1	..	..
6. Teaching . . . . .	..	..	24
7. Housework . . . . .	..	..	13
8. No answer . . . . .	..	63	..
Total	163	174	37

was how greatly the girls are lagging behind the boys. Lacking both hope and opportunity, they are prepared to take jobs, paid and unpaid, which would be rejected by all the boys. The second point was that white-collar jobs rank at the top. Their prestige is based on white attitudes, as well as on a desire for close contact with Europeans. Third, independent enterprise and teaching, though much publicized in propaganda literature, are no more desired than manual employment (see Table 1).

The actual prestige of white-collar work is likely to be even greater than it looks, be-

cause those who failed to answer probably feared censure from practical-minded Protestant teachers.⁸ Manual work is wished for only if it involves the handling of machines, a common situation in underdeveloped countries.⁹ As to independent enterprise, even among sixty-two sons of craftsmen and shopkeepers, only three wanted to follow their fathers in their careers. In spite of much lip service to private enterprise, the taxation system and the absence of private property combine with white competition to discourage self-employment. Natives from Angola fare better than Congolese because they can depend on more understanding on the part of Portuguese traders, with whom they often are connected by personal ties.

In common with other marginal men, the *évolué* strives for contact and identification with the ruling caste, stressing all possible differences which distinguish him from the *basenji* ("savages"). But his attitude toward teaching and toward manual and independent work differs from that of marginal men in societies run by the Anglo-Saxons.¹⁰ Religion makes for another difference. The advent in Belgium, in 1954, of an anticlerical government resulted in the open rejection by many *évolués* of all religious affiliations and in their joining a new organization, Les Amis de l'École Laïque ("Friends of the Public School"). Such an attitude shows that religious devotion is not an obvious outlet of the marginal man's earthly frustrations, as is often assumed from the example of the American Negro. Like other outlets, this is conditioned by the dominant culture, and the marginal man is likely to seek an

⁸ An apparently worse situation existed in Brazzaville, where 118 boys out of 200 wanted white-collar jobs, 68 failing to answer (G. Balandier, *Sociologie des Brazzavilles Noires* [Paris: A. Colin, 1955], p. 157).

⁹ B. F. Hoselitz, "The Recruitment of White-Collar Workers in Underdeveloped Countries," *International Social Science Bulletin*, No. 3 (1954), pp. 433-41.

¹⁰ From British Northern Rhodesia, Clyde J. Mitchell writes that public education comes first and that carpentry holds an honorable thirteenth rank in a list of thirty-two desired occupations.

⁷ S. Comhaire-Sylvain, *Food and Leisure among the African Youth of Leopoldville (Belgian Congo)* (Cape Town: University of Cape Town School of African Studies, 1950).

outlet in religion only so long as it matters to the group he wants to join. In another situation other outlets would win his favor, the constant being that he everywhere remains an exaggerated reflection of his model's mentality. In the case of the Congolese, religious indifference, the inferior status of women, and a taste for bureaucracy are all characteristics of Belgian culture which have been passed on to the *évolué*.¹¹ Differences exist, such as the partial substitution of civic activities for family life, but they were borrowed from the white colonial society, which nowhere remains exactly the same as society back in the home country in Europe.

The ultimate result may be that a small group of thoroughly Westernized Congolese, indifferent to the forms of integration favored by the urban masses, will be identified with and expected to withdraw with colonial rule. The majority already speaks of them as *mindele ndombe* ("black-faced Europeans").

INTEGRATION

There is, for the time being, no question of interracial integration, though minor improvements were recently wrought by such measures as the opening of white street cafés to African customers, a privilege which, however, they are not eager to use.

In the native sections, both church and state are carrying on a determined melting-pot policy. Tribal consciousness, nevertheless, stands in the way of integration, as expressed in figures on 1,100 marital unions, collected in our inquiry: tribal, 983; intertribal, 84; interracial, 33.¹² The intertribal unions usually involve educated men of the *évolué* class and foreigners.

In spite of tribal consciousness, intertribal customs have grown, and the African tradition is in the process of being system-

atized, as elsewhere observed by Redfield and Singer.¹³ The first point is that extended family ties remain significant in social life. Besides tradition, low wages, unskilled employment, and the absence of private property all contribute to defeat the progress of the nuclear middle-class family. Out of Leopoldville's 310,000 residents, only 50,000, most of them children, were born in the city. When newcomers arrive in town and when workers lose their jobs, they usually beg board and lodgings of some relative. The children of prosperous farmers who are sent to town for better education customarily stay as paying guests with an uncle, a brother, or a cousin; residents in town often send their own children to the village of their birth, since they will be less of a burden if they live on the family estate. Extended family ties are also maintained, thanks to the practice of *matanga*, or urban family rites. The organizations founded on a territorial or professional basis, of which there are many, usually are pseudo-kinship groups, reflecting no disposition to accept the Western urban way of life.¹⁴ Particularly interesting among them are those of lady "members" of public bars. (Often described by Europeans as a prostitute, actually such a woman stays with the same man as long as circumstances permit.)

Another and more talked-about intertribal custom is that of the dowry, which in town may be described as a true bride price. In most African tribes a dowry is paid by the husband to his wife's family; but this institution seems to have originated in patrilineal societies, where the wife's family suffers from the loss of her services and of those of her descendants. It does not exist among the matrilineal tribes of Lake Leopold II, northeast of Leopoldville; but, once in the capital, all families with marriageable daughters expect a dowry—and a big one. A further urban development is that all fathers are beginning to feel entitled to some

¹¹ H. H. Turney-High, *Chateau-Gérard: The Life and Times of a Walloon Village* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953).

¹² Tribal unions sanctioned by custom; intertribal unions sanctioned by colonial law plus in a few cases the wife's tribal custom; interracial unions irregular, except for four cases involving mulattoes.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 53-73.

¹⁴ As described by L. Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV, No. 1 (July, 1938), 1-25.

compensation. This, in the case of residents of matrilineal background (70 per cent of Leopoldville), is in addition to the true dowry paid to the mother's family. A factor which helps in integrating customs is that, in either case, the bride price ultimately goes to the wife's eldest brother, as heir to his father in the case of a patrilineal tribe, and to his eldest maternal uncle in the case of a matrilineal tribe.¹⁵

The father's growing importance is due partly to missionary teaching, which has gone on for more than four hundred and fifty years in the Lower Congo region, and partly to the fact that only men can obtain salaried employment. However, on this point the Europeans themselves occasionally help to defeat their own ends. When family allowances were granted, there was widespread discontent among married men and bachelors alike, the former seeing in the payments an indirect recognition of women, until then foreign to Western enterprise in the Congo. The male ambition to rule, which was by no means absent from tribal communities, may be noted as existing, but it is not certain that paternal authority will be able to prevail against the African tradition.

STRENGTH OF THE AFRICAN TRADITION

The old authors are not specific, but at the end of the sixteenth century the population of San Salvador, the native capital of the Lower Congo, was given as 10,000¹⁶ and in the middle of the seventeenth century as 70,000.¹⁷ Anyway, when they speak of houses "too numerous to be counted" and of streets "where you get lost without a native guide," we know surely that these are something more than mere villages and that today is not the first time that the local native institutions have undergone the test of urbanization. From the better-known case of the Yoruba's "natural towns," social sci-

entists have come to agree that African societies have an amazing capacity for maintaining kinship ties and other traditional institutions, in spite of urbanization.¹⁸ With regard to Leopoldville, one may nevertheless raise further questions on the impact of the Christian religion and of colonial administration rather than on the absence of pre-European native urban life.

The missionary factor can hardly be decisive. For one thing, the missionaries are not deliberately fighting the African tradition as such, only those aspects of native culture which, in their opinion, are inconsistent with the Christian religion. Extended family relationships are not openly condemned, and, though this is an optimistic view, a Catholic author has maintained that they might well continue to exist after severing their traditional connection with polygamy and ancestor worship.¹⁹ Another point is that the influence of missionary activities on African urban societies is not, as a rule, on the increase.²⁰ In Leopoldville the Catholic mission actually registered a loss in the ratio of its members to the total population since the economic crisis of the 1930's, when the most stable and most Westernized individuals had remained in town in greater numbers than the others, many of whom had been forced back to the interior as unemployable (see Table 2). The Protestant native population, which in 1951 numbered only 9,000, seems too small to be a serious threat to African ways.

The matter of municipal government for Leopoldville has been a favorite subject for discussion ever since it was organized in Brazzaville, in 1911, and even more since Governor-General Eboué, in 1944, gave to

¹⁸ W. B. Bascom, "Urbanization among the Yoruba," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX, No. 5 (March, 1955), 446-54; and W. B. Schwab, "Kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba," *Africa*, October, 1955, pp. 352-74.

¹⁹ V. Gelders, *Le Clan dans la société indigène* (Brussels: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1943).

²⁰ J. Comhaire, "Religious Trends in African and Afro-American Urban Societies," *Anthropological Quarterly*, October, 1953, pp. 95-108.

¹⁵ Comhaire-Sylvain, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

¹⁶ Pigafetta, *Relazione del reame di Congo* ... (Rome, 1591).

¹⁷ Cavazzi, *Istoria descrittione de tre regni Congo, Malamba e Angola* ... (Milan, 1671).

Brazzaville's native sections their own institutions. On the Belgian side, on the other hand, there are only powerless advisory councils, and the colonial administrators run the native quarters with the unacknowledged help of the *capitas*, the heads of native tribal and professional organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

It seems that certain institutions not usually connected with urbanism, such as the extended family, have a good chance to survive in Leopoldville for a long time to come. Much will depend on whether private property of land, once granted, will be kept individual or be made familial in the next generation, as has been the case in other non-Western societies, such as Samoa,²¹ and this in spite of the fact that the town is of European origin. This should come as a warning against too much generalization even in the study of Western societies, as the capital of the Belgian Congo seems to be a good illustration of how the Western econo-

my, and more particularly Western industry, may be less destructive of ascribed status and less exclusively disposed to rec-

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE OF CATHOLICS IN NATIVE POPULATION OF LEOPOLDVILLE

Year	Total Native Population	Percentage Catholics
1921.....	26,000	50
1934.....	36,000	54.5
1937.....	39,700	41.5
1944.....	80,000	36
1947.....	116,800	28
1951.....	190,000	31.5
1954.....	310,000	30.6

gnize achievement than is usually assumed.²²

SOUTH ORANGE, NEW JERSEY

²¹ F. M. Kessing, *Modern Samoa: Its Government and Changing Life* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1934), p. 276.

²² E. C. Hughes, "Queries concerning Industry and Society Growing Out of Study of Ethnic Relations in Industry," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (April, 1949), 211-20.

ZOOT-SUITERS AND MEXICANS: SYMBOLS IN CROWD BEHAVIOR¹

RALPH H. TURNER AND SAMUEL J. SURACE

ABSTRACT

Content analysis is used to test a hypothesis that overt hostile crowd behavior is preceded by the development of an unambiguously unfavorable symbol. The Los Angeles "zoot-suit riots" of 1943 provide an instance, and a sample covering ten and one-half years of newspaper reference to the symbol "Mexican" is analyzed. The hypothesis receives support through the unanticipated emergence of new thematic elements displacing the old traditional references. Predominantly unfavorable connotations of the new "zoot-suiter" symbol tend to neutralize the ambivalence in the symbol "Mexican," thus providing a necessary condition for overt hostile crowd behavior.

The purpose of this paper is to test a hypothesis concerning the symbols with which a hostile crowd designates the object of its action. The hypothesis is that hostile crowd behavior requires an unambiguously unfavorable symbol, which serves to divert crowd attention from any of the usual favorable or mitigating connotations surrounding the object. The hypothesis has been tested by a content analysis of references to the symbol "Mexican" during the ten-and-one-half-year period leading up to the 1943 "zoot-suit riots" in Los Angeles and vicinity.

THEORY AND HYPOTHESIS²

The hypothesis under examination is related to two important characteristics of crowd behavior. First, crowd behavior is *uniform* behavior in a broad sense, in contrast to behavior which exposes the infinitely varied attitudes of diverse individuals. Many attitudes and gradations of feeling can be expressed in a group's actions toward any particular object. However, the crowd is a group expressing *one* attitude, with individual variations largely concealed.

In non-crowd situations uniform behavior may be achieved by majority decision, acceptance of authority, or compromise of some sort. But crowd behavior is not mediated by such slow and deliberate processes.

¹ Judith Cahn Hart assisted greatly in the collecting and processing of data for this paper.

² The authors owe much to Herbert Blumer for the background of ideas from which the present theory and hypothesis have been developed.

Within the crowd there is a readiness to act *uniformly* in response to varied suggestions, and, until such readiness to act has spread throughout the crowd's recruitment population, fully developed and widespread-acting crowd behavior is not possible.

The response in the community to shared symbols is crucial to this uniformity of action. Ordinarily, any particular symbol has varied connotations for different individuals and groups in the community. These varied connotations prevent uniform community-wide action or at least delay it until extended processes of group decision-making have been carried out. But, when a given symbol has a relatively uniform connotation in all parts of the community, uniform group action can be taken readily when the occasion arises. To the degree, then, to which any symbol evokes only one consistent set of connotations throughout the community, only one general course of action toward the object will be indicated, and formation of an acting crowd will be facilitated.

Second, the crowd follows a course of action which is at least partially sanctioned in the culture but, at the same time, is normally inhibited by other aspects of that culture. Mob action is frequently nothing more than culturally sanctioned punishment carried out by unauthorized persons without "due process." Support of it in everyday life is attested to in many ways. Organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan and other vigilante groups act as self-appointed "custodians of patriotism" and are fairly widely ac-

cepted as such. The lynching of two "confessed" kidnapers in California in 1933 was given public sanction by the then governor of the state on the grounds of its therapeutic effect on other would-be criminals.³ The legal system in America implicitly recognizes these supports by including statutes designed to suppress them.

Hostile acting crowd behavior can take place only when these inhibiting aspects of the culture cease to operate.⁴ Conflict between the norms sanctioning the crowd's action and the norms inhibiting it must be resolved by the neutralization of the inhibiting norms.

There is normally some ambiguity in the connotations of any symbol, so that both favorable and unfavorable sentiments are aroused. For example, even the most prejudiced person is likely to respond to the symbol "Negro" with images of both the feared invader of white prerogatives and the lovable, loyal Negro lackey and "mammy." The symbol "bank robber" is likely to evoke a picture of admirable daring along with its generally unfavorable image. These ambiguous connotations play an important part in inhibiting extreme hostile behavior against the object represented by the symbol.

The diverse connotations of any symbol normally inhibit extreme behavior in two interrelated ways. First, the symbol evokes feelings which resist any extreme course of action. A parent, for example, is normally inhibited from punishing his child to excess, because affection for him limits the development of anger. Pity and admiration for courage or resolute action, or sympathy for a course of action which many of us might like to engage in ourselves, or charity toward human weakness usually moderate hostility toward violators of the mores. So long as feelings are mixed, actions are likely to be moderate.

³ Cf. *Literary Digest*, CXVI (December 9, 1933), 5.

⁴ This statement and the general hypothesis of this paper are but expressions of the more general proposition that all crowd behavior reflects the neutralization of normally inhibiting phases of the culture in which it occurs.

Second, the mixed connotations of the symbol place the object *within the normative order*, so that the mores of fair play, due process, giving a fair hearing, etc., apply. Any indication that the individual under attack respects any of the social norms or has any of the characteristics of the in-group evokes these mores which block extreme action.

On the other hand, unambiguous symbols permit immoderate behavior, since there is no internal conflict to restrict action. Furthermore, a symbol which represents a person as outside the normative order will not evoke the in-group norms of fair play and due process. The dictum that "you must fight fire with fire" and the conviction that a person devoid of human decency is not entitled to be treated with decency and respect rule out these inhibiting norms.

We conclude that a necessary condition for both the uniform group action and the unrestricted hostile behavior of the crowd is a symbol which arouses uniformly and exclusively unfavorable feelings toward the object under attack. However, the connotations of a symbol to the mass or crowd do not necessarily correspond exactly with the connotations to individuals. The symbol as presented in the group context mediates the overt expression of attitudes in terms of sanction and the focus of attention. The individual in whom a particular symbol evokes exclusively unfavorable feelings may nevertheless be inhibited from acting according to his feelings by the awareness that other connotations are sanctioned in the group. Or the individual in whom ambivalent feelings are evoked may conceal his favorable sentiments because he sees that only the unfavorable sentiments are sanctioned. He thereby facilitates crowd use of the symbol. Furthermore, of all the possible connotations attached to a symbol, the individual at any given moment acts principally on the basis of those on which his attention is focused. By shielding individuals from attending to possibly conflicting connotations, the unambiguous public symbol prevents the evocation of attitudes which are normal-

ly present. Thus, without necessarily undergoing change, favorable individual attitudes toward the object of crowd attack simply remain latent. This process is one of the aspects of the so-called restriction of attention which characterizes the crowd.

While unambiguous symbols are a necessary condition to full-fledged crowd behavior, they may also be a product of the earlier stages of crowd development. In some cases sudden development of a crowd is facilitated by the pre-existing linkage of an already unambiguous symbol to the object upon which events focus collective attention. But more commonly we suspect that the emergence of such a symbol or the stripping-away of alternative connotations takes place cumulatively through interaction centered on that object. In time, community-wide interaction about an object takes on increasingly crowd-like characteristics in gradual preparation for the ultimate crowd action. It is the hypothesis of this paper that *overt hostile crowd behavior is usually preceded by a period in which the key symbol is stripped of its favorable connotations until it comes to evoke unambiguously unfavorable feelings*.⁵

THE "ZOOT-SUIT RIOTS"

Beginning on June 3, 1943, Los Angeles, California, was the scene of sporadic acts of violence involving principally United States naval personnel, with the support of a sympathetic Anglo community, in opposition to members of the Mexican community which have come to be known as the "zoot-suit riots." "Zooter" referred mainly to two

⁵ There are other factors in the etiology of crowd behavior. The symbol with specified characteristics is hypothesized as merely an essential link in the causal chain and is itself an index of aggravated conditions in the community. The "zoot-suit riots" occurred within a larger social context characterized by violent racial and ethnic turmoil. Nationally, 1943 witnessed more race riots than any other year since the period immediately following World War I. California had recently undergone the experience of Japanese evacuation and rearoused alarm over the possibility that some Japanese-Americans might be relocated in the state. A full accounting for the riot would have to include these and several other conditions.

characteristics. First, zoot suits consisted of long suit coats and trousers extremely pegged at the cuff, draped full around the knees, and terminating in deep pleats at the waist.⁶ Second, the zooters wore their hair long, full, and well greased.

During the riots many attacks and injuries were sustained by both sides.⁷ Groups of sailors were frequently reported to be assisted or accompanied by civilian mobs who "egged" them on as they roamed through downtown streets in search of victims.⁸ Zooters discovered on city streets were assaulted and forced to disrobe amid the jibes and molestations of the crowd. Streetcars and busses were stopped and searched, and zooters found therein were carried off into the streets and beaten. Cavalcades of hired taxicabs filled with sailors ranged the East Side districts of Los Angeles seeking, finding, and attacking zooters. Civilian gangs of East Side adolescents organized similar attacks against unwary naval personnel.

It is, of course, impossible to isolate a single incident or event and hold it responsible for the riots. Local, state, and federal authorities and numerous civic and national groups eventually tried to assess blame and prevent further violence. The most prominent charge from each side was that the other had molested its girls. It was reported that sailors became enraged by the rumor that zoot-suiters were guilty of "assaults on female relatives of servicemen."⁹ Similarly, the claim against sailors was that they persisted in molesting and insulting Mexican girls. While many other charges were reported in the newspapers, including unsubstantiated suggestions of sabotage of the war

⁶ The zoot suit apparently developed in the East and was associated with the Negroes in Harlem. But in southern California Mexican youth became the recognized wearers of this garb.

⁷ For a popular report of the incident see Carey McWilliams in the *New Republic*, CVIII (June 21, 1943), 818-20.

⁸ *Los Angeles Times*, June 8, 1943, Part I, p. 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, June 7, 1943, Part II, p. 1.

effort,¹⁰ the sex charges dominated the precipitating context.

METHOD

In the absence of any direct sampling of community sentiment in the period preceding the riots, it is assumed that the use of the symbol "Mexican" by the media of mass communication indicates the prevalent connotations. Any decision as to whether the mass media passively reflect community sentiment, whether they actively mold it, or whether, as we supposed, some combination of the two processes occurs is immaterial to the present method. Ideally we should have sampled a number of mass media to correct for biases in each. However, with the limited resources at our disposal we chose the *Los Angeles Times*, largest of the four major newspapers in the Los Angeles area. It is conservative in emphasis and tends away from the sensational treatment of minority issues. In the past a foremost romanticizer of Old Mexico had been a prominent member of the *Times* editorial staff and board of directors.¹¹

In order to uncover trends in the connotation of the symbol under study, one newspaper per month was read for the ten and one-half years from January, 1933, until June 30, 1943. These monthly newspapers were selected by assigning consecutive days of the week to each month. For example, for January, 1933, the paper printed on the first Monday was read; for February, the paper printed on the first Tuesday was read. After the seven-day cycle was completed, the following months were assigned, respectively, the *second* Monday, the *second* Tuesday, etc. To avoid loading the sample with days that fell early in the first half of the month, the procedure was reversed for the last half of the period. Then, to secure an intensive picture of the critical period, consecutive daily editions were read for one month starting with May 20, 1943, through June 20, 1943. This covered approximately ten days

before and after the period of violence. Any editorial, story, report, or letter which had reference to the Mexican community or population was summarized, recorded, and classified.¹² The articles were placed in five basic categories: favorable themes, unfavorable themes, neutral mention, negative-favorable mention, and zooter theme.¹³

1. *Favorable*: (a) Old California Theme. This is devoted to extolling the traditions and history of the old rancheros as the earliest California settlers. (b) Mexican Temperament Theme. This describes the Mexican character in terms of dashing romance, bravery, gaiety, etc. (c) Religious Theme. This refers to the devout religious values of the Mexican community. (d) Mexican Culture Theme. This pays homage to Mexican art, dance, crafts, music, fifth of May festivities, etc.
2. *Unfavorable*: (a) Delinquency and Crime Theme. This theme includes the specific mention of a law violator as "Mexican," associating him with marihuana, sex crimes, knife-wielding, gang violence, etc. (b) Public Burden Theme. This attempts to show that Mexicans constitute a drain on relief funds and on the budgets of correctional institutions.
3. *Neutral*: This is a category of miscellaneous items, including reports of crimes committed by individuals possessing obvious Mexican names but without designation of ethnic affiliation.
4. *Negative-Favorable*: This category consists of appeals which *counter* or *deny* the validity of accusations against Mexicans as a group. For example: "Not all zoot-suiters are delinquents; their adoption by many was a bid for social recognition"; "At the outset zoot-suiters were limited to no specific race. . . . The fact that later on their numbers seemed to be predominantly Latin was in itself no indication of that race" (*Los Angeles Times*, July 11, 1943, Part I, p. 1).
5. *Zooter Theme*: This theme identifies the zooter costume as "a badge of delinquency." Typical references were: "reat pleat boys," "long coated

¹² The unit of count in the present paper is the entire article, report, or item. A weighting for location and length might have indicated additional findings. For a discussion of this point see Bernard Berelson, *Content Analysis in Communications Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952).

¹³ In judging references to be favorable or unfavorable, it was asked whether the report tended to encourage (a) an increase or a decrease in social distance between the reader and the Mexican and (b) a definition of the Mexican as an asset or a liability to the life of the community. The following is the full list of themes and subthemes.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1943, Part I, p. A.

¹¹ Harry Carr, author of *Old Mother Mexico* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1931).

gentry," coupled with mention of "unprovoked attacks by zoot-suited youths," "zoot-suit orgy," etc. Crime, sex violence, and gang attacks were the dominant elements in this theme. Almost invariably, the zooter was identified as a Mexican by such clues as "East Side hoodlum," a Mexican name, or specific ethnic designation.

If the hypothesis of this paper is to be supported, we should expect a decline in the favorable contexts of the symbol "Mexican." The change should serve to produce the type of symbol suggested by the hypothesis, a symbol dominated by unambiguously unfavorable elements.

FINDINGS

The favorable and unfavorable themes are reported alone in Table 1 for the ten and

less than twice in one hundred times. We conclude, then, that the decline in total favorable and unfavorable mentions of "Mexican" is statistically significant.

While the hypothesis in its simplest form is unsubstantiated, the drop in both favorable and unfavorable themes suggests a shift away from *all* the traditional references to Mexicans during the period prior to the riots. If it can be shown that an actual substitution of symbols was taking place, our hypothesis may still be substantiated, but in a somewhat different manner than anticipated.

From the distribution of all five themes reported in Table 2 it is immediately evident that there has been no decline of interest in

TABLE 1
FAVORABLE AND UNFAVORABLE MENTION OF "MEXICAN" DURING THREE PERIODS

Period	Favorable Themes	Unfavorable Themes	Percentage Favorable
January, 1933—June, 1936.....	27	3	90
July, 1936—December, 1939....	23	5	82
January, 1940—June, 1943.....	10	2	83
Total.....	60	10	86

TABLE 2
DISTRIBUTION OF ALL THEMES BY THREE PERIODS

Period	Per-centage Favorable	Per-centage Unfavorable	Per-centage Neutral	Percentage Negative-Favorable	Per-centage Zooter	Total Per-centage	Total Number
January, 1933—June, 1936.....	80	9	11	0	0	100	34
July, 1936—December, 1939....	61	13	23	3	0	100	38
January, 1940—June, 1943.....	25	5	32	8	30	100	40

one-half years. The table by itself appears to negate our hypothesis, since there is no appreciable decline in the percentage of favorable themes during the period. Indeed, even during the last period the mentions appear predominantly favorable, featuring the romanticized Mexican. However, there is a striking decline in the total number of articles mentioning the Mexican between the second and third periods. Treating the articles listed as a fraction of all articles in the newspapers sampled and using a sub-minimal estimate of the total number of all articles, the *t* test reveals that such a drop in the total number of articles mentioning Mexicans could have occurred by chance

the Mexican but rather a clear-cut shift of attention away from traditional references. The straightforward favorable and unfavorable themes account for 89, 74, and 30 per cent of all references, respectively, during the three periods. This drop and the drop from 61 to 25 per cent favorable mentions are significant below the 1 per cent level. To determine whether this evidence confirms our hypothesis, we must make careful examination of the three emerging themes.

The *neutral* theme shows a steady increase throughout the three periods. While we have cautiously designated this "neutral," it actually consists chiefly of unfavorable presentations of the object "Mexican"

without overt use of the symbol "Mexican." Thus it incorporates the unfavorable representation of Mexican, which we assume was quite generally recognized throughout the community, without explicit use of the symbol.

The *negative-favorable* theme, though small in total numbers, also increased. At first we were inclined to treat these as favorable themes. However, in contrast to the other favorable themes, this one documents the extent of negative connotation which is accumulating about the symbol "Mexican." By arguing openly against the negative connotations, these articles acknowledge their widespread community sanction. When the implicitly favorable themes of romantic Mexico and California's historic past give way to defensive assertions that all Mexicans are not bad, such a shift can only reasonably be interpreted as a rise in unfavorable connotations.

The most interesting shift, however, is the rise of the *zoot-suit* theme, which did not appear at all until the third period, when it accounts for 30 per cent of the references. Here we have the emergence of a new symbol which has no past favorable connotations to lose. Unlike the symbol "Mexican," the "zoot-suiter" symbol evokes no ambivalent sentiments but appears in exclusively unfavorable contexts. While, in fact, Mexicans were attacked *indiscriminately* in spite of apparel (of two hundred youths rounded up by the police on one occasion, very few were wearing zoot suits),¹⁴ the symbol "zoot-suiter" could become a basis for unambivalent community sentiment supporting hostile crowd behavior more easily than could "Mexican."

It is interesting to note that, when we consider only the fifteen mentions which appear in the first six months of 1943, ten are to zooters, three are negative-favorable, two are neutral, and none is the traditional favorable or unfavorable theme.

In Table 3 we report the results of the day-by-day analysis of the period immediately prior, during, and after the riots. It

shows the culmination of a trend faintly suggested as long as seven years before the riots and clearly indicated two or three years in advance. The traditional favorable and unfavorable themes have vanished completely, and three-quarters of the references center about the zooter theme.

From the foregoing evidence we conclude that our basic hypothesis and theory receive confirmation, but not exactly as anticipated. The simple expectation that there would be a shift in the relative preponderance of favorable and unfavorable contexts for the symbol "Mexican" was not borne out. But the basic hypothesis that an unambiguously unfavorable symbol is required as the rallying point for hostile crowd behavior is sup-

TABLE 3
DISTRIBUTION OF ALL THEMES FROM
MAY 20 TO JUNE 20, 1943

Theme	Percentage of All Mentions*
Favorable	0
Unfavorable	0
Neutral	3
Negative-favorable	23
Zooter	74
Total	100

* Total number = 61.

ported through evidence that the symbol "Mexican" tended to be displaced by the symbol "zoot-suiter" as the time of the riots drew near.

The conception of the romantic Mexican and the Mexican heritage is deeply ingrained in southern California tradition. The Plaza and Olvera Street in downtown Los Angeles, the Ramona tradition, the popularity of Mexican food, and many other features serve to perpetuate it. It seems quite probable that its force was too strong to be eradicated entirely, even though it ceased to be an acceptable matter of public presentation. In spite, then, of a progressive decline in public presentation of the symbol in its traditional favorable contexts, a certain ambivalence remained which prevented a

¹⁴ *Los Angeles Times*, June 9, 1943, Part I, p. A.

simple replacement with predominantly unfavorable connotations.

Rather, two techniques emerged for circumventing the ambivalence. One was the presenting of the object in an obvious manner without explicit use of the symbol. Thus a Mexican name, a picture, or reference to "East Side hoodlums" was presented in an unfavorable context. But a far more effective device was a new symbol whose connotations at the time were exclusively unfavorable. It provided the public sanction and restriction of attention essential to the development of overt crowd hostility. The symbol "zoot-suiter" evoked none of the imagery of the romantic past. It evoked only the picture of a breed of persons outside the normative order, devoid of morals themselves, and consequently not entitled to fair play and due process. Indeed, the zoot-suiter came to be regarded as such an exclusively fearful threat to the community that at the height of rioting the Los Angeles City Council seriously debated an ordinance making the wearing of zoot suits a prison offense.¹⁵

The "zooter" symbol had a crisis character which mere unfavorable versions of the familiar "Mexican" symbol never approximated. And the "zooter" symbol was an omnibus, drawing together the most reprehensible elements in the old unfavorable themes, namely, sex crimes, delinquency, gang attacks, draft-dodgers, and the like

and was, in consequence, widely applicable.

The "zooter" symbol also supplied a tag identifying the object of attack. It could be used, when the old attitudes toward Mexicans were evoked, to differentiate Mexicans along both moral and physical lines. While the active minority were attacking Mexicans indiscriminately, and frequently including Negroes, the great sanctioning majority heard only of attacks on zoot-suiters.

Once established, the zooter theme assured its own magnification. What previously would have been reported as an adolescent gang attack would now be presented as a zoot-suit attack. Weapons found on apprehended youths were now interpreted as the building-up of arms collections in preparation for zoot-suit violence.¹⁶ In short, the "zooter" symbol was a recasting of many of the elements formerly present and sometimes associated with Mexicans in a new and instantly recognizable guise. This new association of ideas relieved the community of ambivalence and moral obligations and gave sanction to making the Mexicans the victims of widespread hostile crowd behavior.

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¹⁶ For an interesting account relative to this point see Donald M. Johnson, "The Phantom Anesthetist of Mattoon: A Field Study of Mass Hysteria," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XL (April, 1945), 175-86.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, June 10, 1943, Part I, pp. 1, A.

SOME CONVERGENCES IN SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY*

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

ABSTRACT :

Certain theoretical formulations and research methods hitherto regarded as mutually divergent if not wholly incompatible are, in their more recent versions, strongly convergent. Parsons has declared that "it is possible to regard the categories of interaction process developed by Bales and the motivational paradigm developed by Parsons as, in all essentials, different ways of conceptualizing the same thing." Since Bales's categories are defined with some precision, it is now possible to compare the Parsons-Bales conceptual framework with that of Dodd and others. This reveals considerable apparent agreement among the systems.

I

This paper purposes to show that certain theoretical formulations and research approaches that have until recently been regarded as mutually hostile, if not wholly incompatible, are, according to the most recent statements of them, highly compatible and strongly convergent. Further, this convergence has been achieved mainly through an evolution of the principal schools of thought in the direction of the theory and methods of natural science.¹ This thesis is documented by references chiefly to the sociological theory and methods of Talcott Parsons and then of S. C. Dodd. Their convergence has brought into focus and perhaps to resolution some of the principal sociological arguments of the last two decades.

I have already called attention in another paper² to the coalescence during the past decade in personnel and in ideology in two leading graduate schools, namely, Columbia

and Harvard. I also called attention to the shift in certain quarters from skepticism regarding quantitative methods and especially sociological scales and related matters to an enthusiastic appreciation of the brilliant work of Lazarsfeld, Guttman, and Stouffer in precisely this field. In the present paper I will further illustrate this trend by an examination of the most recent statements of Parsons and his associates as found in *Working Papers in the Theory of Action*.³

The most general complaint against Parsons' theoretical formulations has been, as one writer has recently said, that it "frequently has been regarded as too difficult or overtly abstract for utilization in research."⁴ In view of this widely felt difficulty, the following statement must be regarded as of revolutionary import:

The essential relations which we wish to discuss are, with the exception of the involvement of symbolism, schematically represented in Figure 3 [of *Working Papers*]. This shows that it is possible to regard the categories of interaction process developed by Bales and the motivational paradigm developed by Parsons, as, in all essentials, different ways of conceptualizing the same thing. The mode of organization of the scheme revolves about the "functional problems of social systems" put forward by Bales, and the pattern variables of Parsons and Shils, put together in a specific combina-

³ T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), chap. iii.

⁴ N. S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), p. 239.

* Paper read at the American Sociological Society meetings, September, 1955.

¹ The term "natural science" is here used instead of "positivism" and "neopositivism" because of the ambiguity of the latter terms. On the other hand, the "theory and methods of natural science" can be relatively sharply defined, and are here defined, as the general position expounded in the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science*. For further discussion of this subject see my recent paper, "The Natural Science Trend in Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (November, 1955), 191-202.

² *Ibid.* In this paper I have dealt at some length also with the trend evident in the work of P. H. Fursey.

tion; the two in this context turning out to mean essentially the same thing.⁵

My reason for regarding the above statement of such major significance is that the identification of Parsons' terminology with Bales's categories gives us, I believe for the first time, operational specifications of the meaning of these terms. Bales's categories were developed in concrete, objective research and are subject to the usual empirical checks of reliability and validity. Accordingly, we have here for the first time the basic categories of a widely studied system defined operationally so that they can be used by different investigators with some assurance of their designating the same referents. That is, Bales and other properly trained observers can agree with considerable reliability that a given instance of interactional behavior is to be designated by one rather than another of his categories. Accordingly, they are wholly compatible with the neopositivists' requirements so far as definitions of categories are concerned. The possible larger usefulness of these particular categories in the development of sociological theory is another matter. That is a subject for future determination on the basis of results secured in actual research.

Before proceeding with a more detailed analysis of the parallels between the Parsons-Bales categories and those of Dodd, let us observe first how certain subsidiary problems that have been the subject of much controversy fall out or recede to the background as the more rigorous meaning of the categories is specified. Speaking of his twelve categories, Bales says:

The set of categories is held to form a logically exhaustive classification system. Every act that occurs is classified into one of the twelve categories. All of the categories are positively defined—that is, none of them is treated as a residual or wastebasket category for "left-overs." With competent observers and hard training, correlations between observers ranging from .75 to .95 can be obtained.⁶ Obviously, the old argument over operational definitions is here immediately relegated

to the background. Description and repeated observation of the interaction process by Bales's laboratory observers has required the factoring of the interaction and the rigorous specification of what segment of behavior is to be designated by a particular category. The specifications and delimitations prescribed for observers in the laboratory instructions *constitute* operational definitions of the categories.

And what about quantification? In the first place, if certain behavior occurs in varying degrees, quantitative symbols are convenient to designate degree. Also, after having observed and described a large number of group-interaction situations, the question of the frequency of recurrence and non-recurrence arises. Some well-established statistical methods are routinely invoked by Bales to answer these questions. New techniques to suit new types of observation will doubtless be developed from time to time. In short, the traditional argument about operational definitions and quantification, which at least one writer designates as major ingredients of a school of theory called neopositivism,⁷ is quietly taken care of as incidental in actual scientific work. They have nothing to do with substantive theory in any field of science but are generally accepted methods of scientific procedure. Accordingly, it is absurd to set them down as the special property or characteristic of neopositivism or any other sociological theory.

Operational definitions and quantitative techniques are not inherent in some schools of scientific thought and lacking in others. They are semantic techniques of more perfect or more precise communication, not subjects to be adopted or rejected at the outset according to what theory one decides to pursue. Thus, one by one, the major subjects of debate during the last two decades in sociological theory are quietly laid to rest

⁵ Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Morris Rosenberg (eds.), *The Language of Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), p. 349.

⁷ N. F. Timasheff, "Sociological Theory Today," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XI (March, 1950), 26.

⁶ Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

or reduced to their proper incidental significance. That is, when *predictability* is accepted as the criterion of scientific work, certain other questions become purely a matter of deciding what means and methods contribute most efficiently and reliably to the stipulated end. Operational definitions and quantitative techniques are, by this criterion, demonstrably most efficient. This does not mean either in sociology or in physics that all other concepts, including "primitive" and "literary" ones, are prohibited. They will continue to be used and will be defined with whatever degree of operationality is demanded by the results sought.

The same may be said of much of the other argument about the merits of different alleged "schools" of sociological theory. We hear about behaviorism, positivism, neopositivism, "functionalism," and, as a gratuitous insult to all the others, an "analytical" school.⁸ Parsons, for example, devotes a hundred pages in his *Structure of Social Action* to a discussion of positivism and assures us that "it will be maintained and the attempt made in considerable detail to prove that in this sense (*as a general framework for understanding human behavior*) *all of the variations of positivistic social thought constitute unlenable positions for both empirical and methodological reasons.*"⁹ To be sure, it never becomes very clear what the monstrous doc-

trine is or who represents the various categories and subcategories of it. But traditional notions of now largely mythical sociological "schools" still persist. Thus, Timasheff, writing in 1955, still finds at least three recognizable "elements" that characterize the neopositivist theoretical framework: "quantitativism," "behaviorism," and "pragmatic philosophy."¹⁰ By a sort of common consent, other characteristics which are usually also designated as characterizing this "school" are neglect of the "psychic component" and a preoccupation with or "aping" the natural sciences.

Consider now in the light of the above characterization the most recent exposition of their theory by Parsons and his associates. Even a cursory examination of chapter iii of *Working Papers* is illuminating from the point of view of what I have somewhat conservatively called "convergence" in sociological theory in the direction of positivism. The title alone of the Parsons-Bales chapter should be alarming to those who apparently believe that, if certain words used in chemistry or physics are also employed in sociology, it constitutes strong presumptive evidence that the author is a "natural science" sociologist who proposes "to force sociology into the framework of physics." Well, the title of the Parsons-Bales chapter in question reads "The Dimensions of Action-Space." Dodd's title, "Dimensions of Society" (1942), created agitation because it was felt in some circles that the word "dimensions," since it figures prominently in physics, cannot properly be used in sociology. Today it is permissible to speak of social dimensions, especially when we *measure* certain aspects or characteristics of social behavior. Sociologists today are interested in what one can do with a terminology or a framework, regardless of where it has come from. But, if the above be regarded as possibly merely an accident of terminology, consider the following statements toward the end of the chapter:

If all this, which frankly involves a speculative element at present, is correct, then it

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*, pp. 137-38.

⁸ N. F. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955), chap. viii. Timasheff classifies Parsons as among the "analytical" sociologists, the other representatives of which are Sorokin, MacIver, and Znaniecki. T. F. O'Dea ("The Sociology of Religion," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, June, 1954), however, attacks Parsons as a positivist.

⁹ T. Parsons, *The Structure of Social Action* (2d ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 42. (Italics in the original.) Parsons outlines (p. 79) two principal types of positivism, "radical" and "statistical," the latter with two subclasses, "individualistic" and "sociologistic," with four subcategories of the latter. How many varieties and subvarieties of "positivism" there may be and who may be their proponents I do not know. On the other hand, the philosophical foundations of natural science as expounded in the various monographs of the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* provide a relatively well-defined universe of discourse.

would seem likely that there is a very important analogy between the scheme we have developed in this paper and the classical mechanics. If this supposition stands up to critical testing of a variety of sorts, it is evident that it should turn out to have far-reaching implications in that it should open up possibilities of quantitative as well as qualitative systematization which are far beyond those which the sciences of action have yet attained.

For convenience we present succinct statements of the four generalized conditions of equilibrium or laws just reviewed as follows:

1. *The Principle of Inertia:* A given process of action will continue unchanged in rate and direction unless impeded or deflected by opposing motivational forces.
2. *The Principle of Action and Reaction:* If, in a system of action, there is a change in the *direction* of a process, it will tend to be balanced by a *complementary change which is equal in motivational force and opposite in direction*.
3. *The Principle of Effort:* Any change in the rate of an action process is directly proportional to the *magnitude* of the motivational force applied or withdrawn.
4. *The Principle of System-Integration:* Any *pattern* element (*mode of organization* of components) within a *system* of action will tend to be confirmed in its place within the system or to be eliminated from the system (extinguished) as a function of its contribution to the integrative balance of the system.¹¹

It will be seen that the first three of these proposed laws are identical with those of classical mechanics, and the fourth is definitely of the *same type*. I am not here concerned with validity or scientific value; I am merely interested in calling attention to the fact that, regardless of their merit, this is the type of formulation which fifteen years ago would have been greeted with howls of protest as representing attempts "to force sociology into the framework of physics." Yet it would be difficult to find more striking examples than these of a convergence of sociological theory and terminology in the direction of what has hitherto been called neopositivism, behaviorism, and "natural science."

Now the proponents of sociology as a natural science have never held that the terminology and methods or theories of other sciences were to be adopted in sociology *because* they had been found useful in other sciences. On the other hand, we have said, and we do say, that in our search for hypotheses and for suggestions regarding methods we will and should look first to the analogous problems which we have already successfully solved. A fairly substantial victory has been won for this point of view during the last fifteen years, and social scientists stand greatly to profit from it. Incidentally, in the above formulation Parsons and his associates have in effect returned to the cradle of positivism. Auguste Comte in his *Positive Philosophy* (1859) asserted that Newton's three laws of motion applied to social phenomena. It is true that his discussion of the point was more philosophical than mathematical. But Stuart C. Dodd as early as 1934 proposed definite operational methods of remedying the shortcoming by submitting the following formulation:

To paraphrase Newton's laws of motion in sociological terms gives:

1. Every group continues in its present status or social process until compelled by a force to change that status or process.

A version preferred by the writer as implying less of a metaphysical assumption and more of a simple agreement to standardize a definition is:

1. (a) Whatever changes the status of a group or its process in rate or direction is called a social force.
2. Change of rate of a social process is proportional to the social force and takes place along the line of the scale in which the force is measured.
3. Forces and their total resistances are equal and opposite.

These principles in social terms are not seen as postulates of the ultimate metaphysical nature of society and its functioning. They are modestly viewed as simple proposals to standardize the meaning of social force and the units for measuring it. . . . Force thus is not a thing nor an active agent as it is in the popular view. Scientifically it is *that which* produces a meas-

¹¹ Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3.

ured effect. It is a pure invented concept justified by its usefulness in dealing with phenomena. If this is understood, forces may be spoken of as political forces, or economic forces, or psychological forces, etc. as convenient designations of the agencies producing forces, *i.e.*, stimulating people to respond.¹²

It is unnecessary to elaborate upon the striking similarity between Dodd's formulation and that by Parsons and his associates as given above. It is of great interest to note,

the theoretical positions of Parsons and Dodd. Fortunately, in this case we need not become involved in any controversy as to who was influenced by whom, because each author readily grants his inability to read the other's works, at least until recently.

Since Bales has provided the key to a more objective understanding of Parsons' categories, a more detailed comparison now may be made between them and the categories of Dodd.

CHART I

A COMPARISON OF THE GENERAL CATEGORIES OF PARSONS AND DODD

Parsons' <i>Action</i> *	Dodd's <i>Transact</i> †
1. <i>Actors</i>	1. <i>People</i> (Who?)
a) Individuals or collectivities	a) Persons or groups
b) Subject-object	b) Actors-reactors
2. <i>Situation</i>	2. <i>Time, space, and residual factors</i>
a) Social objects (persons and groups)	a) Symbolic factors (including symbols of persons and groups)
b) Non-social objects (physical and cultural)	b) Material factors (physical and cultural)
3. <i>Orientation of (1) to (2)</i>	3. <i>Actions and values</i> ‡ (orientation relating [1] to [2]) (Doing what? Why?)
a) Motivational orientation: cognitions, cathexis, evaluative modes	a) Motivational orientation—actions (in knowing, feeling, doing modes)
b) Value orientations: cognitive, appreciative, moral	b) Value orientation—standards or desiderata in knowing, feeling, doing modes

* See T. Parsons, E. A. Shils, *et al.*, *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), pp. 56–60. Also T. Parsons, R. F. Bales, and E. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), chap. iii, esp. pp. 162–72.

† See S. C. Dodd, *Systematic Social Science* ("Social Science Series," No. 16 [Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1947]). Also S. C. Dodd, "A Predictive Theory of Opinion," read at the American Sociological Society meetings, September, 1953.

‡ The six categories italicized represent Dodd's basic factors of a *transact*, or the chief *classes of dimensions* of any social situation. We have attempted to fit Dodd's categories into Parsons' rather than vice versa, in which case the presentation of Dodd's system would be somewhat different, as indicated in the works cited.

however, that much of the tremendously elaborate and voluminous work of Parsons can in the end be distilled into this historic formulation. This is not to minimize the importance of the steps, however circuitous they may seem, by which Parsons arrived at this conclusion. It is the possibility of the translation, as admitted by Parsons, that is important.

II

I have been concerned above with certain large and general trends and convergences in

Chart I shows the principal parallels between the *general* systems of Parsons and Dodd. The texts referred to corroborate the validity of the parallelism exhibited in Chart I—a parallelism which seems genuine and striking.

When we turn to a more detailed comparison of the Bales-Parsons-Dodd categories as applied to the highly restricted and simple laboratory situation for which Bales's categories were adopted, the parallels may be less clear because each author uses brief, general terms from folk language to designate aspects or dimensions of quite complex social situations. The parallelism between the Bales-Parsons categories, as attested by them, is exhibited in Figure 3 of their *Work-*

¹² S. C. Dodd, *A Controlled Experiment on Rural Hygiene in Syria* (Beirut, Lebanon: American Press, 1934), pp. 216–17. See also his *Dimensions of Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 744, where essentially the same formulation is repeated.

ing *Papers* (p. 74). In our Chart II we compare the categories of Bales and Dodd. As Chart II shows, Dodd's categories are generated by cross-classifying two generalized dimensions, viz.: (a) action in three modes (doing, feeling, knowing) against (b) interaction in four degrees (positive in two degrees and negative in two degrees). The parallels in the meaning of the categories will be more striking in some cases than in others, but it must be remembered that the full equivalence (or lack thereof) can be exhibited only after a full exposition of each system and the specific meaning adopted by each author for the terms employed in the chart. Also it must be noted that the *gener-*

ality of Dodd's categories, as compared with those of Bales, which are adapted to a specific laboratory situation, necessarily results in considerable disparity of terminology especially when terms are taken apart from their context as in Chart II. The same is true also of the Parsons-Bales categories. The degree of actual correspondence in the three systems deserves more intensive inquiry.

Since the experimental situation for which Bales developed his categories is highly circumscribed and controlled, their adequacy for more complex and general situations is as yet undetermined. The more comprehensive systems of Parsons and

CHART II

CONVERGENCE OF INTERACTION CATEGORIES BETWEEN BALES AND DODD (AND PARSONS)

			MODES OF SPEECH BEHAVIOR					
			"I DO ..."		"I FEEL ..."		"I KNOW ..."	
			DODD	BALES	DODD	BALES	DODD	BALES
INTEGRATIVE INTERACTION	POSITIVE	STRONG	Strongly integrative doing	1 Shows solidarity	Strongly integrative feeling	2 Shows tension release	Strongly integrative knowing	3 Agrees
		WEAK	Weakly integrative doing	4 Gives suggestion	Weakly integrative feeling	5 Gives opinion	Weakly integrative knowing	6 Gives orientation
	NEGATIVE	WEAK	Weakly disintegrative doing	9 Asks for suggestion	Weakly disintegrative feeling	8 Asks for opinion	Weakly disintegrative knowing	7 Asks for orientation
		STRONG	Strongly disintegrative doing	12 Shows antagonism	Strongly disintegrative feeling	11 Shows tension	Strongly disintegrative knowing	10 Disagrees

Dodd profess, of course, to provide a framework for the analysis of any human social situation whatever. Most of Parsons' work deals with these more general situations, and Dodd has experimented with the applicability of his categories to very much broader social contexts as described in his published research.¹³ More to the point in the present comparison is Dodd's application of his categories to original behavior situations.¹⁴

Incidentally, both systems achieve a high degree of parsimony in that Parsons and Bales have only twelve categories which are held to be logically exhaustive, whereas

Dodd proposes eight concepts, one of which, however, is residual. The system claims to provide a parsimonious way of describing in terms of eight basic concepts, and in other derivative concepts defined in terms of the original eight, the sociological essence of any situation represented by such a question as "Who does what, why, when, where, and how?" Bales's categories have so far been applied only to the communicative aspects of a group discussion under laboratory conditions. Their validity in larger and more varied situations remains to be demonstrated.

It is not the primary purpose of the present paper to attempt prematurely to evaluate one set of categories as against another: that will come about incidentally as research and experiment continue. We are interested here primarily in calling attention to a considerable fundamental parallelism in two systems hitherto assumed by many to represent incompatible systems.

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¹³ See the material analyzed in Dodd, *Dimensions of Society*.

¹⁴ For examples see the following: "Dimensions of a Poll," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, Vol. III, No. 3 (fall, 1949); "On All-or-None Elements and Mathematical Models for Sociologists," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XVII, No. 2 (April, 1952); "Can the Social Scientist Serve Two Masters?" *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, Vol. XXI, No. 3 (September, 1953); and "A Predictive Theory of Opinion" (forthcoming).

THE EFFECT ON ACADEMIC GOODS OF THEIR MARKET

WARREN G. BENNIS

ABSTRACT

The growth of large-scale research organizations, sponsored by foundations and other private bodies, has made these research groups sensitive to their market. When the attitudes toward work among social scientists on two research projects with contrasting financial outlooks were compared, it was found that those on the project with tenuous and unstable financing maintained a market orientation, while those on the financially secure project were oriented to the task.

Research in the physical sciences is perhaps more certain to be directed toward useful ends than research in humanistic fields, because the former is most commonly carried on in organized laboratories, where consultation is almost inevitable and a consensus of opinion as to what is worthwhile is easily formed, and has its effect on the investigator, whereas in most humanistic and social subjects the researcher can work in comparative isolation.—J. FRANKLIN JAMESON¹ (1927).

As the design engineers in an industry feel harried by the demands and expectations of product engineers who want to produce, and the sales engineers who want to sell, so the design engineers of social science are under the pressures just indicated from the production and sales staff who insist on putting on the social science assembly line what is still necessarily in the handicraft and mock-up stage. In many quarters, the promoters of social science have aroused such unfillable expectations as to risk a disillusioning bust of the whole enterprise.—DAVID RIESMAN.²

In less than two decades we have seen the emergence in the United States of a new industry: the organized production of new social knowledge. While Slichter and other economists cite the rise of industrial, mostly physical, research as one of the main developments in the national economy, the use of teams of social scientists working on practical problems has turned social research into a million-dollar business.³ Although comprehensive and comparable statistical data on the growth of social science research are non-existent, certain clues indicate the magnitude of this development: (1) The combined expenditures for social research of

the twenty largest universities in 1928 would probably support only one present-day university research organization.⁴ (2) While the

⁴ Ogg, *op. cit.*, reported that the following universities spent under \$350,000 on social research in 1926-27: California, Chicago, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Harvard, Yale, Columbia, Johns Hopkins, and Cornell. The total budget of the research organization which will be described here is larger; indeed, it maintains the largest budget in the College of Social Studies.

For accounts of the growth of expenditures in social science, see H. Alpert, "National Science Foundation," *American Sociological Review*, XIX, No. 2 (1954), 208; R. G. Axt, *Federal Government and Financing Higher Education* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952); B. Barber, *Science and the Social Order* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), p. 132; W. G. Bennis, "The Structure of Social Science: An Organizational Study" (paper read at the American Sociological Society Annual Meetings, Urbana, Ill., September 9, 1954), pp. 2-3; L. P. Lessing, "National Science Foundation Takes Stock," *Scientific American*, March, 1954; *Federal Funds for Science: National Science Foundation, 1950-52* (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office).

¹ Cited in F. A. Ogg, *Research in the Humanistic and Social Sciences* (New York and London: Century Co., 1928), p. 17.

² "Observations on Social Science Research," from *Individualism Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), p. 475.

³ Sumner Slichter, address at the Business Executive Conference at the University of Omaha, Omaha, Nebraska, May 15, 1953.

government disbursed practically no funds for social research twenty-five years ago, in 1952 eleven million dollars was spent on psychological research alone. (3) The National Science Foundation estimates that a hundred million dollars was spent on research in the social sciences in 1953.

Perhaps the most important circumstances in stimulating large-scale programs of research are the increased specialization of the social disciplines which has created a need for interdisciplinary and team research,⁵ the magnitude of world problems, the proved usefulness of social science findings for policy-makers, the availability of large sums of money from foundations and the United States government, and the quantifiability of social data. These developments have created sweeping changes in the structure of social research. A new type of intellectual organization is emerging, replete with big budgets and the growing pains of managerial responsibility. The purpose of this paper is to examine an organization which has been under study by the author for over fifteen months and describe its chief organizational syndrome: exposure to market forces.

The organization, the "Hub," is located in a large university, is under the jurisdiction of its College of Social Studies, and is equivalent to an academic department. Its growth was spurred both to strengthen the social sciences at the university and to offer social scientists the opportunity to influence the nature of American foreign policy by tackling problems of major interest to the government. Hence its main activity centers around international affairs and economic development.

⁵ The Russell Sage Foundation, Brookings Institution, and the Social Science Research Council stress this development as one of the most significant in the social sciences in the last two decades. See M. Graham, *Federal Utilization of Social Science* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1954), pp. 18-21; *Effective Use of Social Science Research in the Federal Services* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1950), p. 21; *The Social Sciences in Historical Study* (Social Science Research Council Bulletin 64 [1954], pp. 31-33).

The total personnel numbers about eighty-five: twelve equivalent to full or associate professors, twenty-six research associates, twenty research assistants (chiefly graduate students), twenty-two secretaries, and four administrative assistants. These persons are connected with one or the other of two main research projects: a Development program to examine three countries with contrasting geographical and economic environments and a Communications program to study the interaction of words, impressions, and ideas which affect the attitudes and behavior of different peoples toward one another. Each program has its own director who attempts to co-ordinate the activities of the staff prescribed by the research goals.

The Hub is almost completely dependent upon outside financing by a large private foundation.⁶ An indication of the anxiety concerning the granting of funds was shown in the Hub's 1953-54 Annual Report, the first sentence of which reads: "The most important event in the life of the Hub last year was the receipt at the year-end of a substantial grant from the foundation for the conduct of research. This grant removed a major uncertainty which had hovered over a major portion of the Hub's forward planning. . . ."

The program on Communications has been established with a four-year grant, while that on Development has been awarded a grant on a year-to-year basis. While even four years is short, considering the gestation period of research, the Development project was threatened by the yearly scrutiny of the foundation and by its annual uncertainties. For the preceding two years the foundation had not announced the grant until the end of May.

⁶ Since the field work for this paper was completed, i.e., during the very early days of the organization's life, important changes have been made toward a more permanent footing of research projects. The Hub director and other officers, fully aware of the problems of tenuous short-term financing, submitted a proposal urging a long-term commitment, and a five-year grant was issued by the foundation just as this study was closing.

MARKET VERSUS TASK ORIENTATION

One chief conception of work in a research organization varies with the degree of control the organization maintains over exogenous forces—in this particular case, market forces. Where financial security provides protection from the market, the organization and the scientists within it are safe from the vagaries of the market. This situation we call "task-orientation." Where there is little protection from the market place, the organization becomes intimately concerned with financial matters. Attention, for sheer sake of survival, is diverted from the task to the sponsors of research. This we call "market-orientation."

Unless there is some degree of insulation from competitive and market pressures on the science organization, professional standards are likely to be lowered, if not entirely rejected. In industrial laboratories, firms with large research budgets and some modicum of protection from the market have an opportunity to offer their scientists more freedom and hence more opportunities for "pure" research.⁷ If the market structure of a particular project is insecure and tenuous, the individual researcher faces a peculiar type of role conflict: duty as a scientist *qua* scientist and the demands of the market. Putting it differently, he is torn between organizational demands and his own professional demands. Hans Zinnser once described how the competitive milieu affects scientific performance in medical work:

It puts a premium upon quantitative productiveness, spectacular achievement and practical success, which will bring administrative applause, often because of its advertising value in institutional competition. These tendencies, to be fair, are in every university known to be resisted by the men who have the determining influence; but the psychology of the situation is too logical to be offset by individual idealism, the natural pressure too strong.⁸

⁷ W. Bennis, "Role Conflict and Market Structure" (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953) (mimeographed).

⁸ Cited in L. Wilson, *Academic Man* (Oxford University Press, 1942), pp. 206-7.

The thesis presented here is that the Development program, because of its tenuous financing, is market-oriented while the Communications program is task-oriented. How was this difference in forces (market structure) reflected in the data?

THE PROBLEMS

One of the questions asked of all Hub researchers in the course of an interview was "What do you consider the three main problems of research at the Hub?" The 186 responses were then categorized in five classes: organizational, external, substantive, bureaucratic, and interpersonal. We are concerned here with the "external problems" category, which deals specifically with those issues concerned exclusively with "instability and uncertainty due to precarious relations with the sponsor of research." Almost 30 per cent of the total responses fell into this category. The Communications staff made the fewest responses in this category (four times) and when they did, barely mentioned the foundation. The following representative responses were made by the Development staff:

"I would take a job at X college in preference to the Hub based not on criteria of teaching over research but just that the Hub's future is not as certain as X college."

"One of the major problems here has been and continues to be the uncertainty of the budget. You have to know the scale of funds before you can plan. We got only a fraction of what we had planned for. Now we're looking for other funds, etc. We cannot recruit too well because we cannot make a firm offer. If we had a budget—a firm budget—we would have no personnel problems."

"The main problem here is doing research and justifying ourself to the foundation. The thing that's annoyed me the most is that we spend so much time looking at our navel without doing anything—except justifying our existence."

"The main problem is the uncertain environment. This is an uneasy life . . . tougher than a real university life . . . this time-uncertainty

and shoestring operation. If I were given dough when I first came here—say so many thousand per annum, I may have hired not *better* people but people more akin to project needs.”

“I have to spend up to 25 per cent of my time working on the foundation submission.”

“The tightest pressure I’ve felt is the annual soul-seaching with the foundation. I’ve been through it two years now and it wears me out.”

“Ever since January, tension has been awful. Everyone has been watching, waiting, and, in general, usurping valuable time because of the terrible fear of not getting the contract renewed because of budget cuts. This takes a large part of group conversation.”

ing over the speaker, there was a cloudlike “bubble” over another member’s head. Subjects were also asked to supply a response in this space to the speaker’s statement but to consider it an unspoken, private thought. Thus, with a device borrowed from the cartoonist, it was possible to derive public or “overt” responses as well as private or “covert” reactions. Of nineteen overt statements, seventeen dealt specifically with the question of grants. Moreover, Table 1 shows that in their covert remarks thirteen subjects revealed anxiety about financing.

Again there was a clear distinction between responses from the Communications project and those from Development. Of the

TABLE 1
ATTITUDES TOWARD FOUNDATION
(N=25)

Overt Response		Covert Response	
Grant was awarded	8	Insecurity from uncertainty	13
Grant was cut	9	Hostile to foundation	3
Other	2	Personal insecurity stemming from fragile situation	7
Total	19	Total	23

“I’VE JUST RECEIVED WORD FROM THE
FOUNDATION THAT . . .”

Few members of the Hub, according to responses to a cartoon,⁹ were free of anxiety concerning relations with the foundation. In point of fact, of the eighteen cartoons used, the one dealing with foundation relations attracted the second highest responses, twenty-five completions. This particular cartoon depicted five men seated around a table, one of whom is shown saying, “I’ve just received word from the foundation that. . .” Those interviewed were asked to complete the statement of the speaker by filling in the space above the speaker’s head. In addition to the straight-line box extend-

seven responses showing “severe” insecurity in the covert box, six were made by Development personnel. By “severe” we mean that the individual voiced serious personal problems as a result of foundation vagaries, such as: “My job will be lost” or “Whew! Another year accounted for. . . At last.” This is not to say that the Communications staff was unconcerned about the foundation. But, judging from their responses, they tended to react more *aggressively* to the foundation. At the same time they were less worried about *personal* insecurities and more concerned with having “to revise my work” or deleting research problems of great interest. In short, while the Development staff was anxious about the possible loss of a job, the Communications group was concerned with the research goals. Examples of cartoon responses are shown in Table 2.

In addition to the data presented here the effects of the situation upon project functioning were reflected in the Communica-

⁹ These cartoons evolved out of the problem areas mentioned by Hub members in the initial interviews. The most prominent problems were reduced to simple sketches which allowed for “projections” by the subjects. The original impetus for the use of cartoons was made by H. A. Shepard, and June Moyer is responsible for the drawing.

tions program in the following ways: (1) more perceived freedom and scope for the staff member; (2) less time spent in writing up research proposals and progress reports; (3) greater satisfaction with the work in progress.¹⁰ Perhaps equally important was the impression gained that more frequent offhand, somewhat parenthetical allusions to the foundation were made by the Development program. Many of these remarks were humorous. It can be argued that they were a mechanism for dealing with tension. This argument is strengthened by the fact that there seemed to be an increase

lems of development would cost, found that it would break the foundation, so we cut it down a little."

"Why are we studying X country? Well, the last time this came up we had to hunt around for a slip of paper. Unfortunately today I couldn't find that, so I have to give you my own ideas for it. Where is the submission?"

Usually one does not think of knowledge and research findings in terms of the pricing mechanism, but it does offer insight in understanding the difficulties of organized research. Because of methods of financing, the Development group was in a more "com-

TABLE 2
OVERT AND COVERT RESPONSES TO CARTOON

OVERT	COVERT
Communications Program Responses	
"... they'll give us half the money we asked for."	"Oh God! Some jerks have no sense of the realities of life. We'll either have to get more money or revise our objectives completely."
"... have cut our grant in half."	"There goes our non-economic research!" "Here we go! Another 'revision.'"
Development Program Responses	
"The Development grant will probably come up for action at the May meeting of the Board of Directors."	"How can you run a research outfit with all this uncertainty and delay? That foundation is all 'snafu'd' and unless they get straightened out they're not going to measure up to X or Y foundations—no matter how much money they have."
"We will not be given a final answer to our submission until mid-summer. By that it seems as if our request will be cut in part even if finally accepted."	"Planning research under foundation sponsorship is uncertain!"
"They are greatly pleased with our plans and will cut our request only by 75%."	"We still got away with murder! (Will I keep my job?)"
"They will continue the present subsidies through the coming year."	"I'm delighted. That means my own subsidization will continue unimpaired."

in these remarks as the time drew near for the foundation decision. The following are examples:

STAFF MEMBER (*pointing to foundation proposal which is nearing completion*): "There it is—about seven thousand dollars a page. . . . We have talked of matters serious—but of that—it is a matter of life and death."

(*Backing up intellectual point*): "All I'm saying is what our submission to the foundation says."

CHAIRMAN OF SEMINAR: "Well, that settles it!"

"We sent off the submission to the foundation and, after we totaled up what all the prob-

petitive" position than was the Communications group, which was protected from the market forces for at least four years. While the latter was aware of the foundation's importance, the Development personnel saw the foundation as a towering, overshadowing Jehovah. (One of the Development directors once substituted the name of the foundation in the phrase, "God willing!") Each year during the last two years, with

¹⁰ These data were taken from the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation, "The Social Science Research Organization: A Study of the Institutional Practices and Values in Interdisciplinary Research" (Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Department of Economics and Social Science, 1955).

growing intensity from January to May, the question asked by the Development personnel has been, "Will the funds come through?" More indirectly, "What does the foundation want from us?" Or "How can we make our research proposals so attractive that we can get funds other institutions won't get?"

Without stretching the analogy, there was a good deal of concern with a form of market activity, "product differentiation." This was evidenced when a project group from the Hub visited a neighboring research group financed by the same foundation and working on the same country. The latent function of this trip, it can be argued, was to look over the "competitor," to insure the marketing of a unique and more appealing product. The effects of the anxiety over uncertain economic returns were reflected in various ways. At times it took the form of advanced gamesmanship, that is, how to impress the foundation and still keep the research plans fluid. As one member put it: "They [the foundation] want a research proposal now, but, after all, our hypotheses will come only after six months or so." Indeed, one of the most important functions of the Hub director was to keep a balance between the pressures of exogenous influences (demands of the country under study, foundation, users of research) and the pressures made upon him by individual researchers to keep insulated from market demands.

¶ Another effect of the uncertain environment was the attitude toward the foundation. In reality the foundation exerted no pressure on the substantive efforts of the Hub. However, social and objective realities in this case were not consonant. Thus various individuals felt that the foundation placed unbearable constraints on research proposals; that the main problem at the Hub, as one member quoted before said, "was doing research and having to justify ourself to the foundation."

We see here a tendency, not uncommon in an organized milieu, to project blame upward and away.¹¹ This tendency may be exacerbated in social research, where uncertainty and the unknown are daily companions, where physical and social comparisons are ambiguous, and where authority is not definite. Hence the foundation, much as in the other cases, the civil service or "bureaucracy," may be made the scapegoat.

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¹¹ Paula Brown's study of a government laboratory indicates that people tend to attack and blame the far-off civil service and that there is a "reluctance to accept responsibility for making decisions easily rationalized." Thus the projection of blame upward ("Bureaucracy in a Government Laboratory," *Social Forces*, XXXII, No. 3 [March, 1954], 266). For a laboratory experiment showing somewhat similar social processes see L. Festinger, "A Theory of Social Comparison Processes," *Human Relations*, VII, No. 2 (May 1954), 119.

A NOTE ON RIESMAN'S *THE LONELY CROWD*

RUDOLF HEBERLE

ABSTRACT

Riesman's theory, relating three types of "directedness" to phases in the growth of population, is criticized, and it is suggested that "other-directedness" be linked to migratory mobility rather than to "incipient population decline."

David Riesman's three categories of "directedness" are nearly identical with Max Weber's types of orientation of social action: traditional, value rational (Riesman's "inner-directed"), and purposive rational (*zweckrational*).

Riesman's first category is precisely what Max Weber means by traditional orientation. The "inner-directed" person follows his moral gyroscope in the pursuit of goals which he perceives as valuable because his inner voice tells him they are. The "other-directed person" chooses a given way of acting because he is anxious to receive the approval of others—this is, at least, one kind of purposive-rational conduct. Riesman emphasizes that his concepts are constructs, *types*; that a person can be more or less inner- or other-directed (he is little concerned with tradition, for reasons to be discussed later), and that people cannot be pigeonholed in these categories. In other words, his concepts are meant as ideal types—and so are Max Weber's.

Around these concepts, Riesman builds a *theory of history*. In this respect, he differs from Weber. The latter was certainly concerned about the increasing rationalization of society and culture; he was sharply aware of the disenchantment (*Entzauberung*) of the world; but he did not risk the attempt, inevitably futile, of constructing periods of history on the basis of *psychological* categories.

Riesman's theorem soon gets him into trouble, from which he tries to escape by conceding that even in our age of other-directedness there is still room for inner-directed people; that, in fact, the other-

directed personalities are still the exception, occurring most frequently in the metropolitan upper-middle classes, while rural and provincial city people are still, as a rule, tradition- or inner-directed. The weakest part of Riesman's theory is his effort to link his three types of directedness with the three major phases of population movement. In fairness, we must admit that Riesman introduces his theorem with modesty and caution: "Let me point out . . . that I am not concerned here with making the detailed analysis that would be necessary before one could prove that a link exists between population phase and character type."¹

He intends to use the "curve of population" (*sic*) theory "as a kind of shorthand" for such words as "industrialism," "folk society," "monopoly capitalism," "urbanization," "rationalization," and so on.² Since every one of these terms in his shorthand denotes a different problem-complex, Riesman might have achieved more convincing results by discarding them.

Despite the reservations, he believes in the existence of a "link" between population phases and his character types which "detailed analysis" would expose.

Riesman does not specify whether the "link" is of a causal nature, a functional relationship, or whether it is merely coincidence in time; however, his phrasing suggests an indirect causal relationship; "the society of transitional population growth develops in its typical members a social

¹ *The Lonely Crowd* (Anchor Books edition), p. 23.

² *Ibid.*

character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to acquire early in life an internalized set of goals . . . the society of incipient population decline develops in its typical members a social character whose conformity is insured by their tendency to be sensitized to the expectations and preferences of others. . . ."³ How this comes about, we are not told; presumably the explanation is reserved for "the detailed analysis."

A causal connection, or any kind of "link," would presuppose some degree of co-ordination in time of the two phenomena.

Riesman lets the phase of "transitional population growth" in the West begin in the seventeenth century. It would have been more correct to put it a hundred years later; in any case, the age of "inner-directedness" which we usually designate as the age of individualism was well under way since the fifteenth century, as manifested in the Renaissance and in the Reformation.

Riesman's phase of "incipient population decline" began about 1878—if not earlier, as in France. In other words, it began when the "inner-directed" characters in the urban upper and middle classes had their heyday. They were the very first to resort to effective and more or less methodical contraception. Obviously somehow Riesman's periodizations do not fit the facts.

To pursue the argument further would go beyond the scope of this note. Riesman could, however, have linked his other-directed type to the demographic phenomenon of migratory mobility. He could have shown how migration may affect the structure of a society as well as the system of values and norms, i.e., the codes of conduct.⁴ This we shall presently explain. But first we must consider a hypothesis which reverses Riesman's postulates, i.e., the possibility that changes in values and attitudes may influence the pattern of population growth.

The rapid population increase in the

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ R. Heberle, *Über die Mobilität der Bevölkerung in den Vereinigten Staaten* (Jena: G. Fischer Verlag, 1929).

West can be regarded, in part, as made possible by the increasing emancipation of Western man from traditionalistic codes of conduct and from the social bonds of *Gemeinschaft*. It is also fairly obvious that the new attitudes of rationalism and individualism which characterize Riesman's "inner-directed" type facilitated the adoption of contraceptive practices and thus initiated the phase of incipient population decline.⁵

Less evident is the relation between Riesman's "other-directedness" and the population movement. Frankly, I cannot see how this character type could be either the product or a causal factor of the phase of incipient population decline, except that the urge to live up to the standard of living of one's social stratum may be an important motive in resorting to birth control. But, on the other hand, I can see very clearly a causal connection between "other-directedness" and migratory mobility and vertical social mobility. We may consider first the latter. The fear to be "conspicuous" (Riesman, p. 105), to appear "unconventional" or "old-fashioned," the strong urge to conform to certain standards of overt behavior, the dependence or approval by one's peer group—these are very striking characteristics of American middle-class people. It is also most likely that this "other-directedness" has become more predominant in recent decades, because the proportion of people who are dependent upon employment by others (the "white-collar" workers) has increased in the middle classes. This, of course, is true also of Europe where "other-directedness" is not so striking.

The difference between Europe and the United States is probably that a much larger proportion of white-collar workers in the United States has risen socially from the classes of manual workers, including farmers, and are newcomers to urban middle-class society. Feeling insecure, like most newcomers, they are anxious

⁵ R. Heberle, "Social Factors of Birth Control," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1941), 794-805.

to conform and in the desire to rise further, or to see their children rise, they increase their efforts.

Migration and migratory mobility are other factors. They probably have much greater weight in the United States than in Europe. There can be no doubt about the extremely high migratory mobility among middle-class people in the United States. Even the sample reports of the United States Bureau of the Census, which by no means cover all migratory movements, show an astounding frequency of moving between one community and another.

The relation between migratory mobility and conformity due to other-directedness can be arrived at by theoretical reasoning. Let us compare a society in which people tend to stay for generations in the same community or region with one in which they move frequently in their own lifetime and their migrations cover large distances. In the latter society, a large proportion in each community will be newcomers, "strangers" (Simmel) to each other. One does not know from what kind of family one's neighbors or one's colleagues come, or to what social class their parents belonged, or what they themselves have done

in the past. They cannot be placed in a familiar social category except by observing and evaluating their manifest conduct or overt behavior. No wonder, then, that under these conditions everybody desires to appear at his best and to win the approval of others by conforming to the observable standards.

In a society with low migratory mobility, people are known to one another for longer periods of time and not only as individuals but also as members of kinship groups and of social sets with local prestige and established reputations. Their idiosyncrasies and eccentricities are known and often taken for granted. The pressure to conform is not as strong as in a society of high migratory mobility. This applies especially to members of the prominent families who can afford to engage in a certain measure of non-conformist conduct without damage to their prestige. In the United States we find approximations of this society in New England and in the Deep South, and it is here, according to literary sources and my own observation, that pressure for conformity in the upper middle classes is not by far as strong as, for example, in the Middle West.

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HOMICIDE AND SOCIAL CONTACT IN DENMARK

KAARE SVALASTOGA

ABSTRACT

A sample of Danish killers chose their victims within their circle of relatives or acquaintances in nine cases out of every ten. This ratio revealed no significant change from the prewar to the postwar years in spite of a growing tendency to kill. The rarity of strangers as victims obtained regardless of whether the killer survived and was rated normal or abnormal or whether he committed suicide.

INTRODUCTION

Research on the determinants of various forms of attraction has uncovered the central importance of physical distance. The reduction of social attraction with increase of distance is reported from studies of migration,¹ of neighborhood interaction,² and of marriage.³

There seems to be considerable basis for the research hypothesis that social attraction as a first approximation can be conceived of as varying directly with the sizes of the interacting social units (P_1 and P_2)

¹ E. G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," *Journal of the Statistical Society*, XLVIII (1885), 198-99; Donald J. Bogue and Warren S. Thompson, "Migration and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (April, 1949), 236-44; Torben Agersnap, "Studier i indre vandringer i Danmark" ("Studies on Internal Migrations in Denmark"), *Acta Jutlandica* (Copenhagen), XXIV (Suppl. B) (1952), 46-49.

² Robert K. Merton, *The Social Psychology of Housing: Current Trends in Social Psychology* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948), pp. 163-217; Theodore Caplow and Robert Forman, "Neighborhood Interaction in a Homogeneous Community," *American Sociological Review*, XV (June, 1950), 357-66; Leon Festinger *et al.*, *Social Pressure in Informal Groups* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950). Dependence of neighborhood interaction on distance was further documented by the author in a sociometric analysis (1951) of one semi-urban Norwegian neighborhood and in nine Danish neighborhoods (Kaare Svalastoga, "Nabointeraktion" [Copenhagen, 1954] [mimeographed; summary in English]).

³ Alfred C. Clarke, "An Examination of the Operation of Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Mate Selection," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (February, 1952), 17-22.

and indirectly with some power of their distance (L):

$$I = \frac{kP_1P_2}{L^n},$$

with n varying from about 1 to about 2, depending upon the characteristics of the situation.⁴ Other research workers have pointed out the positive correlation between social attraction and familiarity or degree of mutual knowledge.⁵

From these two lines of evidence the conclusion seems often to be drawn that friendship or, at any rate, toleration between indi-

⁴ George Kingsley Zipf, "The P_1P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons," *American Sociological Review*, XI (December, 1946), 677-86; Joseph A. Cavanaugh, "Formulation, Analysis, and Testing of the Interaction Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, XV (December, 1950), 763-66; Stuart Carter Dodd, "The Interaction Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 245-56. Agersnap (*op. cit.*) found that $n = 1.4$ and $n = 1.8$ gave best fits, respectively, for migration (to the city of Aarhus) from rural communes with and from those without a railroad station. The author found in the previously cited Norwegian study that the number of actually observed mutual visiting relations among 62 neighbors, when divided by maximal number of visiting relations possible for given distance, bore a close relationship to the inverse distance with $n = 1.06$ ($r = 0.99$; number of correlated observations, 7). Distance was measured by walking through the entire neighborhood and counting number of steps between gates.

⁵ See Arnold M. Rose, *Studies in Reduction of Prejudice* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1947), pp. 12-14; see also G. Murphy, L. B. Murphy, and T. M. Newcomb, *Experimental Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1937), p. 995.

viduals or social groups can be promoted merely by moving them closer to each other and/or by increasing their mutual familiarity.⁶ However, while much research is still needed on the phenomenon, a wealth of common-sense data and a few scientific findings seem to support the view that repulsion, like attraction, is favored by nearness and/or by familiarity (compare Coulomb's laws).⁷

HYPOTHESIS AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

Guided by these theoretical considerations, the author deduced the hypothesis that

⁶ See Otto Klineberg, *Tensions Affecting International Understanding* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 62 [New York: Social Science Research Council, 1950]), p. 142.

⁷ George A. Lundberg and Lenore Dickson, "Inter-ethnic Relations in a High-School Population," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (July, 1952), 1-10.

A prominent Greenlander writes as follows about one result of Danish-Eskimo contacts: "Everything considered, it is probably impossible to escape the conclusion that people of mixed white-colored heritage are not enjoying good standing in the world. We need only refer to the mestizos and mulattoes in the United States, who may rank a little higher than the unmixed Indian or the unmixed Negro but far below the white American. The concept 'Greenlander' covers all nuances from the pure Eskimo to the 99 per cent Dane, physically and mentally considered, but he [the latter] is not recognized as a Dane. He is and remains a Greenlander, perhaps not quite an Eskimo, but still a colored man who is inferior to the Dane" (translated from a citation appearing in a newspaper article by Knud Oldendow, former head of the Danish Greenland Administration; the article appeared in the Danish daily *Socialdemokraten*, November 20, 1952, pp. 8-9, and is entitled "Grønlanderiden idag" ["The Greenlander Today"]).

A survey made in certain North Carolina counties revealed that 87 per cent of white slayers killed white persons and that 92 per cent of Negro slayers killed Negroes (Louis I. Dublin and Mortimer Spiegelman, *The Facts of Life* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1951], p. 267).

DeBie posed the question, "Are the Dutch likable or unlikable?" to two Belgian student groups, A ($N = 37$) and B ($N = 84$). A scored high on Dutch information and contact; B was considerably lower. But sympathy was much more frequently and antipathy more rarely expressed in B than in A (Pierre DeBie, "Certain Psychological Aspects of Benelux," *International Social Science Bulletin*, III [1951], 547).

killers in peacetime should tend to find their victims within their circle of relatives and acquaintances rather than among strangers.⁸

Only a single study has come to the author's attention which presents a complete classification of killers in terms of the killer's social relationship to his victim. This is a study by East in England dealing with the victims of 200 sane and 300 insane murderers. Among the former, only 16.5 per cent and among the latter only 6.5 per cent had killed strangers.⁹ The Royal Commission on Capital Punishment presents a classification of 1,210 persons convicted of murder and sentenced to death in England and Wales from 1900 to 1949. It appears that 45 per cent of these chose their victims among spouses, parents, or lovers. The remaining 55 per cent are not classified in terms of the social relation between the killer and his victim but in terms of age and sex of the victim: child under one year, child over one year, adult female, and adult male. Within each of these categories except the first the killers are variously subdivided according to motive (sex assault, robbery, revenge, or jealousy), precipitating interactive pattern (quarrel), and occupation of the victim (police or prison officer). Thus the following subcategories are provided for "murder of man other than husband, lover, or father": "During fight or quarrel—after drink; During fight or quarrel—other; In connection with robbery; Police or prison officer; Miscellaneous." It is not surprising to observe that this notable lack of deference to the *fundamentum divisonis* in the case of killers with adult male victims excluding husbands, lovers, and fathers is associated with a fre-

⁸ In an effort to test this hypothesis on existing research findings, the author was generously assisted by Marvin Wolfgang, of the University of Pennsylvania. Certain studies, mentioned by Wolfgang in a letter to the author, were, however, unavailable in Copenhagen. Hence the above review makes no pretense of completeness.

⁹ W. N. East, *Medical Aspects of Crime* (London, 1936), p. 369, cited from Hans von Hentig, *The Criminal and His Victim* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1948), p. 392.

quency of 29 per cent of cases in the miscellaneous category.¹⁰

From case records of the murderers committed to the New Jersey State Prison, Frankel reported in part on the social relationship between killer and victim in 713 murders. It appears that a minimum of 78 per cent of these cases of murder could be described as the killing of relatives or acquaintances. Again this is a minimum, because relationship between killer and victim is not indicated for all cases of killing.¹¹

The dearth of empirical studies of killer-victim relations is illustrated by the fact that Pollak, writing as late as 1950, finds it necessary to support his hypothesis that female killers tend to select household members by reference to the predominance of poisoning as method of killing rather than through more direct evidence.¹²

THE DATA

Records of six years of homicidal experience were available for the postwar period. Because of the relative rarity of homicide, however, a longer time span was desirable.

The war years 1940-45 were known to be atypical with respect to homicidal experience.¹³ Hence six prewar years were chosen. During these six prewar years (1934-39) and the six postwar years (1946-51) a total of 573 homicides were registered by the Danish Bureau of the Census as having come to the attention of the Danish police authorities

(1934-39, 179; 1946-51, 394).¹⁴ Involuntary homicides (*uagtsomme drab*) are not included. Neither these statistics nor the reports on which they are based contain any reference to the relationship between the killer and his victim. Nor is it easy to follow these 573 cases, since crime registers are arranged by name of criminal and not by type of offense. However, at the Copenhagen police department lists of homicides in Denmark are kept up to date, and in these lists a little story is told about each case.¹⁵ These police lists provided the data of the present investigation. The main shortcoming of the lists is that they do not account for all or even the majority of the 573 cases.¹⁶ The discrepancy was explained by census authorities and Copenhagen police authorities as due to two circumstances: (1) The census number of homicides which annually have come to the attention of the police includes many events first classified as homicides but later seen to belong to other criminal categories or not to be crimes (e.g., suicides). Also unsuccessful attempts at homicide are included. All such cases are left out of the police lists. (2) The census is believed to have a more complete coverage than the police lists of cases in which a family is destroyed by homicide-suicide combination.

The police lists report a total of 177 solved cases in which the perpetrator was a Dane and where the event took place in Denmark, in Danish waters, or on board a Danish vessel. In all but five cases, one person killed one or more others.

¹⁰ *Report of the Royal Commission on Capital Punishment, 1949-1953* (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1953), pp. 304-5.

¹¹ Emil Frankel, "One Thousand Murderers," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIX (January, 1939), 672-88.

¹² Otto Polak, *The Criminality in Women* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1950), p. 18.

¹³ Following our hypothesis, this atypical quality of Danish homicidal experience during the German occupation (1940-45) would have been shown in a higher-than-usual tendency for killers to choose strangers as victims.

¹⁴ *Kriminalstatistik, 1934-39, 1946-51* (Copenhagen: Statistisk Departement, 1952).

¹⁵ "Fortegnelse over drab begået i København efter året 1835" (mimeographed list carried up to date); "Fortegnelse over drab, der har fundet sted i provinsen efter året 1860" (mimeographed list carried up to date), both in Politigården, Copenhagen.

¹⁶ Even if the total number of victims mentioned in the police lists for the twelve years selected is counted, there are only 229 homicides, thus defined, in the lists. The author was unable to find an authoritative definition of the term "homicide" (*drab*) as used by the Danish Bureau of the Census other than that homicide is what the local police officers in charge of crime registration classify as such.

THE FINDINGS

In Table 1 attention is limited to the 172 homicides by only one killer. The main finding is a convincing corroboration of the hypothesis previously stated: 172 killers killed only 21 persons who were absolutely unknown to them or who had only become known to them a few hours before the murder.¹⁷ Thus we arrive at a result surprisingly

er than truth. Truth is here conceived of as corresponding percentages based on a complete census of killers in Denmark for the period covered.

This follows from the previously noted selective tendency of the police records used. A killer appearing in a family tragedy ending in the total destruction of the family (husband kills wife, children, and himself)

TABLE 1
172 DANISH MURDERERS, 1934-39 AND 1946-51, BY TYPE OF VICTIM

	TYPE OF VICTIM	1934-39	NUMBER 1946-51	Total	PER CENT
A. Family					
1.	Spouse.....	9	12	21	12.2
2.	Children.....	20	37	57	33.1
3.	Parents.....	1	3	4	2.3
4.	Siblings.....	2	1	3	1.7
5.	Secondary relatives (aunt, grandchildren, sister's daughter, sister-in-law).....	1	3	4	2.3
6.	Victims belonging to two or more of above categories....	1	8	9	5.2
	Total.....	34	64	98	57.0
B. Acquaintances					
7.	Sweethearts, paramours, etc.....	2	13	15	8.7
8.	Friends of same sex but not homosexual partners.....	..	...	...	...
9.	Homosexual partners.....	1	2	3	1.7
10.	Household or institutional co-members.....	1	2	3	1.7
11.	Colleagues.....	1	3	4	2.3
12.	Acquaintances,* unspecified, dating prior to day of murder	11	17	28	16.3
	Total.....	16	37	53	30.8
C. Strangers					
13.	Acquaintances* from day of murder.....	1	7	8	4.7
14.	Complete strangers.....	7	6	13	7.6
	Total.....	8	13	21	12.2
	Grand total.....	58	114	172	100.0

* Only direct face-to-face acquaintance is counted.

close to that of East.

The combined percentage of murderers, sane and insane, who killed strangers in East's data is 11; in the Danish data it is 12. This percentage changed but little from prewar to postwar years—from 14 to 11, while these percentages may be higher than true figures but cannot very well be low-

¹⁷ In Table 1, category 13, belong eight killers, all male, of whom five killed women whom they had met on the street and accompanied home (four cases) or to a park (one case) and then killed because of some disagreement. These five cases are all from Copenhagen and all from the period 1948-50. The remaining three had male victims.

would, it seems,¹⁸ be less likely to be recorded in the police lists than other types of killers. On the other hand, major errors in the crude classification of the relationship between the killer and his victim—family, acquaintance, stranger—seem unlikely, as the relevant information in the police lists is derived from police and court proceedings. Besides, all cases where no information was supplied on this relationship were checked with the files of the killers in question or discussed with police authorities.

¹⁸ Information supplied by Copenhagen police authorities.

The more refined classification may, however, contain certain inaccuracies. Thus the fact that the category "Friends" is vacant need not indicate that nobody killed his friend. It may mean that the distinction between friend and more distant acquaintance was not made.

The preference for family, acquaintance, or stranger as victims, respectively, did not change significantly by years within the time interval here considered ($\chi^2 = 10.57$, 22 degrees of freedom). As an incidental by-product it was found (see n. 17) that homicide occurring in noninstitutionalized sex relations (categories 7 and 9 and part of 13) was significantly more frequent in the post-war period than in the prewar period, even when the general increase in the tendency to kill was taken into account. Further analysis showed that the tendency to prefer relatives and acquaintances as victims was predominant among male killers whether they were regarded as normal and punished or as abnormal and committed to various nonpenal institutions or whether they themselves committed suicide.

While male killers were about equally strongly represented where the victims were relatives or acquaintances, female killers only rarely went outside the family circle, and none of them killed strangers. Many of the women killed their newborn babies. There were 120 male killers and 52 female killers in the sample.

CONCLUSION

It was been shown that a Dane who engages in homicide has a probability of about 0.6 of selecting his victim from among the members of his own family, a probability of about 0.3 of selecting his victim from among his group of acquaintances, and a probability of about 0.1 of selecting a victim from among Danes whom he did not know per-

sonally before the event. Of these three categories, the smallest is the family; next, acquaintances; and next, strangers. A rough estimate of their respective size order would be: Danish relatives,¹⁹ $4 \cdot 10^1$; Danish acquaintances,²⁰ $4 \cdot 10^3$; and Danish strangers, $4 \cdot 10^6$. Hence if the probability of murder of a Danish stranger in a given year is a given small number, y , then the probability of murder of an acquaintance is around $3,000 y$, and the probability of murder of a member of the killer's family is around $600,000 y$.

While the crudeness of these calculations is readily admitted, they serve further to emphasize the main point of this paper: Social contact per se is no guaranty of the establishment of friendship or toleration. The outcome of social contacts is crucially dependent upon who meets whom and under what circumstances.

The survival of a human group depends, as has been repeatedly pointed out by sociological theorists and repeatedly neglected by social practitioners, on its ability to provide consensual and/or symbiotic satisfactions or advantages to its members.²¹ Otherwise stated, mutual attraction feeds on mutual satisfactions, not on interaction per se.

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¹⁹ Information supplied by students about their contacts with relatives provided the basis for this guess.

²⁰ This is more or less guesswork. An English sociologist has guessed at 5,000 as the size of his own assessment group; that is, the number of people whom he knows so well that he can assess their qualities to some extent (G. R. Taylor, "The Nature of an Organic Society," *Sociological Review*, XL [1948], 57-65).

²¹ Roberts E. L. Faris, "Development of the Small-Group Research Movement," in M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Group Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 155-84.

CONTINUITIES IN FAMILY RESEARCH: A CASE STUDY¹

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

ABSTRACT

In an earlier article the author developed a set of hypotheses, one of which is that since the wife is the more dependent upon her parents, there will be more trouble with the latter than with her husband's parents. The present article traces the effect of later studies upon the concepts, methods, and hypotheses of the original study. Contrary to the original hypothesis, in-law problems were found to involve more frequently the husband's parents. But the only study which attempted to separate dependence upon parents from other causes of in-law problems tends to confirm the earlier hypothesis.

A paper on "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles" published in 1950 developed a set of hypotheses concerning sex roles.² Since that time two studies have attempted to test these hypotheses, and several others have revealed pertinent data. Such continuities in social research offer all too rare an opportunity to consider certain basic methodological problems which are of interest quite apart from the fate of a particular theory in family sociology. What modifications in the original theory were called for by subsequent empirical research? What, in general, can we learn from this brief history of a hypothesis about the interplay of theory and empirical testing?

After reviewing this history we shall distinguish three lines of development. The first pertains to the *concepts* used in the original paper and modified in several ways by subsequent research. Second, we shall trace the development of the *hypotheses*, in which the initial formulations were not merely tested but specified, sharpened, and otherwise modified later by empirical research. The third line of development is with respect to *methods* dealing with the indices and measures of the concepts central to the hypotheses.³

The point of departure in the 1950 article was the finding based upon 73 personal documents and in accord with general observa-

tion that sons in middle-class families are provided with earlier and greater opportunities for independent action and emancipation from their parents than is true of the daughters. The first inference drawn from this fact of differential upbringing was that daughters would tend to remain more attached and more dependent upon the parental family than would the sons. Whatever evidence did exist in the literature in 1950 was found to be corroborative.

Since then, fragments of new evidence have come from several sources. Confirming the hypothesis was Paul Wallin's⁴ finding that wives were more often "homesick" for their parents than were husbands for theirs; moreover, wives visited their parents more often than did the husbands, though the spouses in his sample lived at about the same distance from their parents. Again, Sheldon Stryker, using a check list as an index of dependence, found the wives to be "significantly more likely to be dependent upon their mothers" than were the husbands upon theirs. The sex difference in dependence upon father was in the same direction but

³ The pattern for examining these three lines of continuities was established in Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Continuities in Social Research Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

⁴ "Sex Differences in Attitudes to In-laws: A Test of a Theory," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (March, 1954), 466-69. This, as well as the subsequent studies cited in this article, used as informants predominantly, if not exclusively, college men and women.

¹ The writer is indebted to Robert K. Merton for valuable suggestions.

² Mirra Komarovsky, *American Sociological Review*, XV (August, 1950), 508-16.

did not reach an acceptable level of statistical significance.⁵

In the study of 1,000 engaged couples, Burgess and Wallin⁶ found that 37.1 per cent of the young men and only 28.8 per cent of the young women were living away from home. Of the engaged men, 68 per cent and, of their fiancées, 57.9 per cent were financially independent of their parents. Double the proportion of young women were entirely dependent on their parents for financial support.

On the other hand, a seemingly contradictory conclusion was drawn by Robert F. Winch from his data on college men and women.⁷ His conclusion is that, of the four possible parent-child relationships, the one between mother and son represents the strongest tie. This is an inference drawn from two sets of findings. In so far as his respondents prefer one parent to the other (only a minority expressed such preferences), they (and especially the males) prefer the mother. Second, in so far as the parents show favoritism to particular children,⁸ they, especially the mothers, tend to favor the males. Putting the two sets of findings together, Winch concludes that the most intense mutual attachment is that between mother and son.

Winch's conclusion has been interpreted⁹ as contesting the original hypothesis of the greater attachment of the female to parents. This is an apparent contradiction. Neither the meaning of attachment nor the index of it were identical in all studies. The data cited in support of the original hypothesis depended largely upon ratings by the offspring of his attachment to parents or his "homesickness." Some behavioral, as

well as verbal, indices were used. To the extent that Winch uses the same indices, his own data *support* the original hypothesis. More female than male undergraduates admitted "homesickness." Somewhat more females than males rate their attachment to one or both parents as "high," and fewer said "little," "somewhat," or "not at all."¹⁰

The discrepancy appears only when another meaning of "attachment" is introduced. Winch adds to the self-rating of attachments to parents the offspring's own estimate of parental preferences. As a result of combining both, the mother-son relation appears dominant. Reciprocity has been added to the concept of attachment: Winch ranks relationships as a whole rather than merely attitudes toward parents.

Let us assume the validity of Winch's conclusions. Let us further assume that attachment to parents is increased by reciprocity and that Winch's method taps more accurately than do the self-ratings alone the degree of attachment. What changes would this entail in the original hypothesis? The sons who were both the subject of mother's preference and preferred her to the father were a minority, though their proportion exceeded the comparable figure for daughters. This is the minority of offspring with the most intense attachment. However, this confirms the original hypothesis to the extent that more females express *some* attachment to parents and fewer are in the "low" attachment category on the self-ratings.¹¹

The original hypothesis should now read: "Daughters are more uniformly attached to their parents, with a higher proportion expressing high rather than low attachment to both parents. But (if reciprocity heightens the intensity of attachment) sons outnumber daughters in the relative frequency of very intense relations with the mother

⁵ "The Adjustment of Married Offspring to Their Parents," *American Sociological Review*, XX (April, 1955), 149-54.

⁶ Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953), p. 599.

⁷ "The Oedipus Hypothesis," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (December, 1951), 784-93.

⁸ As estimated by the offspring.

⁹ See Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹⁰ Winch, *op. cit.*, p. 788.

¹¹ Winch studied undergraduates, and Stryker queried married men and women. If sex differences in dependence and in attachment to parents may vary through the life-cycle, the disparities, at least in part, might be explained on that ground.

characteristic of a small minority of offspring."

We shall now turn to the second hypothesis: that the female's closer ties to her parental family are a detriment when she marries, disposing her to look on her ties with her husband and children as secondary. It was assumed that these ties would handicap the woman in making the kind of shift to the family of procreation which the primacy accorded the latter in our kinship structure demands of a married person.

Put in a more general way, the hypothesis sought to study one unintended consequence which the prescribed norms of upbringing may carry for women in another sector of the kinship structure. It is not the total or the net effect of the more sheltered upbringing of the girl that is here considered. Her upbringing may be well suited to prepare her for her adult role. The hypothesis is intended to explore only one of its unrecognized "dysfunctions."

True, a good deal of dependence upon her parents is tolerated in a wife: daily telephoning to her mother may not impress her husband as a threat to him. Furthermore, her habit of dependence may strengthen her marriage if she begins to lean on her husband as she had on her parents. Nevertheless, occasionally (and more frequently than among the males) the shift to the spouse is not made; in case of conflict between parent and spouse, the wife may side with the former and suffer the miseries of conflicting loyalties. This impedes the process of solidarity and identification with her husband.

Consider, as one illustration, the results of a recent study of housing in which women were found to want very much to be located close to other members of their families while husbands considered proximity to kin unimportant in selecting a home.¹² In such a situation the husband's right of domicile creates friction, especially in a society with occupational and geographic mobility.

The unfavorable effect on her marriage

¹² James E. Montgomery, Cornell University study reported in the *New York Times*, August 12, 1955.

of the female's closer ties to her parental family could conceivably be tested in various ways: for example, by a study of the relative extent of mental conflict suffered by wives and husbands as a result of the conflicting loyalties to parent and spouse. But my original article proposed a different test, the nature of in-law problems. The following inference was drawn from the hypothesis: If wives carry into marriage a tendency to depend upon their parents, then in-law trouble should more frequently be with the wives' than with the husbands' families.

In the 1950 article the possibility of a modified hypothesis was anticipated: that conflict with the wife's family may be more frequent but less acute than with the husband's family. This was inferred from the fact that excessive mother-son attachment would be culturally less tolerated and create an even greater handicap for the male family head than for the housewife.

Since 1950, the findings of four studies of in-law relations have been reported, three of which scrutinized their data with specific reference to the foregoing inference.¹³ Three failed to confirm it: it is the husband's family and more specifically the husband's mother who are most frequently involved in "in-law" trouble. Thus "in-law problems," the datum proposed as the test of the theory, obviously failed to confirm it.

Let us first examine the possibility that it is not the theory itself but the inference drawn from it concerning in-law tension that was proved false, that the "experiment" was not a crucial test of the theory. In-law problems represent the gross result of many processes, some of which may have obscured the influence of the process postulated by the theory. Indeed, there are several factors which may create tension with the husband's rather than with the wife's family:

¹³ Evelyn Millis Duvall, *In-laws, Pro and Con* (New York: Association Press, 1954); Wallin, *op. cit.*, pp. 466-69; Peggy S. Marcus, "A Study of In-law Relationships of 79 Couples Who Have Been Married between 2 and 11 Years" (unpublished Master's thesis, Cornell University, 1950); Stryker, *op. cit.*

1. As a result of the greater control exercised by the family over the female's choice of mate,¹⁴ the son-in-law may be more acceptable than the daughter-in-law. It may also mean that the girl's family has had more of an opportunity to get to know the prospective son-in-law and to begin the period of mutual accommodation even before marriage. With the passing of time, the wife's adjustment to her in-laws improves; not so the adjustment of the husband to his in-laws.¹⁵

2. The male's family may be less favorably disposed to the son's marriage for two reasons. The very attachment of the girl to her family means, as folk saying puts it, that "when your son marries, you lose a son; when your daughter marries, you gain one." Furthermore, a reasonably early marriage is advantageous to a girl. The loss of a daughter is offset by a greater number of advantages.

3. In-law conflict in general is a problem of the female. Of the in-laws named most difficult by 1,337 men and women in Duvall's study, 61.5 per cent were female in-laws and only 11.2 per cent were male in-laws.¹⁶ (25.8 per cent had no difficult in-laws.)

Several interpretations suggest themselves. In-law relations are largely in the hands of women, who have the leisure, the interest, and the greater responsibility for keeping in touch with relatives. In so far as relations with in-laws contain potentialities for conflict, the closer interaction of women would tend to involve them in greater conflict. Many more wives than husbands dislike their mothers-in-law.¹⁷ Again, greater opportunities for mutual scrutiny of domestic activities and for criticism exist for wife and mother-in-law than for the husband and mother-in-law.

The initial assumption that the dependence of the female in itself would counter-

balance the forces working in the opposite direction was proved false. But this does not rule out the possibility that it remains a factor in in-law problems: it may still be true, at least in so far as dependence upon parents leads to conflict with in-laws.

But this delimitation creates a more difficult problem of verification. How are we to segregate the factor at issue from the complex of variables? Most of the counteracting factors are so inextricably interwoven with the kinship structure that the cases in which they might be absent would be deviant in many other respects, as the husband who is as involved with the relatives as an average woman or the wife who is "masculine" in refusing the responsibility for kinship relations. The high correlation of certain other variables makes it difficult to isolate the factor at issue.

If we cannot easily keep constant the other variables in order to inspect the operation of the one under consideration, there is another method open to us. If the dependence of the wife upon her family is a contributing factor to in-law tension, variation in that dependence should produce variations in tension.

This hypothesis was tested by Stryker.¹⁸ He found women to be "significantly more dependent" upon their mothers than were husbands upon theirs. Second, he found a negative relationship between the wives' dependence upon their mothers and the husbands' adjustment to their mothers-in-law: "When wives report dependence upon mothers, husbands are *less* likely to be well adjusted to their mothers-in-law than they are when wives are dominant or the dependency relationship is neutral."¹⁹ Stryker did not correlate the husband's dependence upon his mother with the wife's adjustment to her mother-in-law. Such an association doubtless exists. But from the greater incidence of dependence of wives upon their mothers it would appear that trouble with in-laws is more frequently the result of the *wife's* dependency.

¹⁴ Duvall, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁵ Marcus, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

¹⁶ Duvall, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 106.

¹⁸ Stryker, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Stryker's finding confirms, but also modifies, the original hypothesis. It is the wife's dependence (rather than, as originally stated, "dependence and attachment"; attachment was not measured by Stryker) upon her mother and not upon both parents which is unfavorable to her husband's adjustment to his mother-in-law.²⁰

Let us now study the original paper in the light of later research, tracing first the fate of the *concepts*. One influence of research was to effect a *sharper differentiation between related terms and concepts*. The assumption that certain closely related phenomena played identical roles in the posited relationship proved incorrect. "Attachment" and "dependence," "father" and "mother," must be studied separately, and the hypotheses must be reformulated accordingly. This was demonstrated by work, generally oriented toward our hypotheses, which did make such distinctions and revealed differences in the results.²¹

The pressure toward specification of terms and concepts is exemplified in the case of initially too indeterminate use of the phrase "greater attachment." The generalization "women are more attached to their parents than are men" left the precise comparison unstated. "More attached" may mean "capable of most intense attachment" or more attached "on the average." When the terms of comparison were specified, it was found that the original generalization may hold for one without holding for the other.²²

The opposite effect, of *broadening the meaning of concepts*, can be illustrated with regard to the concept of attachment. It was used originally to designate the affection of the offspring for the parent. Winch's finding, contradictory as it appeared to the first of our hypotheses, suggested the possibility that a new dimension, reciprocity, might be added to the concept of attachment when

the latter is used in the context of our hypotheses.

Upon the *hypotheses* the first effect of research is that of *delimitation*. The inference that the female's closer ties to her parents will result in greater trouble with them than with the husband's family was not confirmed by facts. This stimulated speculation and led to identification of several factors which may have directed in-law problems toward the husband's parents, and this obscured the operation of the process in question. It is now clear that this process operates under more limited conditions: other factors causing in-law trouble being equal. Our more limited generalization now reads: "In so far as dependence of the spouse upon his or her parents causes in-law trouble, this more frequently involves the wife and her parents." For this generalization there is some new evidence.²³

Greater *refinement* and *sharpening* of the initial hypotheses also resulted. It is the woman's dependence not upon *either* parent but only upon her mother which so far has been shown to be associated with poor adjustment between her mother and her husband. Another refinement originally suggested on theoretical grounds received partial support from a later study: it was suggested that in-law trouble due to the wife's dependence upon her parents may be more prevalent but, on the other hand, less acute than that due to the husband's dependence upon his parents. This was assumed to be the case because such dependence in a man would be more socially visible, less tolerated, and otherwise more detrimental to the male adult role. Now a further ground for making this distinction between prevalence and intensity of in-law trouble comes from Winch's study, which argues that the most intense parent-child tie is that between mother and son. This refinement of the original proposition still remains to be tested.

As to *methods*, some advance has been made in the *clarification of the meaning of concepts and the development of indices and*

²⁰ Stryker's finding that the wife's dependence upon her father has different effects on her husband's adjustment to father-in-law opens up an interesting unexplored problem.

²¹ Stryker, *op. cit.*

²² Winch, *op. cit.*

²³ Stryker, *op. cit.*

measures. Indeed, this methodological advance made possible the crucial test of our hypothesis. The presence or the absence of in-law trouble and the side of the family involved proved too crude a test, reflecting the net effect of several processes. The disentangling of the process in question was made possible through the development of two measures: dependence of spouse upon parent and adjustment between spouse and parents-in-law. In other words, the hypothesis could be tested when we found a method of ascertaining *the degrees to which certain attitudes and relationships obtained*. With all that, this methodological step forward is only the beginning. The central concepts of attachment, dependence, and adjustment refer to complex phenomena with dimensions remaining to be ascertained. It is no wonder that we have noted the confusion *due to the differences in operational definitions* given by various investigators to these broadly defined terms. Findings of some studies on parent-child attachment were declared inconsistent when they were, in reality, not comparable. This is, of course, a familiar obstacle to cumulative social research.

In summary, the original hypothesis has stimulated fresh scrutiny of empirical data. It is not without significance that every sociological exploration of in-law problems since 1950 has made reference to the hypothesis, while, to the best of my knowledge, no earlier sociological writing ever raised the question concerning the side from which the in-law problem was more likely to come.

The empirical testing, in turn, called for

²⁴ See Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 97-111.

delimitation and specification of the original theory in ways which have already been described.

But the role of research has not been limited to testing or even to reformulating the theory. It has opened up new problems,²⁴ for example, that the wife's dependence upon her mother is unfavorable to her husband's adjustment to his mother-in-law, while her dependence upon her father has no such consequences for the adjustment between husband and his father-in-law (indeed, "husbands are *more likely* to be well-adjusted to their fathers-in-law when their wives report dependence upon their fathers").²⁵

The causes and implications of such a finding should be explored.

Future research may be expected to continue the task of delimitation, extension, or specification of our hypotheses. Exceptions, inevitably to be found, will direct attention to modifying factors. "Dependence" may turn out to be of more than one type—for example, more or less associated with rebellion. Again, a wife's dependence upon her mother may, under certain conditions, not come in conflict with her marriage. This might be the case if mother and husband did not impose irreconcilable demands, if they were not competitive, and if both played the roles of parents.

To conclude, this little case study of research continuities has demonstrated anew the two-way relation of theory and empirical research.

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²⁵ Stryker, *op. cit.*, p. 153.

INFORMAL RELATIONS IN THE PRACTICE OF CRIMINAL LAW

ARTHUR LEWIS WOOD

ABSTRACT

The hypothesis that strains from the formal institutional patterns in the practice of criminal law tend to manifest themselves in informal patterns is deduced from interviews with 101 criminal lawyers and 104 civil lawyers sampled from five jurisdictions. Differences between the two groups are related to functions characterizing the respective types of practice. Cliques and systems of informal relations develop as an effect of strains in starting a practice, in the adversary system of justice, and in rendering service to those accused of crime.

In this study of the informal relations in the practice of criminal law,¹ the frame of reference is a constructed typology of the social structure of a profession as it is generally described in the literature. This includes institutionalization of a program of specific training and requirements of admission to guarantee minimum competence and a code of ethics covering relations with clients and the community.²

The formal structure of a group refers to its system of official rules or laws, explicitly stated, widely known, and presumed to be generally enforced by its regular officers; or, from a behavioral standpoint, it is that conduct which tends to conform with these rules. For the legal profession the formal structure is described in statutory law, court precedents, and bar association codes.

The informal structure of a group consists of the patterns that arise out of spontaneous interaction of persons or the customary relationships recognized by mem-

bers of the group but not explicitly sanctioned by regular officials. For the practice of law these are the extra-legal patterns of behavior and conduct not specifically recognized in codes of ethics, which are found in the relationships between practitioners and public officials, their clients, and other lawyers.³ The informal practices are not necessarily unethical, although they supplement or may deviate from formal norms.

In order to analyze the conditions under which the informal patterns arise and to test the hypothesis that informal social structures emerge from the strains in the operation of the formal system, the informal patterns themselves will be described.

For purposes of research a criminal lawyer was defined as an attorney who devotes 10 per cent or more of his practice to criminal law. During the summer of 1951 lawyers were interviewed in five different areas of the United States: three large metropolitan cities (one in the Deep South and two on the eastern seaboard) and two smaller cities (in New England and the Middle West). From two of the larger cities a sample of over 40 per cent was randomly selected, and virtually all criminal lawyers were included in

¹ This report, read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1955, is part of a larger study of the criminal lawyer sponsored by the Survey of the Legal Profession of the American Bar Association. Research assistants of the project were David Caplovitz, Harold R. Katner, Sol Levine, Donald J. Newman, and H. Carl Whitman. The author is indebted to them for their efforts and helpful suggestions.

² Talcott Parsons characterizes the prerequisites for the professional role to include functional specificity, a universalistic orientation or equal service to all, and affective neutrality in regard to the particular case (cf. his "The Professions and Social Structure" in *Essays in Sociological Theory: Pure and Applied* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949]).

³ Sociology needs an operational definition of "informal." In the lawyer interviews and this article the terms "personal" and "friendly" refer to types of informal relations in contrast with relations that are ideal typical institutionalized professional or formal. Empirical evidence is found in types of treatment: relationships and agreements relying on the spoken word and degrees of courtesy and discriminations relative to the unofficial position of an attorney in a clique versus agreements using legal forms and requiring signatures.

the three other cities—making a total sample of 101 attorneys in criminal law. From the same cities random samples of civil lawyers (defined as all other practicing lawyers) were interviewed for purposes of comparison—a total of 104.⁴

COMMUNITY AND POLITICAL ACTIVITIES

Lawyers are generally expected to be active in community and political organizations.⁵ These activities are clearly an aspect of the informal relationships and are related to professional practices and careers in law. Such participation, as many are frank to say, brings about contacts for obtaining clients and sometimes for rendering them service. For example: "I find veterans' affairs a most satisfying activity for two reasons: I sympathize with the problems of the veterans and also because veterans' organizations have been very good to me—they have really been the backbone of my clientele." Said another respondent: "Most juries know of my activities, and, though I think this is wrong, they have, I think, decided many cases in my favor because of this." There are also those dedicated to community and political causes and, at the other extreme, those irritated by pressure to serve which is exacted in organizations wishing to use their names or to obtain free legal counsel.

Although both criminal and civil lawyers participate in a wide variety of community and political organizations, there are characteristic differences between them.⁶ The former group of attorneys tend to dissociate

themselves from the business community. Thus criminal lawyers are less frequently officers of these community organizations, and they more often express a dislike for civic and recreational clubs and religious lay groups (Table 1, Nos. 1 and 2), the majority of which are dominated by persons in the business world. They less often choose bankers and corporation lawyers for friends (Nos. 3 and 4); and they less frequently include businessmen among their intimate friends (No. 5).

At the same time, criminal lawyers more frequently participate in charitable organizations⁷ (No. 6), and they express a liking for this activity (No. 7); their friends are more often among professional persons (mostly lawyers of lower status) and those from occupations with lower status rather than businessmen (No. 5). They would choose social workers for intimate friends more often (No. 8); and they are much more active in political party work than their colleagues in civil law (No. 9). From different cities, two comments by criminal lawyers illustrate a common attitude toward politics: "Most lawyers are, and have to be, active in politics. The law and politics are tied up with one another. It is important to have contacts—allows you to avoid loss of time in your law practice; you also get advice." "I like to have my fingers in the pie. Frankly, politics has meant good business for me."

These differences are compatible with the following propositions:

1. Compared with other attorneys, criminal lawyers have lower status among members of the bar as well as in the community at large. This judgment is often made by respondents from both fields of practice. Moreover, it is suggested by the relative infrequency with which they have held posi-

⁴ Table 1, pp. 52–53, gives frequencies and values of chi square for all these differences.

⁷ As indexes of participation in religious, professional, civic and recreational, cultural, and charitable organizations we gave one point for membership and two points for attending meetings two or more times a year.

⁴ Prior to being interviewed, each lawyer received a letter describing the purpose of the study and its sponsorship by the Survey of the Legal Profession of the American Bar Association and one from an officer of the local bar or judge of the county court. Each lawyer of both samples was interviewed by using a pretested schedule of questions. Each of the five research assistants was largely responsible for interviewing in one of the five cities. A copy of the questionnaire is available upon request from the author. Approximately 5 per cent of the original samples of lawyers were not interviewed.

⁵ Cf. Walter I. Wardwell and Arthur L. Wood, "The Extra-professional Role of the Lawyer," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (January, 1956), 304–7.

tions of leadership in community activities, even though combined rates for all activities (including lay religious, civic and recreational, cultural, professional, and charitable organizations) show the two groups to participate to the same extent.

2. Participation in various civic and recreational clubs is not so useful for criminal lawyers in obtaining clients as for attorneys who practice business law or in other ways serve the middle and upper classes. On the other hand, the criminal lawyers' political connections may aid them in obtaining and servicing clients and in election and appointment to government positions. Their relatively low status in the community and as members of the bar, however, may explain why they have not held government positions more often than have other attorneys.⁸

3. Criminal lawyers more often are motivated by humanitarianism or sometimes even by identification with underprivileged persons. Their concern for the legal rights of indigents and those accused of crime is generally evidenced by their activity in charitable groups and preference for this activity; their more frequent voting for Democratic or more "liberal" candidates (No. 10); their choice of social workers as intimate friends; and perhaps their sense of moral indignation toward persons with whom they disagree (No. 11). These attitudes are compatible with a law practice which counsels persons accused of crime.

RELATIONS WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS

Unique to the practice of criminal law is the attorney's extraordinary dependence on government agencies. Virtually every service for the client rests on a decision by some official: seeing the client in jail, obtaining information on the case against client, setting bail, bargaining for an informal settlement,⁹ scheduling the time and place of trial, and requesting a "reasonable" sentence. On the other hand, in civil law legal counseling

is designed to prevent litigation (almost nonexistent in criminal practice); argumentation and settlement are largely restricted to negotiations with private attorneys; and relations with government officials may be limited to the filing of legal papers.

Although the institutional system places the defense attorney and government officials in opposition (and perhaps because of this fact), relationships of a friendly character are compatible with the interests of both parties. Because antagonism between participants leads to unpredictability of the outcome and to professional insecurity, informal agreement may be mutually desired—police officials wish to evade cross-examination by defense, the prosecution wants to avoid the work and risk of a trial, and the defense desires a reasonable disposition. These interests consequently become the basis for compromise.

Criminal lawyers were asked: "How friendly must a lawyer be with the district attorney for a successful practice of criminal law?" A similar inquiry was made about relations with police. Including those who qualified their answers, 57 per cent believe that personal connections with the district attorney are helpful, while 80 per cent believe it of the police. Among respondents who were asked about their own practice, half admit friendly contacts with police and district attorney.

A minority of criminal lawyers, particularly the highly specialized, remain aloof from personal involvement with these officials. They may have contempt for officials; they rarely settle a case out of court; and they are inclined to follow the "combat theory of justice."¹⁰ The patterns of infor-

⁹ "Informal" and "compromise" settlements are agreements by which the prosecutor accepts from defense counsel a plea of guilty to a lesser crime than that originally charged in return for a promise of some form of leniency, thus avoiding formal court trial.

¹⁰ "Combat justice" is a non-technical legal expression referring to settlement of disputes by trial court, where compromise solutions are minimized and the case becomes a formal contest between opposing lawyers.

⁸ About 40 per cent of each group have held or currently hold such positions.

mal justice are more typical of those just beginning practice and those who have never successfully specialized in any field of law.

SYSTEMS OF INFORMAL RELATIONS

In the five cities studied, regular or permanent informal relationships with public officials do not exist in all jurisdictions. Their development is unrelated to the size of the city's population but appears to depend on local traditions, politics, and the professional outlook of individual officials. In one of the large cities, for instance, the judges and prosecutors are so professionally oriented that virtually no "personal" relationships exist. Nevertheless, in the same community criminal lawyers are likely to maintain regular connections with the police department, and, in fact, several members of the force act as "runners" to channel clients to certain criminal lawyers. In another the police are widely distrusted, and only an occasional attorney maintains intimate associations with them. In the third large city, however, many attorneys in criminal law are members of an informal group to which prosecutors and clerks of court belong. In this case, as well as where the police refer clients to lawyers, it seems proper to speak of established patterns in which connections are no longer matters of individual bargaining but rather *systems* organized for mutual exchange of benefits.

Cliques of lawyers.—Informal relations among members of the bar, however, appear to be present everywhere in the form of cliques. Membership in cliques, in general, parallels political, ethnic, and religious affiliations as well as fields of specialization. For example, an informal grouping of attorneys in corporation law and allied fields is usually identified with the political and ethnic elite, just as those who have a criminal, negligence, and domestic relations practice maintain informal relations with persons of lower status. Cliques in many ways further a successful practice—for referral of clients, legal and other advice, and contacts outside the bar for obtaining or servicing

clients such as banks, real estate and insurance agents, and bondsmen.

In one of the smaller cities a more intensive study of informants who were themselves members of these informal groups revealed five well-developed cliques with three or more members each, in addition to several groups with two members. Over half of all members of the local bar belong to such a group. One commonly joins a clique by accepting or performing a favor with the expectation that it will be reciprocated.

If he is not in one of these informal groups, a career in law is particularly difficult for the solo practitioner. Moreover, cliques may furnish support for unprofessional practices and miscarriage of justice as well as for encouraging the normal courtesies that may be expected among friends. Generally, they discriminate against men they do not want in a particular field of practice. As a clique grows in the service of its members, it ceases to function solely on the basis of friendship: its membership may cross political, ethnic, and religious lines, the better to serve a variety of interests and a diversity of clients.

The political machine.—The maximum development of an informal system of relationships occurs in an area controlled by a political machine. In one large city the recent defeat of a machine many years entrenched in power provided a natural experiment on its effect on the practice of criminal law, and several successful criminal lawyers who had once been connected with the political machine reported to us that, mainly through the prosecutor's office, they and their clients were given favored consideration. Accused racketeers and professional criminals normally went to these lawyers, while ordinary criminals were also received by referral through local political clubs.

The significance of the political machine is revealed by the following facts: (1) This was the only city in which the average income of criminal lawyers was greater and where criminal lawyers more often had sources of income outside the practice of law than did their colleagues in civil law.

TABLE 1
COMPARISONS OF CRIMINAL AND CIVIL LAWYERS*

Characteristic	Criminal Lawyers	Civil Lawyers
1. <i>Officers of community organizations during career:</i>		
Never.....	42	27
One or more positions held.....	59	77
Total respondents.....	101	104
$\chi^2=4.92$		
2. <i>Activities found least satisfying:</i>		
Civic and recreational, and religious.....	16	6
Charitable, professional, and political.....	11	18
"None of them," "All of them," "Don't know," etc.....	34	40
Total respondents.....	61	64
$\chi^2=6.65$		
3. <i>Choice of bankers for intimate friends:†</i>		
Among first two choices.....	4	17
Not chosen.....	58	54
Among last two choices.....	14	7
Total respondents.....	76	78
$\chi^2=10.50$		
4. <i>Choice of corporation lawyers for intimate friends:†</i>		
Among first two choices.....	14	37
Not chosen.....	56	39
Among last two choices.....	6	2
Total respondents.....	76	78
$\chi^2=15.39$		
5. <i>Status of three best friends:</i>		
All professional persons.....	23	14
Business and professional persons.....	55	77
One or more lower-status persons.....	18	8
Total respondents.....	96	99
$\chi^2=9.66$		
6. <i>Participation in charitable organizations:</i>		
Low participation.....	67	83
High participation.....	34	21
Total respondents.....	101	104
$\chi^2=4.08$		
7. <i>Activities found most satisfying:</i>		
Civic and recreational, and religious.....	23	28
Charitable, professional, and political.....	27	15
"None of them," "All of them," "Don't know," etc.....	17	27
Total respondents.....	67	70
$\chi^2=6.13$		
8. <i>Choice of social workers for intimate friends:†</i>		
Among first two choices.....	9	1
Not chosen.....	49	47
Among last two choices.....	18	30
Total respondents.....	76	78
$\chi^2=9.42$		
9. <i>Participation in political party activity:</i>		
Never.....	28	43
Currently active.....	54	38
Formerly active.....	18	23
Total respondents.....	100	104
$\chi^2=6.49$		

* All comparisons show differences at the 5 per cent level of statistical significance. "Correction for continuity" used for χ^2 in 2×2 tables.

† Respondents ranked the following occupations: accountant, banker, corporation lawyer, criminal lawyer, family doctor, high-school teacher, independent small store owner, lawyer-general practitioner, minister, optometrist, owner of factory employing about 100 persons, social worker, and surgeon.

TABLE 1—*Continued*

Characteristics	Criminal Lawyers	Civil Lawyers
10. <i>Candidates favored in 1948 presidential election:</i>		
Republican, Dixiecrat.....	35	56
Democratic, Progressive, Socialist, Farmer-Labor.....	62	45
Total respondents.....	97	101
$\chi^2=6.71$		
11. <i>Reasons for last choice of occupations for intimate friends:</i>		
Moderate dislike (boring, unpleasant, uninteresting).....	18	34
Extreme dislike (unintelligent, narrow-minded, hypocritical, "intimate friendship inconceivable").....	23	15
Other reasons.....	7	4
Total respondents†.....	48	53
$\chi^2=7.20$		

† Question not asked in two cities.

(2) The most successful criminal lawyers during the days of the machine have been replaced under the new regime by others who are now the most successful, and some of their predecessors are in the process of establishing themselves in other fields of law. Some of the extremes of misgovernment are currently at least in abeyance under the "reform"-party rule; nevertheless, the strong local tradition of political partisanship among criminal lawyers has meant that the machine lawyers are out of favor with the prosecutor's office and others are in.

INSTITUTIONAL STRAINS AND INFORMAL RELATIONS

The informal relationships in the practice of criminal law have their effect whenever the formal system and the conditions of practice put a strain on professional norms of conduct. Three situations of strain resulting in informal evasions of the formal system are the starting of a practice and obtaining clients, the adversary system of justice, and the rendering of service.

Starting a practice and obtaining clients.—In theory at least, a private professional practice is achieved by a display of technical competence, by ethical conduct, and by hard work. Since publicity by advertising is ruled out, the establishment of a practice is difficult, no matter what the professional abilities of the practitioner. More fortunate beginners may enter a firm, take over another's practice, or receive benefits from

other contacts. Perhaps a majority of those entering the bar, however, come from positions of lower status or, for one reason or another, have no connections with those who could help them. Consequently, we find a large proportion of inexperienced lawyers as well as the less successful of the older attorneys among those willing to accept criminal cases. They take minor cases from the police, prosecutor's office, or on assignment from the court, even though the fees, if any, are small. These are their clients, and only through them can reputations be established; moreover, there is always the possibility of an important case. Cases mean newspaper and other publicity.

It is obvious that the extensive informal connections with administrative officials and others from whom referrals can be obtained are desired, just because of the difficulties described here. Formal institutional norms do not shed light on this problem for the individual practitioner, and law-school training does not prepare the candidate to meet the situation. The systems of mutual obligation tend to fill the vacuum.

The adversary system of justice.—In formal outline the adversary system of criminal justice is litigious and inflexible. Providing for public battle in which one side must win, it naturally arouses anxiety among the participants. For either side there is always a risk in taking a case to trial. Also, the public battle runs contrary to both professional norms of courtesy to one's colleague and the

community value of friendliness.¹¹ This system of litigation could exist only under conditions of the institutionalized trial, which formalizes the conflict under the close supervision of a judge. The antagonism in the formal combat is brought to an end by the customary friendly greeting between opposing attorneys when the trial is completed.

Strains from the adversary system arise out of both professional and personal interests. The obligations of his office require the prosecutor to take action against all those for whom he has reasonable evidence of guilt, but limited staff, money, and time, doubts as to jury finding, and public opinion often make avoidance of trial a desirable alternative. Analogous considerations exist for the defendant lawyer.

Since the outcome of a trial is uncertain and because it is a public event, this type of litigation is often to be avoided in the interests of a successful career. In the formal patterns, loss of a case in court need not reflect on the attorney's skill—cases are won or lost on the basis of their merits—but every lawyer knows that successful careers are not based on failures in court. Some lawyers admit their willingness to avoid public trial; some have a personal distaste for trial work. In spite of the fact that criminal lawyers do much more trial work than their colleagues in civil law, over half of the former practically never take a case to trial court. The stereotype of the criminal *trial* lawyer applies to less than a fourth who practice in this field. The personal as well as the professional strain from litigation in court leads to informal evasions and extra-legal settlements.

Rendering service.—Finally, strains are felt by the defendant lawyer in the rendering of service. The majority of clients are guilty of some crime. With little basis for their defense, the most an attorney can do is something less than a trial. Contact with police can make possible negotiations over the evidence. More frequently, the prosecutor can arrange a compromise solution for the client: with a plea of guilty, the attorney may get charges for a lesser offense, recommendation

for leniency in sentence, or a reduction in bail bond. This bargaining exists in every jurisdiction, but the extent to which it is influenced by informal relationships varies in accordance with local conditions. In "bargain justice,"¹¹ the attorney substitutes for technical service his skill in dealing with public officials and thereby facilitates his service to clients.

To recapitulate, the informal patterns tend to relieve strains in the practice of criminal law: they provide a form of "security" for the attorney in facilitating the search for clients, mitigating the rigors of the adversary system of justice, and rendering service to clients. In effect, they are a substitute for the areas of influence which law firms and their connections with the business world maintain in other areas of practice.

An analysis of these patterns shows them to be both functional and dysfunctional for formal justice. In the former case the bargain system of justice helps to clear the court calendar of work which would otherwise overtax the facilities for formal legal procedures. Moreover, the cliques of criminal lawyers strongly support the procedural rights of accused persons. Though this support is in part derived from the career interests of these attorneys, the cliques also help to maintain the formal basis for a democratic system of justice.

On the other hand, there are dysfunctional aspects of the informal relationships for a constructed typology of abstract justice. The informal system may deprofessionalize the practice of criminal law. This is seen in the tendency for personal contacts to be substituted for legal deftness in the service

¹¹ Roscoe Pound referred to the informal settlements as "convictions" obtained on "bargain days" (*Criminal Justice in America* [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1930], p. 184); hence the results of this procedure are currently called "bargain justice." Although Pound spoke disparagingly of the procedure, many legal authorities now believe it to be necessary, judging it on the basis of *how* the privilege is used by the prosecutor's office. "Bargain justice" as used here is merely descriptive, referring to compromise settlements.

of clients; in ramified arrangements which sometimes ward off rigorous action by local grievance committees.¹² The informal patterns are often actually an attack on justice: when, for example, interest in protection of accused persons takes precedence over the public's interest in the conviction of guilty persons. Affective neutrality and functional specificity, two characteristics of the professional role, tend to be compromised by the system of informal relations.

The data at hand show that a majority of practitioners in criminal law maintain in-

¹² These subjects are dealt with at some length in the author's report to the Survey of the Legal Profession (unpublished).

formal connections. This generalization holds regardless of the size of the city, the religious affiliations of the lawyers, the degree of specialization in criminal law, the extent of college education, or income.¹³ The quality of the informal relations, however, varies considerably between jurisdictions, largely as an effect of the policies of the prosecutor's office and the degree of political influence in the administration of justice.

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¹³ In the statistical analysis, criminal lawyers were divided into subcategories by religion, specialization, income, and education. These breakdowns made practically no differences in the comparisons reported between criminal and civil lawyers.

ANALYSIS OF A PROGRAM OF TREATMENT OF DELINQUENT BOYS

HOWARD E. FREEMAN AND H. ASHLEY WEEKS

ABSTRACT

Background and attitude data gathered as part of a comprehensive study of the Highfields program of treatment of juvenile offenders were used to design a prediction table. The table is used on a sample of boys from Highfields and a matched sample drawn from a typical juvenile institution. The comparison of the samples shows that Highfields has a higher success rate at lower financial cost.

On July 1, 1950, the "Highfields Project," a new treatment program for youthful offenders, was inaugurated in the state of New Jersey. Under the program, boys sixteen and seventeen years old who are not known to the courts as sexual deviants, who have no apparent extreme psychological deviations, and who have not been previously committed to a state institution for delinquents are sent for three or four months to a residence called Highfields, while officially on probation.¹

Highfields accommodates about twenty boys. There are no barred windows or locked gates, and guards are nonexistent. In a permissive atmosphere, interaction with the staff is informal. A form of group therapy is used, known as guided group interaction.² At the end of their stay, boys are released from Highfields but remain on probation for approximately two years.

SCOPE OF THE RESEARCH

This study attempts to develop a prediction instrument from background variables and precommitment responses which will supply valid judgments as to which boys

are likely to do well under treatment at Highfields. One objective is to supply information to the legal authorities when considering whether or not to send a youth to Highfields.³ The table also provides a way of reconsidering preliminary evidence which suggests that the success rate is higher among boys treated at Highfields than among boys treated at typical reform or industrial schools.⁴

To provide at least partly equated samples, the original design included a control sample of boys sent to a more typical institution serving the same area, who matched the Highfields sample in age and other characteristics. Nevertheless, it cannot be assumed that the two samples are equated on all variables related to successful treatment. Under these circumstances, only by less rigorous methods may additional controls be found, so that these will only approximate equated samples.

The question considered here, in seeking

² F. Lovell Bixby and Lloyd W. McCorkle "Guided Group Interaction in Correctional Work," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 45-59.

³ Cf. Leo A. Goodman, "The Use and Validity of a Prediction Instrument," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (March, 1953), 503-4.

¹ The Highfields Project has been the focus of an intensive research program conducted by the research division of the sociology department of New York University. Funds for the research were granted by the Vincent Astor Foundation. Research findings are reported to an advisory committee whose chairman is Ernest W. Burgess. Social histories, attitude questionnaires, sentence completion tests, interviews, and probation reports are the research data. A volume reporting the over-all findings will appear in 1956, sponsored by the Astor Foundation. The present paper sets forth one technique for handling data.

⁴ H. Ashley Weeks, "Preliminary Evaluation of the Highfields Project," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (June, 1953), 280-87. It is not possible to provide more than a limited comparative evaluation of Highfields. Since the boys were assigned by the legal authorities of the state of New Jersey, it was not possible to employ randomly selected control and experimental groups. But, without them, the researcher can never be certain that a specific factor accounts for a particular phenomenon.

the needed controls, is: "Does the success rate of a sample of boys sent to a more typical institution differ significantly from the rate expected when the sample is stratified by scores predictive of success among the Highfields sample?"

This question was asked in order to relieve the researcher of the necessity of matching by individual factors, with a concomitant loss in sample size, or of matching by frequency distribution, with an accompanying loss of stringency of controls. Indeed, if a perfect prediction instrument could be developed, the answer to the question would also be the answer to the question of whether or not Highfields offers more successful treatment than a typical program. Since, however, a perfect prediction instrument is not likely, it may only be assumed that *all* the differences have been controlled. Therefore, the answer provides information permitting only a speculative consideration of whether or not the Highfields program effects a higher success rate than a program which includes commitment to more typical treatment.

THE PREDICTION TABLE

The prediction table was constructed from background variables and attitudinal responses secured from each delinquent immediately after the courts selected him for the Highfields program. The sample includes only boys who were out of Highfields and in a non-institutional (street) environment for at least six months, unless they were recommitted to another institution either while in Highfields or after release.

Individuals were classified as non-recidivists or "successes" if they met one of the two following criteria: (1) had completed treatment, i.e., were released from probation; (2) had been out of the residence for at least six months without having been re-committed.

Recidivists or "non-successes" were those boys returned to the courts and committed elsewhere after release from Highfields. Boys returned to the courts during residence at Highfields and remanded to another in-

stitution were also considered "non-successes." Successful treatment is defined in terms of *all* the boys referred to the program, regardless of the length of time they were under treatment.⁵

The initial statistical analysis was done on fourteen background variables which inspection indicated were related to recidivism. Similarly, a number of attitude questions, translated into eight Guttman scales, were also selected.⁶ A modified method of discriminant function analysis, developed by Horst and used in published criminological research, was employed in the development of the table.⁷ The analysis proceeded by the following steps:

1. Point-serial correlation coefficients were calculated between the criterion and each of the selected variables.
2. Those variables yielding coefficients of .10 or higher with the criterion were interrelated among themselves. The background and attitude variables were treated separately.
3. Separate iterative analyses were performed for each of the two sets of variables.
4. Weights were computed for each of the variables. These weights are identical with beta weights obtained through traditional multiple correlation methods.
5. Weights for the subcategories of each variable were calculated. The highest weight was

⁵ Almost one-half of the total number of non-successes were returned to the courts during their stay at Highfields. Several were at Highfields for only a day or two, and a few for only several hours. Of course other definitions of success and non-success might have been employed. Since certain of the boys were still on probation at the time of this research, some of those classified as successes may now be non-successes. Ideally, this study should have been postponed until all had been released from probation.

⁶ The attitude scales do not conform to all of Guttman's requirements, the most crucial violation being that they are composed of but three or four questions. Copies of the questionnaire and scales can be obtained from the Research Division, Department of Sociology, New York University.

⁷ Paul Horst and Stevenson Smith, "The Discrimination of Two Racial Samples," *Psychometrika*, XV (September, 1950), 271-89; Bernard C. Kirby, "Parole Prediction Using Multiple Correlation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (May, 1954), 539-50.

assigned to the subcategory of each variable which contains the largest proportion of cases successfully treated.

6. Each case was assigned two scores, one for background variables and one for attitude variables. These scores are based upon the subcategory weights each case earned on each variable.

TABLE 1

POINT-SERIAL COEFFICIENTS OF BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDE VARIABLES WITH THE CRITERION OF SUCCESSFUL TREATMENT OF 179 HIGHFIELDS BOYS; WEIGHTS ASSIGNED VARIABLES ON THE BASIS OF THE ITERATIVE ANALYSIS

	Coefficient	Weight
<i>Background variables:*</i>		
City of residence.....	0.24†	0.3788
Number of delinquencies....	— .21†	.2596
Religion.....	— .21†	.0000
Number of cities lived in....	— .15†	.0977
Number of associates.....	.13†	.1441
Marital status of parents....	— .13†	.1689
Number of different locations lived in city.....	.12†	.2425
Religious attendance.....	— .08	.....
Age.....	.07	.....
Education.....	.05	.....
Father's occupation.....	— .04	.....
Racial membership.....	.04	.....
Number of siblings.....	.01	.....
Mother's occupation.....	.00	.....
<i>Attitude variables (Guttman scales):</i>		
Parental authority.....	— .35†	0.3811
General authority.....	— .24†	.0611
Trust of others.....	— .13†	.0000
Achievement norms.....	— .09	.....
Self-acceptance.....	— .08	.....
Ascribed norms.....	— .07	.....
Law and order.....	— .05	.....
The family.....	0.00	.....

* Since the iterative analyses were conducted independently, the weights of the two sets of variables are not additive.

† Variables further considered in the iterative analysis.

The development of the prediction table involves statistical assumptions not always fully justified. However, more of the available information was utilized here than would have been possible with more traditional approaches used in the development of such instruments. (Space does not permit the inclusion of all relevant tables.) Table 1 contains the point-serial correlation coefficients and the weights assigned each variable. Table 2, a condensed experience table, shows the cutting scores affording most efficient prediction.

The percentage reduction in error achieved by the use of this experience table, compared with prediction based upon modal probability, is 27 per cent.⁸ This reduction in error compares favorably with previous studies; the reduction in error achieved in this study is higher than that of all but two of twenty-six studies reviewed by Ohlin and Duncan.⁹

COMPARISON OF THE HIGHFIELDS PROGRAM WITH A TYPICAL PROGRAM

From Annandale Farms, a modern, minimum security institution located in New Jersey, was drawn the control group. Each time the courts assigned to Annandale a boy who approximated the Highfields sample in terms of age, no prior commitment, and type of delinquency, he also was interviewed and tested with the same instruments as were the Highfields boys. The control group, in addition to being subjected to a less therapeutically oriented treatment program, differs from the experimental group in three ways:

1. The length of stay at Highfields is about four months, compared to about one year at Annandale.
2. Discharged Highfields cases are supervised by probation officers; Annandale cases by parole officers.
3. Highfields accepts only boys who have never been institutionalized, who are between the ages of sixteen and seventeen and are not sexual deviants. While the Annandale sample employed in this study met the same criteria, the Annandale boys during confinement were part of a larger population and their social contacts were not limited to such boys.

Each Annandale case was scored on the basis of the weights developed for the Highfields sample. The criterion of non-success

⁸ A measure of the reliability of the instrument was obtained by randomly sorting the cases in each of the six cells into two groups and applying the Brown-Spearman test-retest reliability formula, $r_{11} = .91$.

⁹ Lloyd E. Ohlin and Otis Dudley Duncan, "The Efficiency of Prediction in Criminology," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (March, 1949), 441-51.

was the same as that used for the Highfields sample.

The following null hypothesis was tested:

The success rate of a sample of boys sent to Annandale does not differ significantly from the rate expected when the sample is stratified by scores predictive of success among the Highfields sample.

Table 3 contains the experience table for the Annandale sample. The extreme right-

gory indicates that in general the expected rate is higher than the actual rate. Those categories with the greatest proportion of successful treatment at Highfields show the sharpest differences. Considering only the boys in the last two categories, the chances are only about five out of ten that such boys will succeed at Annandale, compared to about eight out of ten at Highfields. A chi-square test of goodness of fit is significant

TABLE 2
EXPERIENCE TABLE OF 179 HIGHFIELDS BOYS BASED ON 7 BACK-
GROUND AND 3 ATTITUDINAL VARIABLES

SCORES		TOTAL	SUCCESS	FAILURE	PER CENT	
Background	Attitude				SUCCESS	
Under 4,000	Under 2,500	12	1	11	8	
Under 4,000	Over 2,500	14	5	9	36	
4,001-6,500	Under 2,500	33	14	19	42	
4,001-6,500	Over 2,500	37	24	13	65	
6,501 and over	Under 2,500	37	29	8	78	
6,501 and over	Over 2,500	46	40	6	87	
Total		179	113	66	63	

TABLE 3
EXPERIENCE TABLE OF 58 ANNANDALE BOYS BASED UPON 7 BACK-
GROUND AND 3 ATTITUDE VARIABLES

SCORES		TOTAL	SUCCESS	FAILURE	PER CENT	
Background	Attitude				SUCCESS	EXPECTED SUCCESS
Under 4,000	Under 2,500	9	2	7	22	8
Under 4,000	Over 2,500	6	1	5	16	36
4,001-6,500	Under 2,500	9	3	6	33	42
4,001-6,500	Over 2,500	15	9	6	60	65
Over 6,500	Under 2,500	6	2	4	33	78
Over 6,500	Over 2,500	13	8	5	62	87
Total		58	25	33	43	63

hand column, labeled "expected success" contains the Highfields rate for each category. Examination of the table indicates that in general the instrument predicts successful treatment at Annandale. It does not, however, predict as well as the Highfields table. The improvement ratio is 16 per cent compared with 27 per cent for the original Highfields sample. Both the small size of the Annandale sample and the expected shrinkage upon replication of the prediction instrument must be kept in mind in analyzing the results.

A comparison of the success rate by cate-

at the .01 level, and the null hypothesis is rejected.

As a supporting question, the converse null hypothesis was tested. That is:

The success rate of a sample of boys sent to Highfields does not differ significantly from the rate expected when the sample is stratified by categories predictive of success among the Annandale sample.

A more crude method of analysis seemed called for by the small size of the Annandale sample. Three variables appear to be related to successful treatment at Annandale: race, religion, and the city of residence. The size

of the sample requires that the success rates of the combinations of these factors be taken two at a time to yield enough cases to make the analysis meaningful. These comparisons are reported in Table 4. The results indicate that, with the exception of white, Catholic boys from Newark or Jersey City, Highfields has a higher success rate. Thus, the second null hypothesis may also be rejected.

Keeping in mind the limitations of the approach, the following generalizations can be made:

residential aspects of the treatment are approximately the same.¹⁰

Even if the success rates of both treatment programs are equal, which our results point to as a conservative generalization, then the confinement aspects of successful treatment at Annandale, in terms of dollar cost, is at least three times as high as at Highfields. Furthermore, the cost differential appears to be even greater for those individuals having the highest probability of success in either program. Evidently three out of four boys in this group succeed under

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF SUCCESS RATES FOR HIGHFIELDS AND ANNANDALE BY RACE,
RELIGION, AND CITY OF RESIDENCE RELATED TWO AT A TIME

VARIABLES		ANNANDALE			Per Cent Success	HIGHFIELDS			Per Cent Success
		Success	Failure	Total		Success	Failure	Total	
<i>City:</i>	<i>Race:</i>								
Jersey City	White	12	7	19	63	25	24	49	51
Newark									
Jersey City	Negro	1	17	18	5	10	10	20	50
Newark									
Other	White	10	7	17	59	69	29	98	70
Other	Negro	2	2	4	50	9	3	12	75
<i>City:</i>	<i>Religion:</i>								
Jersey City	Catholic	10	6	16	63	19	17	36	52
Newark									
Jersey City	Other	3	18	21	14	16	17	33	48
Newark									
Other	Catholic	3	3	6	50	41	23	64	64
Other	Other	9	6	15	60	37	9	46	80
<i>Religion:</i>	<i>Race:</i>								
Catholic	White	12	7	19	63	57	38	95	60
Catholic	Negro	1	2	3	33	3	2	5	60
Other	White	10	6	16	62	37	15	52	71
Other	Negro	2	18	20	10	16	11	27	59

1. In general the Highfields treatment program provides a greater probability of successful treatment than the Annandale treatment program.
2. For those individuals with the highest probability of successful treatment in both programs, the probability of successful treatment is significantly higher under the Highfields treatment program.

An additional variable in the comparison of the two programs can be introduced. The modal period of residence in Highfields is four months. The modal period of residence in Annandale is at least one year. The monthly costs of the residential and non-

the Highfields program, while only two out of every four boys succeed under the Annandale program. For this category of boys, then, every six hundred dollars spent at Highfields resulted in a successful treatment, but at Annandale each success cost twenty-nine hundred dollars.

SUMMARY

This study utilized a multiple-correlation, discriminant-function approach to a predic-

¹⁰ The yearly per capita cost on current maintenance while in the institutions was \$1,413.95 for Highfields and \$1,479.75 for Annandale during 1953 (cf. *Mental Deficiency in New Jersey, 1953* [published by the state of New Jersey], p. 226).

tion problem. Even with crude application necessitated by the data, a prediction table has been developed that compares favorably with those achieved by other researchers.

When utilizing this prediction table to approximate a control and experimental group, the Highfields treatment plan, in general, proved to be more likely to result in a successful treatment of the delinquents studied.

The advisability of expanding the Highfields program or of introducing it in other localities, however, has not been shown. It may well be that it provides more successful treatment only when all the other circumstances surrounding the program are present, the therapy itself being inconsequential. Further research is required on the fol-

¹¹ Highfields' smaller size may be a factor in successful treatment regardless of the guided group interaction program. Even in our original research design we recognized that we were not studying the effect of guided group interaction as such but of the total program as compared with the total program at a more typical institution.

¹² The influence of the expectations of others on the successful treatment of delinquents is an interesting and unexplored research question. Judges, at least in part, undoubtedly try to select youths for different kinds of treatment according to their estimates of the youths' problems and needs, and, if they succeed, that would partly account for the higher success rate of Highfields. The data collected give no indications that boys selected for Highfields differ greatly from those selected for Annandale; and what differences do exist do not account for the large differences between the success rates for the two groups. The boys themselves may have different expectations and so be influenced differently. Boys sent to Highfields may perceive themselves, more often than boys sent to Annandale, as "potential successes" and, as Merton and others have noted, behave accordingly. Boys from the two institutions may have different expectations in regard to their relationships with their parole or probation officers just as the parole or probation officers may have different expectations regarding boys from the different facilities.

lowing subjects: (1) the effect of the differential lengths of the two treatment programs; (2) that the Annandale boys studied were selected from a larger delinquent population and were in contact with more serious offenders (the Highfields boys associated only with each other and are probably less serious offenders);¹¹ (3) the possible differential expectation patterns on part of the boys and others;¹² (4) that Annandale boys were supervised by parole officers and Highfields boys by probation officers after release; and (5) the comparison of the success rate of Highfields with some other program selected as the control.¹³

While the evidence suggests that Highfields provides greater probability of successful treatment than one typical program, further research is required to support this optimistic appraisal.

THE RAND CORPORATION
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

¹³ The possibility of drawing a second control group, from boys on probation, was considered in the designing of this research. But it was not possible to find enough boys 16-17 years of age on probation with the same frequency of prior delinquencies and kinds of delinquencies as those of the Highfields boys, to say nothing about the similarity of many other background variables. There is little doubt that almost all of the Highfields boys would have been sent to Annandale or a similar institution if Highfields were not in existence, rather than being placed or continued on probation. Since Highfields was primarily conceived as an alternative to commitment to a typical reform institution, Annandale boys were selected as the control group. The fact that Highfields boys are technically on probation is an integral part of the program but in no way implies that Highfields boys are more similar to other probationers than they are to boys sent to a reformatory. The question of whether Highfields has a higher success rate than a program of probation without Highfields treatment could only be answered if a group of probationers with as serious delinquencies as the boys sent to Highfields could be found. The great majority of Highfields boys have a long history of serious delinquencies.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"HARMONIOUS OPPOSITION" AND "DUAL ALLEGIANCE"

April 14, 1956

To the Editor:

Industrial sociologists may be interested in three points raised by Bernard Karsh in his review of my recent book, *The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union* (this *Journal*, November, 1955).

First, Professor Karsh is disturbed with the concept "local industrial plant community." For him, this is "grossly misleading. Implicit in the author's definition of community is the notion of co-operation, that is, *the absence of conflict* [italics added] . . . and the notion of common ends. . . . It would seem self-evident that these basic interests [of management and labor] inevitably lead to conflict." One of the major points of *The Worker Speaks His Mind* is precisely the value of conflict. Why else should the Chicago packinghouse workers clearly show "a hardy and persistent desire . . . for self-organization around their jobs"? (p. 72). In spite of Swift's advanced personnel policy and the partly successful former company union, the workers want a real union. That means conflict.

But what *kind* of conflict do the packinghouse workers want? One plausible typology is: hot-war conflict; cold-war conflict; harmonious conflict. My findings are: Most of the Chicago Swift-UPWA, Local 28 packinghouse workers want harmonious conflict. Harmonious conflict, or better, harmonious opposition means "true co-operation between union and company, while each retained its own objectives. This relationship admits the differences, admits some opposition, but it also recognizes the great areas of common interest within the plant community, and it is willing harmoniously to settle differences in friendly give and take" (p. 7). One of the workers' com-

monest fears is that too much militancy on one side or the other will kill the egg-laying goose or break up the union. Most, at least in a general way, want both organizations to achieve their goals.

Incidentally, what empirical evidence supports the theory that "co-operation" *must* mean "the absence of conflict" or, for that matter, "collusion"? Certainly there is conflict, in my definition, in community, and, in actuality, in the Chicago stockyards. There is also fair co-operation. There is no collusion.

Secondly, Professor Karsh finds my concept of allegiance "slippery" and meaningless. Admittedly, allegiance ("general satisfaction with the company—or union—as an institution" [pp. 77, 145]) is a complex attitude. But in almost all cases its presence or absence can be reliably abstracted from our interviews by independent observers; moreover, research by Stagner, Kahn, Tannenbaum, Dean, Turner, and others is helping to clarify this idea. Allegiance does not mean satisfaction with *everything* about company or union; it does not necessarily mean pride of work or the desire to have your children work in the stockyards. (Is a double standard a contradiction here?). Professor Karsh is bothered by the idea that a worker could entertain allegiance to the company and yet could say: "Swift would take your last ounce of blood" (p. 158). But this man's remark was about the wage-incentive system, which he despises. He also says: "Swift is a darn good company or it wouldn't have made progress or expanded the way they have. I wouldn't have stayed here 21 years, if I didn't think so!" (Unpublished interview in file.)

Likewise, allegiance to the union does not *necessarily* mean support for local

leaders or participation in local meetings, though it often affects both. Last year, 500 men quit Local 28 to work actively toward another union. But they are among the most union-minded men in the plant.

Professor Karsh says: "A conclusion that *foremen* . . . have any kind of allegiance to the *union* is for this reader patently meaningless." Is the fact that 57 per cent of the Swift foremen thought the union a good and even necessary institution in the plant meaningless to the union or to the social scientist?

Finally, Professor Karsh says that allegiance is not "an issue to the worker until and unless he conceives of the company and the union in conflict," that is, in a strike. *The Worker Speaks His Mind* surely shows the value of knowing the packinghouse workers' allegiances and other attitudes in a peaceful period, though, to be sure, it was not long after the 1948 strike. In a number of cases these attitudes are a valid basis for predicting day-by-day behavior toward either union or company (p. 194).

The issue of the relation between dual allegiance and dual (strike) behavior is, I think, honestly faced in the book: "Dual allegiance will not perfectly predict [striking or scabbing]. . . . Of course the relative amounts of . . . allegiance would influence [the workers] to strike or scab, though factors quite apart from allegiance would have a more important influence: the workers' opinion of these 'immediate' [collective-bargaining] issues, fear, etc." (pp. 272-73). While it would be interesting to study allegiance during a strike, a single research project cannot do everything.

The packers, they say, save everything from the hog but the squeal. Professor Karsh is very stimulating in his comments. But perhaps, on taking another look at *The Worker Speaks His Mind*, he might salvage a bit more than a groan.

THEODORE V. PURCELL

Loyola University, Chicago

April 27, 1956

To the Editor:

I have indeed taken another look at *The Worker Speaks His Mind* and even a third look, and I still hear myself emitting the same groan and even a few soft sighs. My point about Father Purcell's use of the concept "conflict" still stands. Only now he adds to the confusion by talking about "harmonious conflict" in the industrial relations setting. This notion has as little meaning to me as the notion that foremen have allegiance to the union or that allegiance is the same as satisfaction.

Perhaps my differences with Father Purcell are rooted in differences in our understanding of admittedly complex concepts and their application to the worker-management situation. Within the space permitted this rejoinder, it is impossible to discuss these complexities adequately. But to my mind sociology and social science will advance with clarification of concepts and the development of ever more adequate indexes for concepts. It seems to me that Father Purcell's use of "community," "conflict," and "allegiance," particularly as employed to gaining insight into the factory situation, muddies already opaque waters.

BERNARD KARSH

University of Illinois

"ANOMIE, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND PREJUDICE"

April 23, 1956

To the Editor:

Your January, 1956, issue (Vol. LXI, No. 4) presents an article by Roberts and Rokeach entitled "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication." I ask leave to comment on a number of errors of omission and commission in that article.

Purportedly replicated by these authors was the study in Springfield, Massachusetts, of which my paper, "Social Dysfunction,

Personality, and Social Distance Attitudes," was a first and tentative progress report which I read at the 1951 meetings of the American Sociological Society in Chicago. For a variety of compelling reasons, principally involving developments in conceptualization, a definitive draft of that paper was not completed until recently.

The Roberts-Rokeach study in Lansing, Michigan, made early in 1952, could not have been undertaken without the cooperation of the present writer. Rokeach, as director and designer of the Lansing study, requested of me and received (1) privileged copies of my unpublished 1951 paper; (2) a copy of the revised, shortened version of the California Authoritarianism scale I employed in Springfield; (3) permission to use my newly devised "Anomie" scale in his Lansing replication of the Springfield study. It is a matter of some surprise, therefore, that these professional courtesies are in no way acknowledged or mentioned in the Roberts-Rokeach article reporting their Lansing study and data. Moreover, I must disclaim responsibility for the utilization in their article of my unpublished Springfield findings, which, also surprisingly, they committed to publication without my consent or knowledge.

I wish these two oversights were all that I could take exception to in the Roberts-Rokeach article. Unfortunately, that piece also incorporates a fair number of substantive errors. These I would pass without comment, except for the elements of misrepresentation, which, if unchallenged, could mislead the reader and reflect on the method, findings, and personnel of the Springfield study.

My 1951 paper was prepared for brief oral presentation on the program of a national meeting, with the limitations set by that situation. Moreover, it was interlarded with observations on other of its limitations, including its provisional nature as a first report based on data analysis only recently begun. Nonetheless, Roberts and Rokeach choose to treat it as if it were a final, definitive study report, and extrapo-

lating from its temporary limitations, impute "methodological shortcomings" to the design and analysis plan of the Springfield study itself.

One among several instances is found in their statement: "Throughout the Srole study [*italics added*] no correlations were computed among the variables being considered . . . no attempt was made to test any of the reported differences for statistical significance." From this, they go one step further. Although in possession of the Springfield data, in the form of distribution tables, to make their own statistical computations, as did Christie in one instance from the very same information (Christie and Jahoda, *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954], p. 156), the Lansing authors dismiss the inferences which my paper cautiously and tentatively drew from these data with the comment: "Srole's conclusions, therefore, can be no more accurate than the accuracy of his subjective estimates of the degree of relationship existing among the several variables."

Among the many highly competent people who heard or read the paper and could test its "conclusions" against the reported tabulated data from which they were drawn, the Lansing authors are the first to challenge these conclusions—and then not on their factual substance but on the "subjective" procedural point that they "were established by inspection of data." It can hardly come as a surprise to them that the statistical operations subsequently performed on these data completely support the original inferences drawn from the latter.

The Lansing writers seek to represent certain of the Springfield study methods and findings as "questionable" by observing: "Although Srole's sample was relatively large ($N = 401$), his major conclusion . . . was based, to no small extent, on [17] subjects. . . . The reliability of conclusions based on an N so small is questionable."

I cannot go into the complex set of vari-

ables involved in what the Lansing authors, at least, regard as my "major conclusion." However, it may suffice to identify the locations of these 17 subjects in a nine-cell cross-tabulation of two trichotomized variables. In the distribution of the entire Springfield sample of 401 individuals through these nine cells, 12 respondents are found in one of the corner cells and 5 in the opposite corner cell. But the remaining 384 respondents are relatively well scattered among the other seven cells, where their distributions on a third variable suggested a fairly clear over-all trend that was the basis of my tentative conclusion.

It is ludicrous, at the very least, for the Lansing writers first to ignore these 384 respondents as being irrelevant to the discerned trend; then to fix on the remaining 17 respondents in the two extreme and underpopulated corner cells; then, third, to assert that my conclusion was "based to no small extent on [these 17] subjects"; and, finally, to proceed to the "clincher" that "the reliability of conclusions based on an *N* so small is questionable." Statistical treatment of this specific table also has produced a significant correlation that amply supports the conclusion the Lansing authors inventively challenge.

Approximately half their article is focused on the interrelationships of anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice scores as derived from their Lansing research that was originally conceived as a replication of the Springfield study. Here, by the potentially fruitful method of replication, one might hope, they would be on solid ground in bringing their data to bear on mine; it was this hope that prompted my full cooperation with Rokeach when he broached his plan to do a replication study. To my unqualified regret, the Lansing replication is also marred by errors of omission and commission.

First, on the level of comparative analysis of data, my 1951 progress report indicated a definite relationship in Springfield between anomie scores and education used as a tentative and "rough indicator" of

status. In the Roberts-Rokeach article the writers first appear to detect that "implicit in Srole's analysis is the assumption that status is an important determiner of anomie." Empirically, I did find a relationship between education and anomie scale scores, but nothing in my paper can be construed as implying the assumption that the former is a *determinant* of the latter. Second, by attributing this deterministic view to me, the Lansing authors can make the "if-so" jump that "we should expect anomie to be highly related to income, a relatively direct measure of status." Third, they announce: "We find that this expectation is not borne out . . . anomie correlates only $-.22$ with income after education has been held constant." In their summary, they downgrade this particular relationship to the level of the "negligible."

Of unprecedented originality, however, is that this particular coefficient of $-.22$ represents the partial correlation of anomie scores and the *residual* of the income factor left after the education factor has been *partialled out*; that is, this coefficient measures not the full relationship between anomie scores and income, as a legitimate and large determinant of status, but between anomie scores and only that portion of the income factor that is itself *unrelated* to education.

One possible construction that can be placed on this tortured procedure is that it betrays complete unawareness of the large literature on the objective indexes and measures of social-class phenomena. What is puzzling, however, is that, with 8 other correlations involving income as a status measure and appearing in the article's two tables, coefficients were computed with income as a *whole* rather than as a fractionated variable. In fact, scrutiny of these 8 coefficients, scattered among a total of 24 in the two tables, uncovers that one of them actually expresses the Pearson product-moment correlation between anomie scores and income. The magnitude of this correlation is $-.41$. Although the "negligible" partial correlation of $-.22$ between

anomie scores and the residual of the income factor was considered highly relevant in challenging the assumption they impute to me, their own considerable Pearsonian correlation of $-.41$ between anomie scores and income, discussed nowhere in their text, for some reason was considered of no relevance whatever.

A further analytical error in the Roberts-Rokeach article is that the authors treat divergences between the Lansing and Springfield findings as *ipso facto* challenges of the latter. Nowhere, even on a speculative level, is the question raised whether such decided differences may have, in small or large measure, an extrinsic basis, such as differences between the two studies (1) in sample size—Springfield $N = 401$, Lansing $N = 86$; (2) in regional, cultural, demographic, and economic characteristics of the two population universes.

Beyond such considerations, the Roberts-Rokeach claim to replication of the Springfield study is unwarranted on three crucial technical points. First, for both studies the common dependent variable was generalized attitudes toward minority groups. In the Springfield study this variable was measured by a combination of two types of data: (a) scored replies to five structured items referring by indirection to non-whites, Jews, foreigners, etc.; (b) spontaneous comments unexpectedly elicited from many, but not all, respondents by projective-type materials originally introduced into the study design for other purposes.

In the Lansing study, on the other hand, the dependent variable was measured with the ten-item California scale of ethnocentrism. There is little question that, with Rokeach's student interviewers, difficulties would have attended the use of the projective materials that, in the hands of professionals, were our secondary source of information on Springfield attitudes toward minorities. But our primary source of such information, namely, the five structured and scored attitude items, could readily have been replicated in Lansing. Even if Rokeach felt the ten California items to

be preferable to the five Springfield items—and no indications have been given to that effect—he could have included *both* sets of items and thereby have satisfied the minimal requirements for comparability. As it is, with the employment in Lansing of a measure of the common dependent variable that is completely different from the one used in Springfield, it is impossible to determine how far this technical difference adds to or subtracts from *both* the agreements and the disagreements in the findings of these two studies on their common dependent variable.

A second procedural deviation is to be found in the Lansing system of scoring replies to the five items representing the Authoritarianism scale and the five representing the Anomie scale. In Springfield a score value of 1 was assigned only to an unqualified "agree" response to a scale item, giving a score range to each scale of 0-5. In Lansing a score of 3 was given to an "agree" response, a score of 2 to a "can't decide," and a score of 1 to a "disagree," giving each scale a score range of 5-15.

A third deviation, particularly worth noting, is that, with the items on both scales representing more or less "unpopular" statements, the Springfield interviewer explicitly offered the respondent only the alternative of "agree" or "disagree." On the other hand, the Lansing interviewer (to judge from the questionnaire sent me in 1952 by Rokeach) explicitly offered the respondent three choices, namely, "agree," "disagree," or "can't decide," in that exact order. Thus Lansing's open invitation to a "can't decide" reply could hardly avoid enlarging the frequency of such replies, which in the Lansing scoring system received a score value of 2 and in the Springfield scoring system a value of zero. If so, this artifact could contribute decisively to differences between the two studies in the correlations they found among the Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Minority Prejudice variables.

Therefore, with these three procedural deviations, it is impossible to see how the

Lansing investigation offers any basis for meaningful comparison of its data with those of the Springfield study. Accordingly, its claim to be a replication of the latter study must be regarded as completely unwarranted.

I will close with an appropriate observation from Schachter ("Interpretative and Methodological Problems of Replicated Research," *Journal of Social Issues*, Vol. X, No. 4 [1954]):

When the results of replicated researches have differed . . . interpretation has usually been exceedingly ambiguous. . . . The differences may simply be due to chance. Or, they may be due to experimental artifacts. . . . Or such differences may genuinely reflect cultural differences among the subject populations. Or, differences may indicate that the original hypotheses underlying the experiments may have been incorrect or only partially correct. . . . It is clear that if a particular set of replications is to be more than a vehicle for potential bickering, it must be possible, in some degree, to determine which of these factors is responsible for a difference.

LEO SROLE

*Visiting Professor of Sociology
Cornell University Medical College*

REJOINDER

May 11, 1956

To the Editor:

Dr. Srole dismisses our replication of his anomie study by making two criticisms: (1) we violated professional courtesy in publishing the study without his consent, and (2) our methodology is too inadequate to be considered a replication.

Concerning the last point: our sole purpose in replicating Srole's study was to

test his major conclusion that anomie (Srole's Anomie Scale) rather than authoritarianism (F Scale) is the major determinant of prejudice. On the basis of our findings we concluded, "first, that Srole has isolated a new variable, anomie, which is an important correlate of prejudice and which, therefore, merits further study; and, second, that anomie is not demonstrated to be a more important correlate of prejudice than authoritarian character structure."

It is quite true, as Srole points out, that the two studies, his and ours, differ in size and characteristics of the sample, measure of prejudice, method of scoring, etc. But if any valid generalization is to be drawn from Srole's findings and conclusions, it should be valid despite such relatively minor methodological differences. That we come out with somewhat different conclusions from Srole's places a burden on him to *reconcile* the substantive differences. This he does not attempt to do. Rather, he simply dismisses our study and its findings.

As for the issue of professional courtesy which Srole raises, let me say, first, that Srole sent me, *unsolicited* (without my requesting it, as Srole claims) a copy of the paper he delivered before the American Sociological Society in 1951. Second, we held up the publication of our paper three years as a professional courtesy to Srole. Third, and most important of all, findings presented at a scientific congress are public information, and it is against the interest of science to require the original investigator's consent for others to repeat his study and to require that publication of such findings be delayed indefinitely.

MILTON ROKEACH

Michigan State University

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1955

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 69 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 137 doctoral degrees and 317 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1955.

DOCTOR'S DEGREE

- Lilialyce Sink Akers, B.S. Wheaton College, 1942; M.A. Kentucky, 1949. "The Level of Accommodation between Organized Religion and Organized Labor in an Industrial Community." *Kentucky*.
- Aaron Antonovsky, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1945; M.A. Yale, 1952. "The Ideologies of American Jews." *Yale*.
- Dorothy Dorrian Apple, A.B., A.M. Texas, 1947, 1948. "Grandparents and Grandchildren: A Sociological and Psychological Study of Their Relationship." *Radcliffe College*.
- Jay William Artis, B.A. Hamline College, 1949; M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1950. "The Relationship of Certain Ecological Factors to Changes in the Primary Functions of Rural Neighborhoods in Dane County, Wisconsin, 1921 to 1951." *Wisconsin*.
- John C. Ball, B.S. Connecticut, 1949; M.A. George Peabody College, 1950. "A Scale and Factorial Analysis of Delinquent Attitudes." *Vanderbilt*.
- Panos Bardis, A.B. Bethany College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1953. "Dating Attitudes and Patterns among Foreign Students at Purdue University." *Purdue*.
- Ernest A. T. Barth, A.B. Rochester, 1950; M.A. North Carolina, 1953. "A Typological Analysis of Ten Air Force Base-Host Community Situations." *North Carolina*.
- Leonard U. Blumberg, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "Community Leaders: The Social Bases and Social-psychological Concomitants of Community Power." *Michigan*.
- Lawrence Louis Bourgeois, A.B. Loyola, 1941; A.M. Louisiana State, 1943. "The Large-Family System: A Pilot Analysis of Variant Urban Adaptation." *Harvard*.
- Alvin Priestly Bradford, A.B. San Antonio, 1938; A.M. Texas, 1941. "The Tactics and Methods of Labor Organizing: The Role of Agitation in the Development of a Social Movement." *Chicago*.
- Max N. Burchard, A.B. San Jose State College, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1951. "The Mature Criminal: A Typological Study." *Nebraska*.
- Leonard D. Cain, Jr., B.A., M.A. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "The Role of Myth-Designation in Social Movements." *Texas*.
- Santo Francis Camilleri, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1947, 1949. "An Application of Certain Typological Methods to the Study of *The Authoritarian Personality*." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Charles Chandler, B.S., M.S. Southern Illinois, 1948, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of Participative Experience Relating to Adjustment of Institutionalized Mental Defectives and Epileptics." *Iowa State College*.
- Ely Chertok, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1941; M.A. Washington, 1952. "Social Processes of Self-conception." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- John Rees Christiansen, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1949, 1952. "The Functional Effectiveness of Rural Dane County, Wisconsin, Neighborhoods." *Wisconsin*.
- Alfred C. Clarke, A.B. Marietta College, 1948; M.A. Ohio State, 1950. "The Use of Leisure and Its Relation to Social Stratification." *Ohio State*.
- Charles H. Coates, B.S. West Point, 1924; M.A. Louisiana State, 1952. "The Achievement of Career Success in Executive Management: A Community Study of Comparative Occupational Mobility." *Louisiana State*.
- Carl J. Couch, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1951, 1954. "A Study of the Relationship between Self-views and Role-taking Accuracy." *Iowa*.
- Irving Crespi, B.S.Sc. City College, 1945; M.A. Iowa, 1946. "A Functional Analysis of Social Card Playing as a Leisure Time Activity." *New School*.
- Ray P. Cuzzort, A.B., M.A. Cincinnati, 1951, 1952. "The Suburbanization of Service Trade Activities in Standard Metropolitan Areas of the United States." *Minnesota*.
- Cecilia Gonzalez de Davila, A.B. in Ed. Uni-

- versity of Puerto Rico, 1943; A.M. Columbia, 1946. "A Proposal for Community Education in Selected Resettlements in Puerto Rico." *New York*.
- James Allan Davis, B.S. Northwestern, 1950; A.M. Wisconsin, 1952. "Living Rooms as Symbols of Status: A Study in Social Judgment." *Harvard*.
- Marjorie Davis, B.S. Columbia, 1931; M.A. New York, 1951. "Aspects of Family Behavior in Relation to Health and Medical Care in a Low-Income, Urban Neighborhood." *New York*.
- Shoi Balaban Dickinson, A.B., M.A. California, 1949, 1951. "The Significance of Interaction between Status Levels: A Case Study of a Major Department Store." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Leon Dion, A.B., M.A. Laval, 1945, 1948. "The Political Ideology of National Socialism." *Laval*.
- Dempster Perry Dirks, A.B. Chapman College, 1936; A.M. Southern California, 1950. "Selected Social and Cultural Characteristics of La Paz, Baja California, Mexico." *Southern California*.
- Gerhard Ditz, B.Sc. London, 1945; M.A. Wisconsin, 1947. "Joint Consultation in the British Coal Industry." *Columbia*.
- Jack E. Dodson, B.A. North Texas State College, 1950; M.A. Texas, 1951. "Differential Fertility in Houston, Texas, 1940-50." *Texas*.
- Herman Dreer, A.B. Syracuse, 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Negro Leadership in St. Louis: A Study in Race Relations." *Chicago*.
- Willis Dunn, B.A. Asbury College, 1935; M.A. Michigan State, 1937, "A Study of Secularization in the Rural Protestant Areas of Isabella County, Michigan." *Michigan State*.
- Everett Dixon Dyer, B.A. Houston, 1941; M.A. Texas, 1947. "Roles and Role Expectations in the Two-Income Family." *Wisconsin*.
- William Gibb Dyer, B.A., M.A. Brigham Young, 1950, 1951. "A Study in Job Perception of the Worker and His Family." *Wisconsin*.
- Evelyn Thayer Eaton, A.B. California, 1942; M.A. Catholic, 1949. "The Belgian Leagues of Christian Working-Class Women." *Catholic*.
- Robert Endleman, A.B. Toronto, 1946; A.M. Wisconsin, 1947. "Value-Conflict, Authority, and Aggression." *Harvard*.
- Orlando Fals-Borda, B.A. Dubuque, 1947; M.A. Minnesota, 1952. "A Sociological Study of the Relationship between Man and the Land in the Department of Boyaca, Columbia." *Florida*.
- Mark George Field, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1948, 1950. "The Medical Profession in Soviet Society: A Study in Bureaucratization and Control." *Harvard*.
- Frederick Christian Fliegel, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1949, 1952. "An Analysis of Certain Variables Associated with Acceptance of New Farm Practices." *Wisconsin*.
- Edwin G. Flittie, A.B. Colorado, 1946; M.S. Stanford, 1947. "Fertility and Mortality in the Rocky Mountain West." *Northwestern*.
- Raymond Forer, A.B. Denver, 1947; M.A. Yale, 1951. "The Reactions of Adolescents to Radio and Television in Relation to Selected Social Variables." *Yale*.
- Esti D. Freud, Matura, Austria; 8 years Vienna. "The Social Implications of Language Disturbances." *New School*.
- Robert Earl Garren, A.B. California, 1950; M.A. North Carolina, 1953. "An Approach to the Understanding of the Communication-Efficiency Nexus in Industry: Content Analysis of Some Company House Organs." *North Carolina*.
- Robert Louis Gasser, B.A. Denver, 1938; M.A. George Washington, 1952. "The Confidence World as a Criminal Behavior System." *American*.
- Homer Kent Geiger, A.B. Princeton, 1947; A.M. Harvard, 1949. "The Urban Slavic Family and the Soviet System." *Harvard*.
- Hugh Ghormle, A.B., M.A., B.D. Drake, 1922, 1923, 1924; M.S. Iowa State College, 1945. "Church Leadership in Polk County, Iowa." *Iowa State College*.
- Glenn William Gilman, S.B. Ed. Central State Teachers College, 1941; S.M. Georgia School of Technology, 1947. "Industrial Relations in the Georgia Piedmont." *Chicago*.
- Oscar Glantz, B.S. Temple, 1948; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1949. "Occupational Strata and Political Differences." *Pennsylvania*.
- Joan L. Gordon, A.B. Jackson College, 1928; A.M. Columbia, 1933. "Some Socio-economic Aspects of Selected Negro Families in Savannah, Georgia, with Special Reference to the Effects of Occupational Stratification in Child Rearing." *Pennsylvania*.
- Alan Gerald Gowman, A.B. Union College, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1951. "The War Blind in American Social Structure." *Harvard*.

- Heinz J. Graafls, A.B. San Francisco State, 1947; M.A. Washington, 1951. "Demographic and Ecological Correlates of the Changing Structure of American Cities." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Norman E. Green, B.E. Rhode Island College of Education, 1939; M.A. Columbia, 1947. "The Collection and Interpretation of Areal Photographic Data in Urban Sociological Research." *North Carolina*.
- John Thomas Greene, A.B., M.A. Duke, 1936, 1940. "The Role of Religiosity in Marital Success." *North Carolina*.
- A. Robert Gutman, A.B. Columbia College, 1946. "The Accuracy of Birth Statistics in Massachusetts, 1842-1901." *Columbia*.
- Robert Lee Hamblin, B.S. Utah, 1951. "An Experimental Study of the Relationship of Communication, Power Relationships, Specialization, and Social Atmosphere to Group Size." *Michigan*.
- Robert Carl Hanson, A.B., M.A. California, 1949, 1951. "Confirmation in Social Research." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Chester Wendell Hartwig, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1941, 1950. "A Study of the Concept of Value in American Sociology." *Wisconsin*.
- Richard J. Hill, A.B. Rutgers, 1950; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Temporal Aspects of Person-to-Person Message Diffusion." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Norman A. Hilmar, A.B. Colorado, 1949. "Conflicting Social Norms in a Formal Organization: A Study of Interpersonal Expectations." *Cornell*.
- Ralph Howard Hines, B.S., A.M. Illinois, 1949, 1952. "Danischborg and Swedenholm: A Study of Relative Sociocultural Change under Military Occupation." *Illinois*.
- Charles W. Hobart, B.A. Redlands, 1950; M.A. Southern California, 1951. "Material Role Opinions and the Courtship Process." *Indiana*.
- Harold M. Hodges, Jr., A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1948, 1952. "Social Factors Associated with Leadership among a Selected Group of High-School Boys." *Southern California*.
- Marie Brase Hotz, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1948; A.M. Northwestern, 1952. "A Study of Cohort Migration in the United States, 1870-1950." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Robert Mills Huntington, A.B., A.M. Yale, 1948, 1949. "Needs and Interaction: A Study of the Marital Relationship." *Harvard*.
- Norman Richard Jackman, B.A., B.L.S. California, 1947, 1950. "The Conflict Process in War Relocation Authority Centers, 1942-45." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Joan K. Jackson, A.B., M.A. McGill, 1945, 1947. "Social Adjustment Preceding, Accompanying, and Following the Onset of Alcoholism." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Bernard Joseph James, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "An Analysis of an American Indian Village." *Wisconsin*.
- Miriam Massey Johnson, A.B. North Carolina, 1948; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1951. "Instrumental and Expressive Components in the Personalities of Women." *Radcliffe College*.
- Robert B. Johnson, B.A. Fisk, 1942. "The Nature of the Minority Community: Internal Structure, Reactions, Leadership, and Action." *Cornell*.
- Walfrid J. Jokinen, B.A. Minnesota, 1951; M.A. Louisiana State, 1953. "The Finns in the United States: A Sociological Analysis." *Louisiana State*.
- Lewis W. Jones, A.B. Fisk, 1931; M.A. Columbia, 1939. "Neighborhoods: A Study of the Choice of Alternatives." *Columbia*.
- Alfred Kadushin, B.S. in S.S. City College of New York, 1940; M.S. School of Social Work, 1948. "A Study of Interview Observation in Social Casework." *New York*.
- Paul Kamerdze, F.S.C., A.B., M.A. Catholic, 1939, 1941. "A Study of the Major Sociological Aspects of Truancy within Selected Census Tracts of Washington, D.C." *Catholic*.
- Mary Louise Miller Kanter, A.B. Stanford, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Modes of Orientation among Protestant Clergymen: Authoritarianism and Humanism." *Nebraska*.
- Bernard Karsh, A.M. Chicago, 1950. "The Labor Strike in a Small Community: A Study of Industrial Conflict." *Chicago*.
- Clark C. Knowlton, A.B., M.A. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "The Syrian and Lebanese Minority in São Paulo, Brazil." *Vanderbilt*.
- Nancy M. Kreuger, A.B. Smith College, 1945; M.A. Western Reserve, 1948. "Assimilation and Adjustment of Postwar Immigrants in Franklin County, Ohio." *Ohio State*.
- Otto N. Larsen, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1947, 1949. "The Mechanics and Effects of Direct and Socially Mediated Channels of Contact in Message Diffusion." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Lawrence Breslin Lawson, A.B. Toronto, 1927;

- M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Protestant Minister in Chicago." *Chicago*.
- William Cranston Lawton, A.B., A.M. Texas, 1933, 1935. "The Du Ponts: A Case Study of Kinship in the Business Organization." *Chicago*.
- Roger Little, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of the Relationship between Collective Solidarity and Combat Role Performance." *Michigan State*.
- Herman J. Loether, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1951; M.A. Washington, 1953. "An Experimental Study of the Relationship between the Structure and the Functioning of Problem-solving Groups." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Nellie Holmes Loomis, B.A., M.A. Michigan State, 1931, 1933. "Spanish-Anglo Ethnic Cleavage in a New Mexican High School," *Michigan State*.
- Ralph Luebben, B.S.M.E. Purdue, 1943; M.A. New Mexico, 1951. "A Study of Some Off-Reservation Navaho Miners." *Cornell*.
- Anders S. Lunde, A.B., B.S. St. Lawrence, 1938, 1942; M.A. Columbia, 1947. "Norway: A Population Study." *Columbia*.
- Mary Hanemann Lystad, B.A. Tulane, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Welfare Planning: A Case Study of Institutionalized Change." *Tulane*.
- Robert B. McGinnis, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1950; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Family Pattern and Fertility in Puerto Rico." *Northwestern*.
- Lewis J. McNurlen, A.B., M.A. Drake, 1948, 1949. "Federal Lobbying and Its Effect on Social Control." *Duke*.
- Pauline Moller Mahar, B.A. Wellesley College, 1949. "Dimensions of Personality as Related to Dimensions of Prejudice in a Survey of a Northeastern City." *Cornell*.
- Vernon D. Malan, B.A.V, M.A. Montana State, 1947, 1948. "The Development of Irrigation Institutions in the Semiarid West." *Oregon*.
- Nick Massaro, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1949, 1951. "The Theories, Practices, and Objectives in National Social Planning." *Southern California*.
- William J. Millard, A.B. Columbia College, 1938; M.A. Columbia University, 1950. "A Study in the Sociology of Communications: Determinants and Consequences of Exposure to American Motion-Picture Films in the Near and Middle East." *Columbia*.
- Leonard W. Moss, B.S., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "The Master Plumber in Detroit: A Study of Role Adjustment and Structural Adaptation in a Handicraft Occupation Undergoing Technological Change." *Michigan*.
- Harold A. Mulford, Jr., B.S. Morningside College, 1948; M.A. Iowa, 1949. "Toward an Instrument To Identify and Measure the Self, Significant Others, and Alcohol in the Symbolic Environment: An Empirical Study." *Iowa*.
- Raymond J. Murphy, A.B., M.A. Rochester, 1948, 1950. "Mobility and Occupational Roles: A Comparative Analysis of Salesmen, Bankers, and Engineers." *Northwestern*.
- Sr. Mary John Murray, A.B. Incarnate Word College, 1947; M.A. Catholic, 1950. "A Sociocultural Study of 118 Mexican Families Living in a Low-Rent Public Housing Project in San Antonio, Texas." *Catholic*.
- Alfred M. Nielson, B.S. in Ed., Bowling Green State, 1946; M.A. Ohio State, 1947. "Awareness of In-group Attitudes." *Ohio State*.
- Ethel Nurge, B.A. New Mexico, 1950; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Culture Change in Contact Situations: Generalizations in Syntheses by Malinowski and Linton." *Cornell*.
- Donald W. Olmsted, A.B., M.A. Wisconsin, 1942, 1949. "Assessment of Leader Adequacy from Structured Questionnaire Responses of Voluntary Group Members." *Minnesota*.
- Peter Thompson Omari, B.S. Central State College, 1952; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Migration and Adjustment Experiences of Rural Southern Negroes in Beloit, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Stuart H. Palmer, A.B., M.A. Yale, 1949, 1951. "The Role of the Real Estate Agent in the Structuring of Residential Areas." *Yale*.
- Seymour Parker, B.A., M.P.A. New York, 1947, 1949. "Union Participation: A Study in Culture and Personality." *Cornell*.
- Earl H. Pierro, A.B. Morehouse College, 1938; M.A. Atlanta, 1940. "A Comparative Analysis of the Occupational Aspirations of Rural Urban Negro Adolescents in a Selected Section of Georgia." *Iowa*.
- Vernon Christ Polhmann, A.B., A.M. Washington (St. Louis) 1941, 1948. "Relationship between Socio-economic Status and Choice of Secondary School." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Robert Gray Potter, Jr., A.B., A.M. Harvard,

- 1950, 1952. "The Influence of Primary Groups on Fertility." *Harvard*.
- Lois VerVeer Pratt, B.A. Connecticut, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "The Relationship of Non-familial Activity of Wives to Some Aspects of Family Life." *Michigan*.
- Albert E. Quade, B.A. Bethany College, 1948; M.A. Ohio State, 1951. "The Relationship between Marital Adjustment and Certain Interactional Patterns in Problem-solving Situations." *Ohio State*.
- Melvin J. Ravitz, A.B. Wayne, 1948; M.A. New School, 1949. "Factors Associated with the Selection of Nursing or Teaching as a Career." *Michigan*.
- Jelle Coenraad Riemersma, B.S. Delft, Netherlands, 1943, 1946; M.A. California, 1950. "Dutch Institutions and Economic Change, 1550-1650." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M., 1946, 1948. "Structure and Value Orientation of the Large-Scale Farm Organizations and Their Relationship to Non-vocational Adult Education Programs." *Michigan State*.
- Irving Rosow, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1943, 1948. "Conflict of Authority in Natural Disaster." *Harvard*.
- Alice S. Rossi, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1947. "Generational Differences in the Soviet Union." *Columbia*.
- Donald Mark Royer, A.B. Elizabethtown College, 1937; A.M. North Carolina, 1943. "The Acculturation Process and the Peace Doctrine of the Church of the Brethren in the Central Region of the United States." *Chicago*.
- Erwin Rubington, A.B., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1949. "The Psychiatric Aide." *Yale*.
- Alphonse Malek Said, B.Sc. Fouad University, Cairo, Egypt, 1942; M.Sc. Springfield College (Mass.), 1950. "A Generalized Scale for the Measurement of Attitudes toward International Issues." *Southern California*.
- John Van Dyke Saunders, B.A., M.A. Vanderbilt, 1951, 1954. "A Study of Differential Fertility in Brazil." *Florida*.
- Robert George Schmidt, A.B. Illinois, 1943; A.M. Harvard, 1946. "Social Participation as a Factor in Church Growth." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Leo Francis Schnore, Jr., A.B. Miami, 1950; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Patterns of Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth in the Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1900-1950." *Michigan*.
- Sam Schulman, B.A., M.A. New Mexico, 1948, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of Land-Tenure Patterns in Latin America." *Florida*.
- Harry Palmer Sharp, A.B. Michigan State College, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Migration and Social Participation in the Detroit Area." *Michigan*.
- Clarence C. Sherwood, B.A. New York, 1948. "A Dimensional Theory of Recidivism." *New York*.
- Sylvia R. Sherwood, B.A. Hunter College, 1946; M.A. New York, 1950. "Interlocking Role Theory and Recidivism." *New York*.
- Judith Tannenbaum Shuval, A.B. Hunter College, 1947; A.M. Radcliffe College, 1949. "Class and Ethnicity: A Study in Community Structure and Interpersonal Relations." *Radcliffe College*.
- Philip Elliot Slater, A.B. Harvard, 1950. "Psychological Factors in Role Specialization." *Harvard*.
- David B. Stafford, A.B. Guilford College, 1938; M.A. Haverford College, 1939. "Sociocultural Change and Quakerism." *Duke*.
- William W. Stein, B.A. Buffalo, 1949. "Hualcan: An Andean Indian Estancia." *Cornell*.
- Robert L. Stewart, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1950, 1953. "The Self and Other Objects: Their Measurement and Interrelationships." *Iowa*.
- Sheldon Stryker, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1948, 1950. "Attitude Ascription in Adult Married Offspring-Parent Relationships: A Study of Implications of the Social-psychological Theory of G. H. Mead." *Minnesota*.
- Konstantin Symonolewicz, A.M. Warsaw, Poland, 1931. "Bronislaw Malinowski: A Sociological Analysis." *Columbia*.
- Rev. Stanislaus T. Sypek, B.A. St. Mary's College (Michigan) 1938; M.S.W., M.A. Boston College, 1946, 1949. "The Displaced Polish Persons in the Greater Boston Community." *Fordham*.
- Jean B. Tomkins, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1927, 1929. "Reference Groups and Status Values as Determinants of Behavior: A Study of Women's Voluntary Association Behavior." *Iowa*.
- Harrison Miller Trice, B.A. Louisiana State, 1946; M.A. Wisconsin, 1948. "The Social Organization of Drinking Behavior in the Tavern." *Wisconsin*.
- Helmut R. Wagner, Technische Hochschule, Dresden, 1920-24; M.A. New School, 1952.

- "Social and Religious Outlooks of a Young Labor Elite." *New School*.
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- Jonathan DeVere Petry, A.B. San Diego State College, 1950. "Apprenticeship Plan." *Stanford*.
- John M. Pettibone, A.B. Michigan, 1952. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1953." *Michigan*.
- Maria Pham-Thi-Tu, A.B. Hanoi, 1947. "Some Problems of Industrial Sociology." *Laval*.
- Efraim Pillersdorf, Abitur, School of Law and Economics, Tel Aviv. "Some Sociological Aspects of the 1952 Military Coup d'état in Egypt." *New School*.
- Lawrence W. Pitt, A.B. Rutgers, 1939. "A Study of Early College Careers of 200 University Undergraduates According to Socio-economic Background Groupings." *Columbia*.
- Raymond B. Pitt, A.B. Oberlin, 1952. "A Conceptual Analysis of Aspects of the Theories of Socialization Advanced by Cooley, Mead, Freud, and Sullivan, with an Empirical Study Which Tests Related Hypotheses." *Columbia*.
- Martha Blakemore Pointen, A.B. Fisk, 1950. "Perception of Social Norms by Role Types." *Fisk*.
- Rev. Maurus D. Pollard, A.B. St. Anselm's College, 1949. "Some Aspects of Technology in the 1953 Christmas Message by Pope Pius XII." *Catholic*.
- Arnold E. Pontesso, A.B. Denver, 1953. "An Analysis of the Parole Prediction Techniques Applied to Youthful Federal Offenders." *Denver*.
- William H. Porter, Jr., B.A. Louisiana State, 1948; B.D. Yale, 1951. "Social Factors in the Rise and Decline of a Rural Church." *Louisiana State*.
- Ingeborg Breitner Powell, B.A. California, 1953. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Rev. Francis D. Power, Studies at St. Columban's College, Ireland. "The Kashmir Dispute—Sociological Backgrounds." *Fordham*.
- Eusebio James Quano, A.B. Chapman College, 1950. "Basic Culture Patterns of the New Philippine Republic." *Southern California*.
- Donald Louis Quatsoe, B.S. Wisconsin, 1952. "Counseling by a Chaplain in a Correctional Institution." *Wisconsin*.
- Marcos Anthony Quinones, B.A. Southeastern Louisiana College, 1953. "A Sociological

- Analysis of a Spanish-American Community in St. Bernard Parish." *Louisiana State*.
- Luis Esteban Quintero, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1954. No thesis. *Stanford*.
- Sheila Rabinovici, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1951. "The Revisionist Movement: A Sociological Approach." *New York*.
- Vangala Ram, B.A. Lucknow (India), 1953. "Student Attitudes toward International Affairs: An Empirical Study." *Cornell*.
- Leo Rattner, B.A. Denver, 1951. "The Social Theory of Personality in Alfred Adler's Individual Psychology and Contemporary American Sociology." *New School*.
- René Raymond, A.B. Laval, 1948. "Occupational Zones in the City of Quebec." *Laval*.
- Booker T. Reeves, B.S. Hampton Institute, 1938. "A Study of the Prevalence of Infant and Maternal Mortality in Virginia, 1949-51." *Virginia*.
- William Logan Reid, A.B. Rutgers, 1950. "What Are the Factors Associated with Success or Failure on Parole?" *New York*.
- Sr. Mary Sheila Reilly, A.B. Marywood College, 1956. "A Study of the Teaching of Marriage and Family Relations on the Elementary-School Level in Baltimore." *Catholic*.
- Myles Ren, B.A. Columbia, 1946. "Case Studies of Five Chinese-American Marriages." *New York*.
- Eudaldo Reyes, A.B. Philippines, 1952. "The Comparative Approach to Community Studies: Problems and Suggestions." *Cornell*.
- B. Buford Rhea, A.B. Tennessee, 1954. "Central Tendencies in Age Categories." *Tennessee*.
- Thomas W. Rhomberg, B.A. Loras College, 1948. "The Formal Structure of the National Council of Catholic Men and Its Role in Promoting Catholicism." *Catholic*.
- Grace Y. Riccio, B.A. Skidmore College, 1950. "A Classification of Negro Self Attitudes toward a Shared Problem." *New York*.
- Robert B. Richardson, A.B. Bucknell, 1952. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1955." *Michigan*.
- Cecile Richter, A.B. City College of New York, 1953. "Occupational Success: Changing Ideologies, Definitions, Symbols, and Methods of Attainment as Expressed in Selected American Novels." *Louisiana State*.
- George Owen Roberts, B.S. Hampton Institute, 1952. "Factors Influencing Cultural Receptivity in a Rural Community of Sierra Leone." *Catholic*.
- James Robertson, B.D. McCormick Seminary, 1925. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Everett Rogers, B.S. Iowa State College, 1952. "Factors Related to Participation of Young Adults in Public Affairs." *Iowa State College*.
- Glenn R. Rollins, A.B. Southern California, 1952. "A Sociological Analysis of Selected Theories of Value." *Southern California*.
- Jonas O. Rosenthal, A.B. Swarthmore College, 1951. "The Relationships of Parents of Children in Chapel Hill Nursery Schools and Kindergartens with These Schools," *North Carolina*.
- Kara Enid Margaret Rousseau, B.A. Xavier, 1953. "Cultural Patterns of Colored Creoles: A Study of Selected New Orleans Negro Families with French Cultural Orientation." *Louisiana State*.
- John VanDyke Saunders, A.B. Vanderbilt, 1951. "Social Organization of a Protestant Congregation in the Federal District, Brazil." *Vanderbilt*.
- James A. Schellenberg, A.B. Baker (Baldwin, Kan.), 1954. "Social Choice and Similarity of Personal Values." *Kansas*.
- Suzanne Schlenker, A.B. Illinois, 1953. No thesis. *Illinois*.
- Victor L. Schneider, A.B. Michigan, 1948. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1955." *Michigan*.
- Philippe François Scholten, Candidatus Iuris, Leiden University, 1951. No thesis. *Yale*.
- William Richard Scott, A.B. Kansas, 1954. "A Study of the Socialization Process of Student Nurses in a Small Denominational Urban Hospital." *Kansas*.
- Milvoy S. Seacat, B.A. Iowa, 1949. "Teachings and Social Attitudes of Jehovah's Witnesses." *New York*.
- Ruth Searles, B.A. Oberlin College, 1951. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1954." *Michigan*.
- Joachim P. Seckel, A.B. Syracuse, 1952. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1954." *Michigan*.
- Victoria Joan Selmier, B.S. Michigan, 1944. "Social Functions and Values of Recreation as Discovered in Selected Studies." *Southern California*.
- Hassan M. Shadilly. "A Preliminary Study on the Impact of Islam on a Community and Its Culture in Indonesia." *Cornell*.
- David Shaw, A.B. Redlands, 1953. "Adequacy of Advance Expectations for Adolescent Roles." *Minnesota*.
- Stanley G. Sherriff, B.D. United Theological Seminary, 1938. "A Study of Retired Farmers in McClure, Ohio." *Bowling Green State*.
- Frank Shuler, A.B. Otterbein College, 1951. "Relation of Delinquency to Other Variables

- by Census Tracts, Cincinnati, 1950." *Cincinnati*.
- John S. Simmons, A.B. Southern California, 1948. "An Inquiry into the Social Integration of Pre-school Children with Hearing Problems." *Southern California*.
- Steffii Simon, Gymnasium, University of Berlin. "Sociological Aspects of Book-publishing in the U.S." *New School*.
- Nirmal Kumar Sinha, B.A. Calcutta, India, 1943. "A Study of the Probable Effectiveness of Rural Development Work in India." *Wisconsin*.
- T. Lane Skelton, B.S. Columbia, 1950. "A Sociological Analysis of the Baha'i Movement." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Hilda Skott, Ph.B. Wisconsin, 1947. "Troop Leadership in the Des Moines Council of Girl Scouts." *Iowa State College*.
- Robert Lee Smith, B.A. California (Santa Barbara), 1949. "Youth and Correction: An Institutional Analysis of the California Youth Authority." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Lorenzo H. Snow, A.B. Brigham Young, 1950. "A Study of Mixed versus Non-mixed Marriages among a Mormon Group." *Northwestern*.
- Erwin S. Solomon, B.A. American, 1950. "Social Factors Affecting Occupational Aspirations and Expectations." *New York*.
- Ies Spetter, Institute for Social Psychology, The Hague; Amsterdam City University and Leicester (England) University. "The Jews and the Netherlands: Their Acculturation and Integration in Dutch Life." *New School*.
- Irving Stein, A.B. Southern California, 1953. "Social Stratification as Reflected in Selected Novels of Sinclair Lewis." *Southern California*.
- Ellwyn R. Stoddard, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1952. "A Comparison of Reported Changes in Family Activities since Acquisition of Television in 145 Randomly Selected Homes in Provo, Utah (1955), Analyzed by Known Family Characteristics." *Brigham Young*.
- Conner B. Stroupe, Jr., B.A. Duke, 1948. "Significant Factors in the Influx to Private Schools on Oahu since 1900." *Hawaii*.
- Florence Toshiko Sugeno, A.B. Butler, 1951. "The Chicago Labor Force, 1910-50." *Chicago*.
- Gordon Sutton, B.A. Wayne, 1952. "An Examination and Clarification of the Census-Tract Concept in Urban Research." *Wayne*.
- Robert Caleb Sweet, S.B. Wisconsin, 1949. No thesis. *Chicago*.
- Walter F. Swenson, B.A. Gordon College, 1946. "An Analysis of the Lay Leadership of a Protestant Church." *New Hampshire*.
- Luther C. Swords, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1953. "Health Leadership in a Mississippi County." *Mississippi State College*.
- Sherman Leonard Syme, B.A. California (Los Angeles). No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*.
- John Samuel Tarr, A.B. New Mexico, 1949. "The Archaeological Importance of the Cahokia Mounds and Village Sites." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Roland Kanami Tatsuguchi, A.B. Baker (Baldwin, Kan.), 1954. "The Japanese-Americans in Process: A Problem in Acculturation with Special Reference to Familial and Linguistic Bonds." *Kansas*.
- Josephine L. Taylor, B.S.N. Catholic, 1952. "The Social Problem of War as Treated by Recent Catholic Periodicals, 1948-50." *Catholic*.
- R. Robb Taylor, B.A. Swarthmore College, 1952. "Functional Aspects of the Culture Contact Situation." *North Carolina*.
- Nechama Tec, B.S. Columbia, 1954. "Images on Subversive Infiltration and Atomic Threat." *Columbia*.
- Katherine Thanas, B.A. California, 1947. "Significance of Social Context for Short-Term Cross-cultural Travel." *New School*.
- Bruce Randolph Thomson, B.A. William Jewell College, 1949; B.D., M.Th. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952, 1953. "Post-marital Residential Propinquity to Parental Homes, Louisville, Kentucky." *Louisville*.
- Bernard Alan Thorsell, B.S. Illinois, 1949. "An Empirical Analysis of American Group Character." *Illinois*.
- Theodore J. Thuesen, Jr., B.A. Augustana College, 1949. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Hsin-Yuan T'ien, B.A. Haverford College, 1953. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Rev. Myer F. Tobey, B.A. Boston College, 1937. "Theories of Anti-Semitism—a Classificatory Approach." *Fordham*.
- Stanton B. Towner, A.B. California, 1944. "Relationship between the Attitudes of Boy Scouts to Scoutmaster's Behavior and Boy Scout's Conformity to Scoutmaster's Expectations." *Southern California*.
- Howard F. Tucker, B.A. Minnesota, 1953. *Iowa*.
- Robert Ruebin Tyler, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1954. No thesis. *Stanford*.

- Emmuel W. Udonkim, B.A. Upsala College, 1950; M.S. New York, 1952. "The Social Condition of the Kameroons under British Administration." *New School*.
- Sanford M. Unger, B.A. Antioch College, 1953. "The Sociology of Career-oriented Women: An Exploratory Study." *Cornell*.
- Sang UnLim, B.A. Iowa, 1953. "The Impact of Urbanization upon Korean Family Life." *Iowa*.
- Marguerite Van Doorslaer, B.A. North Carolina, 1954. "A Study of Themes in the Arabic World." *North Carolina*.
- Rev. Norbert J. J. VanGreunsven, B.A. St. Meinrad Seminary, 1947. "An Analysis of the Treatment of 'Religion' in Popular Basic Textbooks of Sociology." *Catholic*.
- Edmund Vaz, B.A. McGill, 1951. "The Metropolitan Taxi-Driver: His Work and Self-conception." *McGill*.
- Mario C. Vazquez, B.A., Ph.D. San Marcos (Peru), 1949, 1951. "A Study of Technological Change in Vicos, Peru: Cornell Peru Project." *Cornell*.
- Hong-Phuc Vo., A.B. Barat College (Lake Forest, Ill.), 1953. No thesis. *Chicago*.
- Mother Marie Virginia De Vos, B.A. Immaculate Heart College (Philippines), 1953. "A Comparison of Filipino and American Cultural Patterns." *Fordham*.
- Grace M. Wakefield, B.A. Temple, 1952. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Donald L. Warkentin, A.B. Tabor College, 1952. "The Construction of an Index of Rural-urban Characteristics for the West-north-central Area of the United States." *Kansas*.
- Seymour Warkov, A.B. New York School of Social Work, 1953. "The Influence of Jewish Home Environment on Selected Aspects of the Hebrew School." *Columbia*.
- Elinor Bloch Waters, A.B. Antioch College, 1950. "Office Workers and Their Unions." *Chicago*.
- Bruce David Waxman, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1953. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- William J. Welsh, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1951. "Some American Values as Reflected in Biographies Appearing in *Reader's Digest*, 1927-55." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Muriel Wenzelberg, A.B. Hunter College, 1953. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- Louis Wexler, B.A. New School, 1953. "Meeting the Needs of Older Persons in a Neighborhood of Changing Ethnic Composition." *New School*.
- Mary Juanita White, A.B. Ohio State, 1944. "An Evaluation of the Nursery School in the United States as an Aspect of Socialization." *Wayne*.
- Harrison Carlton Whitman, B.E.E. Cornell, 1944. "Aspects of Informal Behavior among Criminal Lawyers in a Small Connecticut City." *Connecticut*.
- David E. Wilder, A.B. New York, 1953. "Mean F Scales in Relation to 8 Sociological Variables: A Study in Pre-Fascist Disposition." *Columbia*.
- Albert E. Wilkerson, A.B. Duke, 1950; B.D. Crozer Theological Seminary, 1954. "Social Case Work with the Inebriate." *Duke*.
- Alexander B. Williams-Baffoe, B.S. Central State College, 1952. No thesis. *Michigan State*.
- John Wilson, B.S. Iowa State College, 1954. "Selected Personal and Social Factors Related to Formal Social Participation of Young Adults." *Iowa State College*.
- Gerald O. Windham, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1954. "The Blue Cross-Blue Shield Program in Scott County, Mississippi." *Mississippi State College*.
- William Winnie, Jr., B.S. Florida, 1953. "The Hispanic People of New Mexico." *Florida*.
- Audrey Wipper, B.A. McGill, 1952. "The Occupation of the Professional Rider." *McGill*.
- James William Witherspoon, Jr., A.B. Allen, 1947. "An Analysis of Factors Associated with Graduates and Withdrawals in the C. A. Johnson High School, Columbia, South Carolina, 1949-52." *Fisk*.
- Lucille Witt, B.A. Colorado College, 1939. "Opinions of the United States Held by Brazilian Agricultural Students." *Michigan State*.
- Roger T. Wolcott, A.B. Cornell, 1950. "Opinion Leadership." *Columbia*.
- Donald M. Wolfe, A.B. Illinois, 1952. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1955." *Michigan*.
- Ernest Works, B.A. Arkansas A.M. & N. College, 1951. "Residential Segregation in Urban Areas: A Study of Racial Segregation Prior to and Subsequent to the Supreme Court Ruling on Restrictive Covenants." *Illinois*.
- Mayer Zald, B.A. Michigan, 1953. "Family Patterns and 'Authoritarianism' among Some Japanese-American Students." *Hawaii*.
- William D. Zeller, A.B. Phillips, 1952. "A Social Profile of Detroit, 1955." *Michigan*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1955 . . . . .	83

The following list of doctoral dissertations in progress in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by 42 departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 303. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

- Alice Eteson Abbe, B.S.Ed. American International College, 1946; M.S. in Social Service, Boston, 1949. "The Relationship of Maternal Attitudes to the Diagnostic Category of the Child." *New York*.
- John S. Aird, A.B. Oberlin College, 1946; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Fertility in Rural Bengal." *Michigan*.
- Fanelli A. Alexander, A.B., M.A. Dartmouth College, 1946, 1948. "Patterns of Communication in a Small Community." *Michigan*.
- C. Wiley Alford, A.B., M.A. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "The Socially Maladjusted Child in School: A Sociological Study in Special Education." *Duke*.
- Donald E. Allen, A.B., M.A. Ohio State, 1939, 1940. "Analysis of Public Conversation." *Missouri*.
- Aziz A. Allouni, B.A., M.A. American University, Beirut, 1941, 1942. "Social Factors Underlying Economic Development in Syria." *New School*.
- Robert Amundson, A.B. Loras College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1952. "Post-World War II Population Problems and Policies in India, Japan, and Puerto Rico." *Notre Dame*.
- Wade Andrews, B.S., M.S. Utah State, 1947, 1948. "A Study of Some Basic Correlates of Rural Leadership and Social Power in Clinton County, Ohio." *Michigan State*.
- Valentin Aquino, B.A., M.A. Southern California, 1950, 1952. "The Filipino Community in Los Angeles." *Iowa*.
- Barbara Burt Arnason, A.B. Swarthmore, 1944; A.M. Chicago, 1945. "The Care and Cure Functions of the Public Mental Hospital." *Radcliffe College*.
- Herbert A. Aurbach, B.S. Western Reserve, 1948. "A Study in the Application of the Folk-Urban Continuum to the Classification of Kentucky Counties." *Kentucky*.
- Donald Auster, A.B. Hofstra College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "An Analysis of the Social Role of the Business-sponsored Film in Public School Education." *Indiana*.
- Delbert Barley, B.A. McTheison College, 1939; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1951. "The Assimilation of Refugees in a Small Rural Community in the Black Forest." *Pennsylvania*.
- Russel Barta, A.B. St. Mary of the Lake Seminary, 1942; M.S.A. Loyola, 1947. "The Sociological Concept of Secularization and Its Application to the Study of Certain Phenomena in American Catholicism." *Notre Dame*.
- Otomar Jan Bartos, A.B., M.A. Colorado, 1954, 1954. "Social Conformity and Social Variables." *Yale*.
- Alexander Bassin, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1934; M.A. New York, 1951. "Effect of Group Therapy upon Certain Attitudes and Adjustments of Adult Offenders on Probation." *New York*.
- Thelma W. Batten, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1951, 1953. "Functional Organization in Metropolitan Areas: An Ecological Analysis of Standard Metropolitan Areas' Employed Labor Force Distribution among Various Industrial Groups." *Michigan*.
- Bernard H. Baum, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1948, 1953. "Decentralization of Authority in a Bureaucracy." *Chicago*.
- Robert C. Bealer, B.S., M.S. Pennsylvania State College, 1953, 1955. "Mass Communications, Social Structure, and Decision-making: A Study of Farmers' Use of Market News." *Michigan State*.
- Bennett M. Berger, A.B. Hunter College, 1950. "The Image of the Sociologist in the Humanistic Disciplines." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Joseph Berger, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1954. "Co-ordination of Facilities, Performances, and Rewards in Small Social Systems." *Harvard*.
- Elaine Berson, A.B. Illinois, 1950; M. Social Work, Oklahoma, 1953. "A Sociological Analysis of the Recreational Patterns of the Aging." *Duke*.

- James M. Beshers, B.A. Swarthmore College, 1952; M.A. North Carolina, 1954. "Census-Tract Data and Social Structure: A Methodological Analysis." *North Carolina*.
- Mala Gitlin Betensky, Matura, Vienna, 1936; M.S.S. New School, 1945. "Problems of Adolescence in Collective Settlements in Israel." *New School*.
- Norman Birnbaum, A.B. Williams College, 1947; A.M. Harvard, 1952. "Class and Religion in the German Reformation." *Harvard*.
- Thomas L. Blair, B.A. Northwestern, 1950; M.A. Boston, 1951. "Analysis of Attitudes and Values Associated with Position in Social Structure in Rural Brazil." *Michigan State*.
- Leroy A. Blaska, Ph.B., M.A. Detroit, 1942, 1950. "A Predictive Device for Determining Marital Success." *Catholic*.
- Margaret Blough, B.S. Lindenwood College, 1934; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Current Role of Organized Labor as a Pressure Group in the Political System of an Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Richard Marco Blow, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Fordham, 1950. "The Problem of the Material and Formal Objects of Sociology." *Catholic*.
- Charles Bolton, A.B. Denver, 1947; A.M. Stanford, 1948. "The Development Process of Friendship and Love Relations." *Chicago*.
- David Joseph Bordua, A.B., A.M. Connecticut, 1950, 1952. "Authoritarianism and Intolerance." *Harvard*.
- Claude B. Boren, B.A. Texas Technological College, 1948; M.A. Washington State, 1949. "Organizational Patterns and Practices of Selected School Systems." *Texas*.
- Lee Braude, A.M. Chicago, 1954. "The Rabbi: A Study in the Relation of Contingency Situations to Differential Career Structure." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Breen, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Decentralization of Retail Trade Relative to Population in the Chicago Area, 1929 to 1948." *Chicago*.
- Andrew Raymond Breines, B.A., M.A. St. Francis Seminary, 1937, 1939. "The Supernaturalistically Oriented Man as Found in 'Secular Institutes.'" *Wisconsin*.
- Fr. Gabriel Brinkman, B.S. Quincy College, 1952; M.A. Catholic, 1953. "The Social Thought of John de Lugo." *Catholic*.
- Hugh E. Brooks, A.B. Merrimack College, 1951; M.A. Catholic, 1955. "A Mobility Analysis of Families with Children in the First Grade in Catholic Elementary Schools in the Northeastern Section of the United States." *Catholic*.
- Rozanne M. Brooks, B.A. Pennsylvania State, 1944; M.A. Missouri, 1951. "An Examination of Riesman's Theory of Inner- and Other-directed Personality Types." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Jay A. Brown, A.B., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1946, 1947. "A Sociological Analysis of the Home and School Visitor Program in Pittsburgh." *Pittsburgh*.
- Henry W. Bruck, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1948; M.A. Princeton, 1952. "Formed Factors and the Process of Decisions: The United States Decision on the 1938 Trade Agreement with Canada." *Princeton*.
- Walter Frederick Buckley, Jr., B.A. Brown, 1952. "Methodological Problems in Development of a Theory of Stratification." *Wisconsin*.
- Kenneth E. Burnham, B.A. Berea College, 1940; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Sociology of Simon N. Patten." *Pennsylvania*.
- Ernest Q. Campbell, A.B. Furman, 1945; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1946. "A Study of Attitudinal Change in a Desegregating Southern Public School System." *Vanderbilt*.
- Tilman M. Cantrell, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1947, 1948. "Role Behavior." *Oregon*.
- Wilmoth A. Carter, A.B. Shaw, 1937; A.M. Atlanta, 1943. "Study of the Negro Main Street of a Contemporary Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Sally Cassidy, B.A. Manhattanville College of the Sacred Heart, 1944; M.A. Fordham, 1946. "A Study of Lay Leadership." *Chicago*.
- Sol Chaneles, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1948; M.A. New York, 1950. "The Role of the Artist in American Society: The Concert Pianist in the United States." *New York*.
- Rev. Paul Chao, B.A. St. Benedict's College, 1951; M.A. St. Louis, 1953. "The Industrialization of Agriculture in China." *Fordham*.
- Yung Teh Chow, B.A. Feing Hua, 1937; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Gentry of China: A Study of Social Mobility in a Rural Community." *Chicago*.
- Edwin A. Christ, A.B. Missouri, 1941; M.A. Michigan State College, 1942. "The Stamp Collector: A Study in the Sociology of Leisure." *Missouri*.
- Francis A. Cizon, A.B. Notre Dame, 1947; M.S. Loyola, 1953. "Some Socio-cultural

- Aspects of a Non-Freudian Social Psychiatry." *Notre Dame*.
- Jeanne E. Clare, A.B. Michigan, 1947; A.M. Columbia, 1951. "Effect of Female Employment on Fertility." *Michigan*.
- Leslie L. Clark, A.B. Harvard, 1950. "The Selection of Managerial Personnel." *Yale*.
- Charles Leslie Cleland, B.A. Morris Harvey College, 1952; M.A. Wisconsin, 1955. "Communications and Their Influence on Partial Social Systems in Rural Society." *Wisconsin*.
- Jerry S. Cloyd, S.B. Harvard, 1948; B.S., M.S., Nebraska, 1951, 1953. "A Critique and Analysis of Present Theories of Small Groups." *Nebraska*.
- Bernard Cohen, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1928; M.A. Southern California, 1949. "Social and Cultural Changes in Jewish Life as Reflected in Modern Jewish Literature." *Southern California*.
- Ronald Cohen, B.A. Toronto, 1951; M.A. Wisconsin, 1955. "Trade and the Middleman in a Nigerian Tribe." *Wisconsin*.
- Werner Cohn, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1951; M.A. New School, 1954. "The Political Attitudes of American Jews." *New School*.
- Thomas D. Cole, A.B. Minnesota, 1953. "Second Replication of a Sociometric Study of the Interaction of an Informal Group in a Homogeneous Neighborhood." *Minnesota*.
- Fred R. Crawford, B.A. Trinity, 1948; M.S. Texas A. & M. College, 1950. "A Sociological Study of the Waco-San Angelo Tornado Disaster." *Texas*.
- Allan F. Cremin, A.B. Yale, 1950. "Sociological Factors and Conditions in the Extremes of Speech Fluency." *Yale*.
- Lawrence S. J. Cross, B.A., M.A. Loyola (Chicago), 1943, 1951. "The Catholics of Norristown, Pa." *Pennsylvania*.
- Sarah T. Curwood, A.B. Cornell, 1937; Ed.M. Boston, 1947. "Role Expectation as a Factor in the Relationship between Mother and Teacher." *Radcliffe College*.
- Harry K. Dansereau, B.S. Maryland, 1943; M.A. West Virginia, 1948. "Relationship between the Sentiments of Union Members and the Latent and Manifest Functions of a Union Local." *Michigan State*.
- William V. D'Antonio, B.A. Yale, 1949; M.A. Wisconsin, 1953. "Business and Political Leaders in El Paso, Texas, and Juarez, Chihuahua: A Comparative Study of Power Structures, National Images, Attitudes, and Ideology." *Michigan State*.
- Lewis James Davies, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1947, 1950. "The Sociology of the Popular Arts." *Illinois*.
- Barbara R. Day, A.B., M.A. Washington State College, 1946, 1947. "The Relationship of Need Patterns to the Selection in Formation of, and to Stability in, Courtship Couples and Same-Sex Friendships." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Carmen C. Decker, A.B. Marion College, 1933; A.M. Indiana, 1947. "The Effects of Westernization on Selected Aspects of the Personality of Natives in the Belgian Congo." *Indiana*.
- William E. Delany, B.A. California, 1948. "Administrator and Citizen: A Study of the Public Relations Aspects of Public Administration in an American Metropolis." *Michigan*.
- Sidney Denman, A.B. Mississippi State College, 1947. "The Southern Baptist Minister: A Study of Professional Status." *Duke*.
- Irwin Deutscher, A.B., M.A. Missouri, 1949, 1953. "Husband-Wife Relations in Middle Age: An Analysis of Sequential Roles among the Urban Middle Classes." *Missouri*.
- Jeanne Diana, A.B. Juniata College, 1946; M.L. Pittsburgh, 1950. "The Visiting Teacher: A Study in Status Dilemma and Professionalization." *Pittsburgh*.
- Harry C. Dillingham, B.A. Texas, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Vertical Mobility and Its Effects upon the Subsequent Social Participation of the Mobile Persons." *Michigan*.
- William Dorfman, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania, 1943, 1947. "On Occupational Mobility." *Pennsylvania*.
- Lan Donia Dright, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1940; M.A. Chicago, 1944. "Therapeutic Influences of Group Membership on Selected Neurotic Personalities." *Southern California*.
- Edwin D. Driver, B.A. Temple, 1945; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Administrative Control of Deviant Conduct of Physicians in New York and Massachusetts." *Pennsylvania*.
- Robert J. Dwyer, B.S., M.A. Idaho, 1942, 1947. "A Study of Integration in Selected School Districts of Central Missouri." *Missouri*.
- Richard Eugene Edgar, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1948, 1950. "The Influence of Urbanization Prior to Migration on White In-migrant Adjustment." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Mabel Edwards, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1934, 1941. "Ecological Distribution of the Aged in Iowa." *Iowa*.
- John M. Ellis, B.A. Sam Houston State College,

- 1943; M.A. Texas, 1949. "Differential Mortality in Houston, Texas." *Texas*.
- Richard Engler, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949; M.A. Southern California, 1954. "Patterns of Communication in Family Groups." *Southern California*.
- Donald Ross Fagg, A.B. Ohio Wesleyan, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1952. "Authority Relations in a Javanese Community." *Harvard*.
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- Alice Thorpe, B.S., M.A. Michigan State College, 1931, 1949. "The Home as the Physical Setting for Family Interaction." *Michigan State*.
- Charles H. Tilly, A.B. Harvard, 1950. "The Vendean Counterrevolution." *Harvard*.
- Edward A. Tiryakian, A.B. Princeton, 1952; A.M. Harvard, 1954. "The Occupational Structure in an Underdeveloped Country (Philippines)." *Harvard*.
- George Tokuhata, B.A. Keio, Tokyo, 1950; M.A. Miami (Ohio), 1953. "General Theory of the Demographic Orientations toward Human Procreation." *Iowa*.
- Stanton Towner, A.B. California, 1944; M.A. Southern California, 1955. "A Comparison of Aspired Roles of Student Nurses with Achieved Roles of Registered Nurses in Selected Los Angeles Hospitals." *Southern California*.
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- John Tumblin, A.B. Wake Forest College, 1948; M.A. Duke, 1950. "The Professional Role of the Southern Baptist Missionary." *Duke*.
- James D. Turner, B.S. Mississippi Southern College, 1946; M.A. Indiana, 1949. "Differential Law Enforcement in a Biracial Community." *Indiana*.
- Stanley H. Udy, Jr., A.B. Princeton, 1950. "Formed Organization and Work Groups among Primitive Peoples." *Princeton*.
- Charles M. Unkovich, A.B., M.A. Pittsburgh, 1950, 1951. "Juvenile Delinquents Who Are Charged with Vandalism." *Pittsburgh*.
- Robert C. Vanderham, B.A., M.A. DePauw, 1947, 1949. "A Study of the Ingham County Hospital as a Social System." *Michigan State*.
- R. Leighton van Nort, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1952; A.M. Princeton, 1954. "A Study of the Completeness and Accuracy of the Census Enumeration of Children Aged 0-10 in a Selected Sample of Countries." *Princeton*.
- David W. Varley, A.B. Oberlin College, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "A Quantitative Analysis of Regional Differences in Behavior in the United States, 1940." *Michigan*.
- Juris Veidemanis, B.A. North Dakota, 1951; M.A. Wisconsin, 1952. "Value-Systems of Latvians at Home, as Refugees, and as Immigrants." *Wisconsin*.
- Arthur Vener, A.B. Queens College, 1950; M.A. Michigan State, 1953. "Social-psychological Aspects of Adolescent Clothing Attitudes." *Michigan State*.

- Paule Verdet, Licence de Lettres, École Normal Supérieure des Jeunes Filles, Diplôme d'études supérieures de philosophie, Sorbonne, 1946. "A Study of Preaching in Relation to Discrepancies between Lay and Professional Definitions of the Institution and of the Membership in the Roman Catholic Church." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Wesley Wager, A.B., A.M. Washington, 1949, 1952. "Career Patterns: A Study of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline Company." *Chicago*.
- Carl Waisanen, B.A. Northern Michigan College, 1950; M.S. Purdue, 1952. "The Preference Dimension in Self-attitudes." *Iowa*.
- Laurene A. Wallace, B.S. Florida State, 1952; M.A. Illinois, 1953. "Carsonville: A Sociological Analysis of a Rural Community in Southern Michigan." *Louisiana State*.
- Margaret Warning, B.A., B.S., M.A. Washington, 1936, 1944, 1945. "The Implications of Social Class for Clothing Behavior." *Michigan State*.
- Ora V. Watson, B.S. Centenary College, 1937; M.A. Columbia, 1942. "A Comparative Demographic Analysis of Shreveport and Baton Rouge, Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Roy Ernest Love Watson, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1948, 1949. "The Nova Scotia Teachers' Union: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organization." *Toronto*.
- Murray Wax, B.S. Chicago, 1942; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "The Temporal Images of Radical Social Movements." *Chicago*.
- Irving L. Webber, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1949, 1950. "A Sociological Analysis of the Health Status of Older People in Peninsular Florida." *Louisiana State*.
- Neil J. Weller, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1945, 1950. "Social Class Attitudes toward Government." *Michigan*.
- Robert Wharton, B.A. Temple, 1951; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1952. "The Norristown Class Structure." *Pennsylvania*.
- Charles D. Whatley, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1949, 1952. "Reference Groups and Recovery from Mental Disorder." *Tulane*.
- David A. Wheatley, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1946, 1948. "A Study of Ecological Expansion in Japanese Communities." *Michigan*.
- Paul Frank Wheeler, B.S. New Hampshire, 1947; M.A. Yale, 1948. "Social Mobility: A Study among Adolescents." *Yale*.
- Wayne L. Wheeler, A.B. Doane College, 1944; M.A. Nebraska, 1948. "An Analysis of a Liberal Arts College and Its Community Setting: A Study in Social Change." *Missouri*.
- Arthur Wilkens, B.A. Yale, 1939; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "The Residential Distribution of Occupation Groups in Eight Middle-sized Cities of the United States in 1950." *Chicago*.
- Theodore S. Wilkinson, A.B., M.A. Lucknow, 1945, 1948. "The Impact of Euro-American Culture on India, with Especial Reference to Cultural Lag." *Duke*.
- James A. Williams, A.B. Carson-Newman College, 1942; M.A. George Peabody College, 1947. "Differences in Friendship Patterns of Housewives in Two Social Status Areas of an Urban Community." *Vanderbilt*.
- Ernest M. Willis, A.B. North Carolina, 1949. "Social Mobility and Familism of an Ethnic Group in Jamaica." *Northwestern*.
- Donald E. Willmott, A.B. Oberlin College, 1950; M.A. Michigan, 1952. "Culture Change in the Family System of an Overseas Chinese Community in Indonesia." *Cornell*.
- Maurice Wolfe, A.B., M.A. California, 1948, 1952. "The Algerian Intellectual: A Case of the Marginal Man." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Lewis Yablonsky, B.S. Rutgers, 1948; M.A. New York, 1952. "A Field Study of Teen-Age Gang Structure and Behavior, with Special Emphasis on Gang Warfare." *New York*.
- George K. Yamamoto, A.B., A.M. Hawaii, 1947, 1949. "The Career of the Japanese-American Lawyer in Honolulu." *Chicago*.
- Simon Yasin, B.A. McGill, 1951; M.A. Michigan State, 1954. "The Utility of Social-psychological Typologies for the Analysis of Decision-making Activities." *Michigan State*.
- David W. Yaukey, A.B. Oberlin College, 1949; M.A. State College of Washington, 1950. "Comparisons of Distributions by Classes of Migrants within the State of Washington, 1949-50." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- James Neal Young, B.A. Clemson Agricultural College, 1948; M.S. Kentucky, 1950. "The Influence of Status and Neighborhood Norms on the Diffusion of Recommended Farm Practices in a Kentucky County." *Kentucky*.

NEWS AND NOTES

ERRATA

The *Journal* regrets an error in a news note in the May issue, page 626. William A. Westley has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, succeeding Oswald Hall, at McGill University, not at the University of Toronto, as stated.

In the article by Arnold S. Tannenbaum in our May, 1956, issue, acknowledgment should have been made in footnote 1 to Irwin Goffman, not to Erving Goffman. On page 538, line 9 should read "... to membership," not "of membership."

University of Arkansas.—The title of the department of sociology has been changed to department of sociology and anthropology.

Franz Adler has been promoted to professor.

Donald D. Stewart has received a grant from the U.S. Public Health Service for a study of formal and informal communication systems in the general hospital.

Fred W. Voget has been given a grant by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for a study of Pan-Indianism among the tribes of northwestern United States.

University of Chicago.—Elihu Katz has been granted two years' leave of absence to serve as a visiting lecturer at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

Robert Havighurst will leave in May for Brazil, where he will become co-director of the new Brazilian government Center for Educational Research. His services will be provided to the Brazilian government by UNESCO under its Technical Assistance Program. Headquarters of the center are at Rio de Janeiro, but there are also four other regional centers, whose purpose is the training of Brazilian educators and social scientists for research and the developing of research as a foundation for a national system of elementary and secondary education. Professor Havighurst will return to Chicago for the autumn quarter of 1956 and will then go back to Brazil on leave of absence in January, 1957.

Sally Cassidy has been reappointed instructor in the social sciences in the College.

The Law School of the University of Chicago has awarded six Ford Foundation fellowships for research in law and the behavioral sciences for the academic year 1956-57. They are to Richard H. Jones, department of history, Reed College; Alfred R. Lindesmith, department of sociology, University of Indiana; and Philip Selznick, department of sociology, University of California, Berkeley. The remaining three, which are for the academic year 1957-58, are awarded to Alfred Hill, School of Law, Southern Methodist University; Louis Kriesberg, department of sociology, Columbia University; and Frank E. Maloney, College of Law, University of Florida. The fellowships are to acquaint scholars with the Law School's program of research in law and the behavioral sciences and to facilitate the development of their own research interests in the area. The stipend equals the holder's salary plus traveling expenses to Chicago and return. Additional fellowships will be awarded for 1957-58 and for 1958-59.

Eastern Sociological Society.—At the twenty-sixth annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, held in March in New York City, the following officers were elected: Theodore F. Abel, president; A. B. Hollingshead, vice-president; Elizabeth Briant Lee, secretary-treasurer; Alex Inkeles and Elizabeth K. Nottingham, members of the executive committee. Mirra Komarovsky, as past president, Alfred McClung Lee, as representative of the society to the Council of the American Sociological Society, and Ray H. Abrams, as member, continue their terms on the executive committee, and Kurt B. Mayer has been appointed to fill the vacancy made there by the election of Theodore F. Abel to the presidency.

University of Florida.—A survey of Latin-American studies in progress is being jointly sponsored by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union and the School of Inter-American Studies of the university. Questionnaires have been sent to faculty members and graduate students in all dis-

ciplines and to independent scholars and researchers whose current investigations are connected with Latin America. Those who do not receive questionnaires through the mail are urged to request them from the School of Inter-American Studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in order that the published results may be as complete as possible. Distribution of the completed survey is scheduled for early fall.

Foundation for Research on Human Behavior.—During this year and next the foundation expects to continue making grants for a number of projects of research on consumer behavior. Priority will be given to requests on the following aspects of the subject: (1) psychosocial determinants, (2) consumer acceptance, (3) methodological problems of research on the behavior of the consumer.

In view of the limited funds from which the foundation will make its current grants for research, large-scale projects cannot be considered at this time. A center or individual may obtain a foundation grant for the purpose of extending a project already initiated or partially completed under other financing or for further exploitation of data already collected in such a project.

Proposals for research in any one of the areas outlined for which foundation support is desired or requests for further information should be sent to Samuel P. Hayes, Jr., Director, Foundation for Research on Human Behavior, 1141 East Catherine Street, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Institute of General Semantics.—The annual seminar-workshop will be held from August 17 to September 2. It is a basic training course with emphasis on communication and human relations. Group living and recreation are offered at Bard College on the Hudson near New York.

Address all inquiries to Institute of General Semantics, Lakeville, Connecticut.

University of Kansas.—Associate Professor E. Gordon Erickson returned in January from a seventeen-month leave of absence, which he spent as community development and housing consultant to the International Cooperation Administration and Caribbean Commission. He studied aided self-help housing for families of low income in the islands of the Eastern Antilles. Dr. Erickson and his family

were stationed in Barbados, British West Indies.

The Kaw Basin Project, an interdisciplinary research program supported by Resources of the Future, Inc., has conducted a seminar and is completing a pilot study on water resources, under the direction of Charles Colby, visiting professor of geography. Those in the department taking part are Charles K. Warriner, E. Gordon Erickson, and Carroll D. Clark.

University of Miami.—The department of human relations announces its sixth annual summer workshop on human relations problems in administration, supervision, and instruction. The workshop will be in two sessions, of which the second, from July 9 to July 25, is for instructors.

For additional information and application forms write to the director, Dean G. Epley, University of Miami, Coral Gables 46, Florida.

National Conference of Christians and Jews.—Through the Commission on Educational Organizations and its sixty-two regional offices, the conference will co-operate with thirty-three colleges and universities in various parts of the nation in conducting workshops on human relations during the present summer.

The regional offices co-operate locally in securing enrolment and providing modest amounts of scholarship aid. For full information write the nearest National Conference office or communicate with Dr. Herbert L. Seamans, 43 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York 19, New York.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—At the eighteenth annual meeting, held in May in Pittsburgh, the following officers were elected for 1956-57: president, A. E. Schuler, Wayne University; vice-president: Harold Gibbard, University of West Virginia; secretary-treasurer: Frank R. Westie, Indiana University; representative of the society to the Council of the American Sociological Society: Raymond F. Sletto, Ohio State University; editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*: Robert Bullock, Ohio State University. The 1957 meeting will be held at the Ohio State University.

Oregon State Board of Census.—The board, a new department in the state government, is seeking an experienced demographer to assume responsibility for population enumeration and

estimation. The position offers prospects of opportunities for research.

Pomona College.—Ray E. Baber, professor of sociology, retired from the faculty in June. Dr. Baber holds a B.A. from Campbell College, Holton, Kansas, and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Wisconsin, where he was on the faculty. He was an instructor at Lingnan University in Canton, China, from 1915 to 1919 and taught at New York University for ten years before joining the Pomona faculty in 1939. He is the author of *Marriage and the Family*, which, now in its second edition, is used in nearly three hundred colleges and universities, and is a past president of the Pacific Sociological Society. He was in Japan in 1954–55 on a Fulbright research grant to study the changing conditions of Japanese family life and will return to Japan this summer as director of the Social Science Research Institute at the International Christian University near Tokyo.

Alvin H. Scaff, associate professor of sociology and a member of the faculty since 1947, has been appointed chairman of the department to succeed Ray E. Baber, who retired in June.

The department of sociology and anthropology is being expanded, and several new courses will be offered in 1956–57. They will include courses on comparative cultures, early American civilizations, and culture and personality. Charles M. Leslie, now at the University of Minnesota, and Harry V. Ball, now at Washington University in St. Louis, Missouri, have been appointed to the enlarged department.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—The fall meeting will be held at Harvard University on Saturday, November 10. The general subject is expected to be anthropology and religion. Social scientists who have papers to propose on this or related subjects are invited to send three copies of 300-word abstracts to Ralph W. Burhoe, American Academy of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge 36, Massachusetts, before September 30.

University of Texas.—Harry E. Moore has been promoted to a professorship.

Gideon A. Sjoberg has been promoted to an associate professorship.

Henry A. Bowman has joined the department as associate professor of sociology. He was formerly on the faculty of Stephens College. He is teaching courses on marriage and family life.

Warner E. Gettys offered in the spring semester a graduate seminar on the sociology of Robert E. Park.

Ivan Belknap's case study of the social organization of a state mental hospital will be published in early fall. He has received a grant from the Division of Hospital and Medical Facilities, U.S. Public Health Service, for a five-year study of the effects of community organization on general hospital services and programs.

Walter I. Firey has a grant for the summer with which to continue his study of social organization of conservation, with special attention to water resources.

Jack E. Dodson, instructor, has been devoting half his time to research on minority-group housing in several Texas cities under a research grant from the Commission on Race and Housing.

New appointments to the faculty for 1956–57 include G. Benton Johnson as assistant professor and I. William Evans as instructor.

Fred R. Crawford has accepted a position as assistant professor of sociology at Texas Technological College.

Claude Boren has gone to Lamar Technological College.

University of Washington, Seattle.—Elio D. Monachesi, of the University of Minnesota, who is a visiting professor for the first term of the summer quarter, is giving advanced courses in delinquency research and methods of research.

Norman Hayner and Clarence Schrag will return to duty in September, after leaves of absence to serve in positions with the state government. Professor Hayner was chairman of the State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles, and Professor Schrag was director of correctional institutions.

Charles E. Bowerman and S. Frank Miyamoto have been promoted to the rank of associate professors.

BOOK REVIEWS

Society: Collective Behavior, News and Opinion, and Sociology and Modern Society. By ROBERT E. PARK. Edited by EVERETT CHERINGTON HUGHES. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 358. \$5.00.

Those who had the good fortune of knowing Professor Park were not only impressed by his personality but also decisively influenced by his ideas and his approach. And yet he was not at all outstanding as a theorist—some of his concepts, like “mobility” and “social movements,” were badly constructed—nor was he particularly sophisticated in methodology. He used quite simple techniques, and his “ecology” was a somewhat carefree borrowing from biology; he did not build a system, and many of his best ideas are scattered in numerous papers and a few monographs. What, then, is the secret of Park’s influence, of his remarkable impact on the development of sociology?

The third volume of Park’s collected papers can provide an answer. It contains more than twenty papers, among them those on “Sociology and the Social Sciences” and “Modern Society,” on Thomas and Znaniecki’s method and “News as a Form of Knowledge,” and several essays on public opinion and the press. The reader is immediately struck by the affluence of Park’s imagination and inventiveness; a single paper like “Human Nature and Collector Behavior” contains more ideas than half-a-dozen articles in recent volumes of our sociological journals. Some that have become cornerstones of contemporary sociological theory, like the concept of “role,” are presented in an almost casual way. There is nothing ponderous or pompous in Park’s writing. Often one rather wishes he had given a more thorough analysis and more carefully devised definition. Much of his theory seems to have been made up *ad hoc*.

But his weakness in theoretical construction must be weighed against his vigorous grasp of the interesting, the significant, the practically important aspects of social reality. It has been said that his beginning as a newspaper reporter helped him. Certainly those years as a journalist and later as an aide to a famous Negro leader had given him a rich knowledge of the facts of

social life and an appreciation of the importance of firsthand information and immediate observation. But would he ever have become a reporter had he not been endowed with this sense of the sociologically relevant? C. Wright Mills recently observed that American sociologists seem to have become field-shy. This criticism seems only too justified in view of the widespread tendency to collect data by the way of “least resistance”; Park would never have been content with asking college Freshmen’s opinions *about* a particular category of people as a substitute for observing these people in action. Park always sent his students into the field—the rooming houses, gangland, the immigrant neighborhood—and often induced them to write on social phenomena with which they were already familiar from previous experiences. However, he was not satisfied with mere description. He insisted on interpretation; many of his Prefaces were written in order to place the findings of a monograph in a more general sociological perspective, that is, to show the significance of the study for a general theory of society (see, e.g., chaps. ii, iii, and iv in the present volume).

Much of his work was done at a time when behaviorism dominated social psychology. For Park, the student of Simmel, Wundt, and Dilthey, sociology was a historical and cultural science in which the *meanings* of human actions and action patterns had to be made intelligible. Social institutions, like all social acts, have their “history,” and only when we know this can we adequately understand (pp. 19–20). Therein lies the importance of what Park called “human documents” and the ground also of his rejection of behaviorism, at least in its strictest form. Park had absorbed enough of the German *Geisteswissenschaftliche* orientation to see the epistemological differences between the natural and the historical-cultural sciences.

It seems, however, that he could never shed entirely his positivistic cultural heritage. Focusing on the distinction between nomothetic and idiographic disciplines as developed in Windelband’s inaugural address on history and the natural sciences (pp. 194–95), Park decided that sociology, since it “seeks to arrive at natural laws and generalizations in regard to human

nature and society," while history "seeks to reproduce and interpret concrete events as they actually occurred in time and space," belongs to the natural sciences. "Sociology," he said (p. 209), "has become, like psychology with which it is most intimately related, a natural and relatively abstract science, an auxiliary to the study of history, but not a substitute for it" (as, in his opinion, Comte had intended his *physique sociale*). This position overlooks the fact that not many generalizations can be made which fit social institutions and social processes at all times and in all places and that such generalizations are bound to be so abstract as to become almost trite. Societies after all are "historical" phenomena. Thus sociology and historiography are much closer related epistemologically than Park assumed.

On the other hand, Park realized the difference between the physical sciences, which can only observe and "explain" sequences of observed phenomena, and the sciences dealing with human actions and action patterns, which seek to understand these actions in terms of meanings and motives of the actors. This becomes quite clear when in one of the later essays (chap. xx) he says: "The knowledge of human nature that we need most, it seems to me, is of the type I have referred to—using an expression of William James—as 'acquaintance with.' By that I mean the sort of knowledge 'one inevitably acquires in the course of one's firsthand encounters with the world about him' . . . what we need then, is not merely more facts, but more insight."

RUDOLF HEBERLE

Louisiana State University

The Little Community: Viewpoints for the Study of a Human Whole. By ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. 182. \$4.00.

Scholarly breadth, intellectual finish, skilful dialectic, critique courtly of gesture, and well-measured didactic periods mark this book based on lectures delivered at the University of Uppsala. These qualities distinguish all the work of the author, hence not this book from his others. What does distinguish it is the bringing to a head of what is a progressive trend in Redfield's work and thought; his bent has now become a position. I do not imply that it is a rigid one but only that in this work its lines and

form are clear; the position may be seen, as he would like it seen, as a whole.

His presentation combines dialectic with comparative analysis and illustration. Concrete matter from descriptive analyses of small communities in several parts of the world is used as hone and strop to whet his ideas. The ideas themselves stem, as he points out, from classic expressions of the real and posited differences between the small homogeneous community with little relation to cities and the big world and those very cities and that very big world. They are ideas which have served to keep the anthropological students of little communities in some sort of relation with the sociological students of big societies (not that I accept such a division of scholarly work as more than accidental). It will be a happy day when such presentation replaces the conventional textbook. But our interest, in a review, is rather in the position itself.

One facet of the position is Redfield's devotion to the study of wholes. They may be, he says, either "intuited wholes" or explicitly analyzed "systems" of interrelations. Redfield himself rather prefers to start with the "intuited wholes" and to work toward the systems; but his are very sophisticated intuitions. And that is a crucial point. For the discovery of wholes where common sense suspected none is close to the essence of social science, or of any science. While students of our own kind of society are inclined to overlook some rather obvious social wholes, notably kin groups, and while some are suspicious of the very notion that there are any wholes except aggregates, we have perhaps suffered more from accepting the notion that common sense can tell us what the significant wholes of our society are. In fact, I think one source of strain between the students of small communities (which most anthropologists have been) and the students of great communities and societies (as a good many sociologists have been) is that the anthropologist is accustomed to start with entities which meet the eye, whose limits are fairly clear, and whose magnitude is such that it is amenable to mental arithmetic or even to counting on one's fingers; while the student of great communities finds that a good deal of his work lies in discovering ways to find the center and the boundaries of even the more obvious entities within the big world and in probing through the little bit of reality one man can see or is allowed to see to get a view of significant systems of relationships. Anthropologists are a

bit inclined to think it easy to know a social whole at first sight; sociologists, to think that, because this is not so in the societies they study, there are no wholes but only aggregates and "populations."

As a matter of sound method, we should be skeptical toward both these points of view. There may be significant systems of relationships (social wholes) which common sense would not lead us to suspect, although perhaps an unconventional kind of common sense might lead to them. Thus, if we start with the "problem" of drug addiction, we may find a maze of interrelations running through time and connecting a number of the more apparent institutions of our society. On the other hand, a "problem" might turn out to be merely a name for a number of not necessarily related items. I am not quite sure that Redfield has helped us much toward concepts and methods for discovery and analysis of social wholes in our large and complicated world. He does not claim to have done so; but when he protests so strongly that "the study of human wholes lies today in a borderland between science and art," I rather think he is telling us that he would like it to remain there or even that, by its nature, it must remain there.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Culture and Experience. By A. IRVING HALLOWELL. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955. Pp. xvi+434. \$7.00.

Culture and Experience is a collection of papers on problems on the border line between anthropology and psychology published by the Philadelphia Anthropological Society in honor of Hallowell's sixtieth birthday.

The book's theme—that culture shapes or "structuralizes" experience—is continuously and cumulatively driven home by a careful analysis of how the relation between various aspects of the objective world and the subjective world takes a form in Ojibwa society in contrast to its form in our own. Just as Margaret Mead's work on Samoan girls challenged the provincialism of our adolescent psychology, so Hallowell's work challenges provincialism throughout the whole range of culture and personality.

The volume is divided into four parts. Part I, "Culture and Personality Structure," is main-

ly theoretical discussions ranging in subject from the ultimate roots of human nature to the assumptions behind the use of the Rorschach in cross-cultural studies. Part II, "World View, Personality Structure, and the Self," epitomizes several salient characteristics of the Ojibwa world from the point of view of the individual. Part III, "The Cultural Patterning of Personal Experience and Behavior," includes carefully documented articles on general categories of experience and behavior, such as temporal and spatial orientation, aggression, psychosexual adjustment, and property. Chapter xii is particularly useful for students of comparative law. Part IV, "The Psychological Dimension in Culture Change," probes the psychological effects of acculturation.

The book corroborates the functional interdependence between culture and personality in its careful documentation on the Ojibwa Indian groups of varying degrees of acculturation. A type of personality may persist in a group of people long after the more obvious and externally observable aspects of their culture have disappeared. At times (e.g., chap. xx), Hallowell seems at a loss as to why identifiable personality "types" persist so long after they become non-functional, or even dysfunctional. It may be that, in emphasizing the relation between experience (as structuralized by culture) and personality, he has understressed the role of socialization in shaping adult personality. If early socialization is a major determinant of adult personality, we would not expect a fit between adult personality and culture in a rapidly changing sociocultural milieu. Child-training practices cannot "anticipate" future social conditions.

Hallowell's book is particularly relevant for sociologists studying class or ethnic groups conceived as subcultures.

A. KIMBALL ROMNEY

University of Chicago

The Tyranny of Progress: Reflections on the Origins of Sociology. By ALBERT SALOMON. New York: Noonday Press, 1955. Pp. 115. \$3.00.

This essay, for all its erudition and scholarship, is a tract for the times. It both reaffirms the traditions of spontaneity, creativity, and freedom in the individual and inquires into the

origins of the view that the context of meaning to which conduct may be referred is the historical structure of society at the time. In this last respect it purports to be an introduction to the history of sociology.

Salomon contends that the immanentism in the sociological thought of Saint-Simon and Comte had the effect of subverting the long-standing belief in the West that man is the transcendent element in the historical situation. A consequence was the destruction of those social and, particularly, political conditions the latter within which the individual could realize his capabilities. Previously philosophers had always maintained that what the sociologist calls "values" were outside history; history, being concerned with the study of the relationships of rulers and ruled, was of no significance for the problem of values. For example, Plato accounted for the transformations of the political order as in the nature of man and not in a cyclical conception of history.

Three things happened during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries to turn men's minds from seeking to explain values in some relationship beyond history. First, the French Revolution convinced them of their power to master their political future. Second, the Industrial Revolution gave men faith in their capacities to change the economic situation. Third, socialism provided the technique for achieving these goals. From the combined influence of these events arose the belief that man is the architect of his own destiny. What Western man actually obtained in exchange for this cosmic impiety or conceit, Salomon argues, was not the beautiful city of the future but a blueprint for totalitarianism in the nineteenth century and the real thing in the twentieth.

Salomon is not a naïve conservative. He is fully aware that the state system in the West has always contained within itself tendencies toward despotism. But the founding fathers of sociology aided and abetted it by denouncing political rights and freedoms as empty appearances and by making society ascendant over the political order. Where formerly it had been maintained that society only existed within the political order or, at best, coterminous with it, society became a total entity. A sociological realism replaced both the natural and the divine order. The individual, now without an intrinsic nature or god to shield him, became a puppet of society, significant only in relationship to the whole.

True to his conservative leanings, however, Salomon censures the founding fathers of sociology as "messianic bohemians." The fascination for these men of the vision of the scientist as savior of society was born of their own unfitness to live in the world as it is. They were chronically rebellious against the norms of conduct observed about them and utterly unwilling to pursue conventional careers, get married, and settle down. Yet they believed themselves uniquely suited to be the midwives of the city of the future which they had conjured up over the coffee cups. Their estrangement from the world led to a sundering of thought and feeling; then, appalled by realizing that the scientist will go his heedless way unless restrained by love for fellow man, they invented the religion of progress. In due course the illusion became fixed that science and humanitarianism were inseparately linked, and the scientist was launched on his career as the new messiah.

The moral of Salomon's essay is that, unless we all become "conservative-reformists" and intrust the future to the "thoughtful and responsible classes," who will transform the inevitable into social democracy, "the radical masses and parties" will see us off on a fast ride to the world of "1984."

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

Pragmatisme et sociologie. By ÉMILE DURKHEIM.
Paris: Librairie Philosophique J. Vrin, 1955.
Pp. 211.

The first thing Durkheim tells us in this assessment of William James and, to a lesser extent, of Frederick Schiller and John Dewey is that "more than any other doctrine, pragmatism makes us feel the need for renovating traditional rationalism; for it shows us what is insufficient in it" (p. 27). And, yet, Durkheim never comes out with a "renovated" rationalism but, instead, gives us a critical exposition of pragmatism and a (shorter) argument in favor of "sociology," that is, Durkheim's sociology. The two, however, when contrasted with rationalism, resemble each other much more than Durkheim seems to realize, no matter how ready he is to underline similarities. His interpretation is almost exclusively "intrinsic"—a logical, philosophical, and empirical analysis of its claims—rather than extrinsic and, in particular,

sociological, which would have required more distance from his own sociology than he appears to have had. At such distance he would have seen that both pragmatism and his sociology came out of the same historical situation but were still stuck in it, which may be the reason why, as he notes repeatedly (pp. 43, 47, 67, 83, 88; also cf. pp. 139, 140), pragmatism has not found a systematic exposition. Both share elements of liberalism and of a technological orientation, the former, especially in the American case, traditional, the latter foreshadowing widely ramifying developments.

Durkheim comes to recognize in the liberal element in pragmatism its utilitarian strand; actually, he says, pragmatism is "logical utilitarianism" (p. 151). But he does not connect this with liberalism. He fails to see a parallel between the pragmatist distribution of necessity and freedom (p. 116) and the liberal conception of voluntary submission to freely chosen representatives; or to recognize the political importance of the diversity of minds which is accounted for ontologically by James's "pluralistic universe" (p. 125); or to mention any relation between the specifically American type of liberal optimism and the proclamation of the epistemological tie between knowledge and action and belief and its effects (*passim*).

In the last analysis pragmatism is, according to Durkheim, "an attempt directed against pure speculation and theoretical thought" (p. 137): here the liberal and technological elements unite as they do in the emphasis on tolerance on which pragmatism (p. 149) and Durkheim's sociology (p. 187) converge; in James's renunciation of scientific and moral "Pharisaism" (p. 125); in his "natural" polytheism" (p. 135); and in his reluctant treatment of "saints" (p. 132). The technological element comes out more clearly in Schiller's interpretation of men as "genuine makers of reality" (p. 119), in James's likening of conceptual thinking to flying (p. 107), and, with commercial and, again, liberal connotations, in his "satisfaction" as the criterion of proper conduct (pp. 109 ff.).

Durkheim likes pragmatism for its making truth analyzable and explicable (p. 142). This affective bond may have prevented him from engaging in its sociological interpretation and from reaffirming rationalism, no matter how much in need of revision. He comes closest to it in his argument (known from the *Elementary Forms*) that we cannot possibly "admit the generations which preceded us to have lived in total

error" (p. 148), but he does not draw from this conviction conclusions about the nature of man; instead, he persists in separating reason and practice, fact and obligation (cf. pp. 162, 62). To this extent, he is no more scientific and "above" his time than are the pragmatists. *Pragmatism and Sociology* exhibits an intra-familiar, intracultural controversy which far more deeply than I have indicated lights up the "family" and culture we still participate in. Let us have a translation of this work!

It is put together by Armand Cuvillier from notes taken by two students in Durkheim's course which had the same title and was offered at the Sorbonne in 1913-14. Cuvillier's Introduction is enlightening both historically and topically.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications. By ELIHU KATZ and PAUL F. LAZARSFELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xx+400. \$6.00.

This is another report in the impressive list of studies of mass communication conducted at Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research. Its emphasis is on the individual person who first receives the message and then in turn hands it on to his associate, thus serving as a "relay point in the network of mass communications" (p. 1). The product of many years of work by a large team of researchers, the book is clearly and attractively written.

Part I sets forth the nature of the relationship between persons as they communicate with one another in small groups, on the one hand, and how radio, magazines, and newspapers transmit their information and exhortation to a mass society, on the other. Aiming toward a theoretical model for research, the investigators build in part on the considerably earlier empirical work described in Part II and in part on a cogent and concise overview of recent studies of the small group from which they select several relevant points for future research on the mass media's effectiveness.

The second part of the book reports a study of decision-making as found in a sample of several hundred women in Decatur, Illinois. Each respondent was asked, in effect, what media and what individuals had influenced any decisions

she had recently made in each of four areas: her views on public affairs, her brand choices, her style of dress, and her selection of a movie. The findings bear on such points as the relative importance of personal influence as contrasted with that of the mass media; the "two-step flow" of influence from the mass media to the "opinion leader" and thence to others; and the tendency for personal influence to spread horizontally within status lines rather than vertically from top-status leaders to lower-status followers.

Throughout, one major focus of research is upon the "influencer-influencee pair," upon one person as he gives or receives advice from another. The underlying assumptions here do not refer primarily to the individual as such, as in the mass-communication studies of Hovland and his colleagues, for example. On the other hand, the present assumptions do not bear directly on the social system as a whole. The conceptual model here is not that of the primary group under the impact of the mass media, as in Part I; nor is it essentially that of the larger culture within which Weber's "psychological sanctions" may originate; nor, again, is it that of the functionally equilibrated system within which Parsons defines the role of propaganda; nor even that of an "implicit division of labor within the electorate" which Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee describe in *Voting*. Of course, both the individual and the social system are essential to the present analysis. Yet, the special emphasis is on the interindividual relationships of which the social system is composed. The emphasis on this dyad perhaps establishes this work as an important link between many of the earlier mass-communications studies and other types of sociological research primarily concerned with the group.

This focus on the dyad leads the researchers to certain methodological departures which, though explored here on a token basis only, may have important implications for sociological research. Faced with the dilemma of studying a fairly large community, the Columbia team recognizes the inadequacy, for their purposes, of the usual survey sample of individuals "lifted from the context of their associations" (p. 17). Accordingly, they add to such a cross-section sample of individuals further individuals who were named by respondents as influencers (or influencees). This attempt at "survey sociometry" (p. 329) permits an analysis of data based on the dyadic unit. Such dyad analysis, though

current in research on groups of smaller size, has heretofore seemed largely impossible in the large-scale sample survey.

Suggestive as their procedure is, however, it leaves to future research a number of tasks which seem important for a *sociology* of mass communications. Their work signalizes an important step forward from the study of the isolated individual confronted by the printed page: they have introduced other persons as the "intervening variable" between the two (p. 21). At the same time their operational definition of the influencer-influencee dyad is still far from the sociologist's model of an interactive system, remaining closer to the one-way Lasswellian model in which the communicatee receives advice from another person much as he might receive it from the newspaper. This restricts "personal influence" by definition to the giving of recent, specific advice of a nature which respondents can remember and report (p. 162). Excluded from the present objective is the problem of studying long-range influence and that which operates below the level of awareness. Also relegated to future study are certain other kinds of influences which, though recent and specific, seem nevertheless to be inadequately covered in the present work: influences which come not as "advice" but as role expectations, which are not so much information-giving as solidarity-producing and which may not always be reflected in the answers to such essentially cognitive questions as "How did you find out about the new brand?" or "What suggested this change?" (p. 168).

If this research leaves to the future an interactive approach to the dyad as a relay point for mass communications, it seems also to leave open the problem of handling the social structure of which these dyads are integral parts. Although a major advance has been made here from the study of the audience as an aggregate of isolated individuals, this audience seems still to be composed largely of isolated dyads. To be sure, the dyads are classified into broad categories according to socioeconomic status, life-cycle, and the like. But, beyond this, how can the dyads be fitted together so as to represent the *system* of primary and secondary groups? Failure to deal in large part with this problem in the empirical portions of the present work seems to lead to such anomalies as "opinion leaders" who are undifferentiated according to whether they have one or a hundred "influencees" and to flow of influence as in some ob-

scure fashion measurable through the incidence of such leaders.

To a great extent, any such shortcomings of the empirical work are offset by the excellent theoretical formulation in Part I. While the investigators do not attempt to translate their revised conceptual scheme into operations, they conclude with the arresting caveat that future research on mass media must wait upon further investigation of interpersonal relationships and of their points of contact with the formal media of communications (p. 132).

MATILDA WHITE RILEY

Rutgers University

The Social Psychology of George Herbert Mead.

Edited by ANSELM STRAUSS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. xvi+296. \$1.50.

The works of George Herbert Mead have been in print for many years. However, in several senses, they are unavailable. Important as they are, it is a rare teacher of social psychology who would feel they provided a thorough enough introduction to that field to use them as texts. Further, they are too expensive to be assigned for purchase in addition to some more comprehensive book. This newly published selection of Mead's thinking about the nature of human behavior in an inexpensive paperbound edition offers the essentials of his *Mind, Self, and Society*, *Movements of Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, and *The Philosophy of the Act*.

Following the editor's useful introduction that surveys what is to come, we enter Mead's thought through his empirical and theoretical concern with biological and social evolution and with the continuous emergence of new forms of social organization and of techniques for stating them systematically. Then appear selections presenting Mead's explanation of the evolution of human behavior and society, given in excerpts from his work on the nature of scientific knowledge, on the selective character of our construction of the past and future, on mind as an aspect of the relations of organism and environment, and, of course, in sections on the nature of reflective intelligence, self-consciousness, and on the connections of these with society. The result is a convenient summary, superior in many ways to the original works, for it avoids

the original forbidding repetitious, circular, wandering style.

What Strauss gives us is an admirable selection. The reader still has work to do: Mead does not seem able to point his own tale. These excerpts are as unavailable as the books from which they come in that they require a considerable prior knowledge of the issues with which they deal, of the alternative solutions to those Mead proposes, and of the very special meanings Mead intends for common technical terms and for the concepts in his own very special vocabulary. As before, Mead offers a course with many and unusual prerequisites, which remains beyond the grasp of those who lack them.

GUY E. SWANSON

University of Michigan

Identity and Interpersonal Competence: A New Direction in Family Research. By NELSON N.

FOOTE and LEONARD S. COTTRELL, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. viii+305. \$5.00.

Foote and Cottrell attempt in this book to provide a framework for family research built on the best sociological and social-psychological theory. Not until some of the research they suggest has actually been carried out will it be possible to state whether or not they have succeeded, but their effort looks very promising. In the meantime their book will provide a stimulating set of ideas for all who study the family and, indeed, for all who are interested in relating social theory, social research, and social action.

The theory centers around the two concepts in the title. Identity is a clear definition of self and goals, whether of groups or of individuals; interpersonal competence is a generic term for what is more popularly called the "social skills" or the learned abilities necessary to successful relationships. There are six components of competence: health, intelligence, empathy (or the ability to take the role of the other accurately), autonomy (confidence in and reliance upon self), judgment (the ability to make choices consistent with one's higher goals), and creativity (the capacity to introduce innovation in behavior or to reconstruct an aspect of the social environment). By some stretching of the terms, these concepts are classified under Mead's "I-me" dichotomy. There is also a classification of "antecedent conditions" for behavior: bio-

logical, economic, social-legal, interpersonal, educational, and recreational. When the components of competence are cross-tabulated by these antecedent conditions, and the framework given a third dimension, that of time in the individual's life, from infancy to later maturity, a large number of research hypotheses can be placed within the framework. Among the scores of hypotheses thus systematically presented, most are both theoretically stimulating and practically useful. A few seem strained or picaresque but perhaps are included to fill up the corners of the framework. The authors seem to be aware of this in remarking, "Perhaps the reader will tolerate some injustice to the trees if the forest seems fairly sketched."

Just as exciting and thought-provoking as the social-psychological section is the authors' analysis of family-serving agencies from the perspective of social organization and social planning. This is a significant contribution to the growing literature on the relationship of social science to social action. Insight into American culture provides the basis for a clear specification of value premises in a presentation that would please Myrdal. The generalized description of medical agencies, economic agencies, protective agencies, counseling agencies, educational agencies, and recreational agencies is valuable to anyone who would understand these aspects of American life. The orientation is in terms of history, process, and social organization rather than in functionalist terms.

To the "community self-survey," suggested earlier by Charles S. Johnson and Stuart Cook, Foote and Cottrell add an experimental twist. They urge family agencies to examine themselves and their clients by a method they call "participant experimentation," which consists of systematic self-observation while deliberately varying the situation and circumstances under which the subject agency or family finds itself. The data are then examined in the light of the methodological principle that predictions for future human behavior are likely to modify that behavior and hence render invalid the prediction. This is held not to destroy the scientific character of the predictions but to permit a greater range of specification of the conditions under which they hold. As they put it, "The evolution of social science is not in the direction of permanently definitive statements about human nature and society, but toward the specification of the methods whereby human nature and society come to be what they are. Social

theory thus becomes only suspended social action" (p. 216).

The book closes with a brief statement of the pertinent research on "quasi-families" now being conducted by the Family Study Center at the University of Chicago, in which the concepts referred to are receiving operational measurement and in which some of the hypotheses listed are being tested. There is also a valuable bibliographical appendix, which is intended to include every article and monograph reporting American family research from 1945 through 1954 and which offers a framework for analyzing trends in it.

The book is well written; the wording is clear and the style generally dynamic and occasionally sparkling. While each chapter is integrated within itself, the various chapters do not hang together into a logical whole. Thus the title of the book does not properly apply to the chapters on family agencies and on planning. The book is scholarly and exhibits systematic knowledge of the literature on the family. One might also occasionally wish for more depth in some of the interpretations. As in all books, there are some misinterpretations: For example, there is no equivalence between Merton's "self-fulfilling prophecy" and Myrdal's "principle of cumulation" as the authors state on page 214. The latter is more general than the former and refers to the dynamics of multiple causation in which a change in one condition tends to change other conditions in the same direction (it is thus more equivalent to the "vicious circle," except that it applies to positive as well as to negative change).

This book is a pioneering work which ought to have a significant impact on research and action concerning the family. It also offers something of a model for future essays on the specific relationships between other kinds of social theory, social research, and social action.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

Schools of Psychoanalytic Thought. By RUTH L. MUNROE. New York: Dryden Press, 1955. Pp. xiv+645. \$7.50.

This book presents a compelling picture of the range, depth, complexity, and sociological sophistication of contemporary psychoanalysis, even as promulgated by fairly orthodox analysts. Munroe has aimed in this extremely valu-

able and important work at the exposition, critique, and integration of the main schools of psychoanalytic thought and has succeeded admirably, at least in the first two goals. But integration is beyond anyone's ken at this point, though the author's isolation of crucial gaps in the various theories and some possible links between them is helpful.

The author gives the rubrics within which she will deal with the various theorists and then takes them up in order. First, naturally, come Freud and the Freudians; then Adler, Fromm, Horney and Sullivan together; and, finally, Jung and Rank. Critiques of the various analysts sometimes take the form of specific criticisms of an issue, sometimes of pointing to new directions in research and thinking, and sometimes of creative integration of different points of view from the general perspective of social science.

The author sometimes falls into the common error of attributing many modern ideas to Freud or of saying something like, "This is what analysts really mean, and, besides, they take it into account in actual practice anyway." But it should be noted that what are discussed as differences in emphasis, especially in such a highly charged and open theoretical area, are significant in that they direct investigation toward very different phenomena. For example, while Freud talked in detail about the ego, he was not dealing with ego psychology as we know it today. The same is true for character structure, cultural variations, ego defenses, goal-directed behavior in the world of contemporary reality, etc. Of course, the author is often aware of this obvious point, and it tends to be a fault of her main presentation rather than of her summaries.

Throughout she suggests the theoretical structure of psychoanalysis be expanded to give more weight to non-sexual systems, biological bases, self-other relationships, peer relationships, the self-image, and the social environment. Her discussion of the non-sexual systems and of the fact that behavior is highly variable around these systems is especially impressive. Even more so is the discussion of ego psychology and the self systems. In this connection the course of psychoanalytic development is clearly stated as passing from an initial emphasis on behavior as interaction between libidinal and controlling forces and then concern with the different ways of handling fundamental instinctual problems to an investigation of the functioning

of the total personality, the province of ego psychology.

Munroe presents an orientation within which she can discuss and order the various schools and individuals. Her elaborate and sophisticated discussion of the self and the necessity for clarifying its psychosocial determinants should appeal greatly to sociologists. This is one of the natural areas of linkage between sociological and psychological approaches and historically has had an important place in sociological thought. However, though the discussion of the self, self-image, ego, ego ideals, etc., is extensive and trenchant, one still remains somewhat confused. There are so many meanings given to these constructs by Freud and the others that even the author's efforts toward clarification do not help too much. Besides, there are never any clear definitions of these phenomena anywhere in the book. This is also true of her general approach to the libido theory; the author leans strongly toward Freud's position on the libido and views later contributions as "additions to its resources" when one is never very clear as to what are its limitations and its boundaries.

The section devoted to the Neo-Freudians is excellent, in particular the discussion of the often-neglected Adler. A good deal of space is devoted to Horney, Fromm, and Sullivan and somewhat less to Rank and Jung. This undoubtedly reflects the lesser importance of the latter two theorists for contemporary social science in America.

The chapter on the dynamics of treatment is a rare and valuable addition. The juxtaposition of treatment and theory allows a better grasp of the sources of hypotheses, the validation of theory, and the relationship between theory and treatment in general. However, the question of their interrelationship is never satisfactorily handled, and the problem of validation is almost entirely by-passed. There seems to be a greater discrepancy between theories than between practices—an obvious illustration of the fact that so much of analytic work is uncoded "art" and that practice does not seem to follow easily from theory.

In the excellent Epilogue the author selects for integrated discussion some of the things dealt with in the critiques: the view of systems, the self-image and total personality, psychosocial integration, and the problem of aggression. The material on aggression "helps guard against such interpretations of Freud's position as assume a measure of evil in the human breast

which must be worked off." She presents a full and complex exposition of the issue and clarifies patterns of inborn aggression, the perceptual aspect of aggression, the motor aspect, and aggression and anxiety. Munroe feels that not all the phenomena commonly called "aggression"—mainly by Freudians—should be classed together under a single instinctual drive.

This impressive and thoughtful book is almost a tour de force in its combination of theoretical explication and critique and speculation.

ARTHUR R. COHEN

Yale University

The Sociology of Social Problems. By PAUL B. HORTON and GERALD R. LESLIE. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. Pp. xii+584. \$5.50.

This book analyzes current social problems in terms of three frames of reference: social disorganization, conflict of values, and personal deviation. The three are discussed in the introductory and concluding chapters and utilized in the analysis of each problem. The authors try throughout the text to encourage a scientific attitude in dealing with social problems. One very useful chapter is devoted to a discussion of the interpretation of data. The problems included in this book are crime, marriage and the family, religious conflicts, population, education, social class, race relations, urban and rural communities, mass communications, personal pathologies, health, war, and, most particularly, civil liberties. Basically, the authors regard the preservation of democracy with its spirit of free inquiry as an essential condition for solving all other social problems.

The book is well written and should prove interesting to the average student of the lower division rather than the upper division. It would be suitable for a course which either followed or preceded an introductory sociology course.

Although the authors strive for objectivity and present both sides of controversial issues, their orientation is clearly liberal, as perhaps one would expect in a book on social problems. One might ask, as of any social problems text, "Does it cover too many problems?" However, judged in the light of the authors' purpose of stimulating a rational approach to controversial social issues, the book is excellent.

GEORGE A. THEODORSON

University of Buffalo

A Chronicle of Jeopardy: 1945-55. By REXFORD GUY TUGWELL. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. v+489. \$7.50.

Rexford Tugwell has a Greek tragic theme here—that of the Great Powers caught in a terrible web that their own science had made for them and from which their wisdom seems inadequate to rescue them. He tells of the ten years (thus far) of atomic history since the Day of the Bomb, August 6, 1945, in a leisurely, reflective way, going down many by-paths, putting in footnotes that are often richer than the text, spreading his net very wide so that the almost five hundred pages become a massive history of the cold war and of politics in both America and Russia as well as of the nuclear weapons themselves.

He starts with a dream he had and a walk he took in New York on the fateful first day and goes through the whole "chronicle of jeopardy"—a chronicle largely of blundering and groping on both sides, of cross-purposes, of chances missed at every point because of blindness and insularity. His tone seems muted and detached, unlike (for example) the prophetic clarion tones of Mumford's *In the Name of Sanity*. He talks sadly as one of the "dedicated men" who were not listened to, who have to face the possibility of total genocide, but who "went toward possible holocaust undiminished by fear."

The chronicle stops just short of the Geneva Conference, and it does not include the Eisenhower "open-sky plan," the Russian scheme for ground inspection, and the new talk about ending the stockpiles of H-bombs. If the lessons of Tugwell's chronicle were projected into the future, we should clutch eagerly at these beginnings, yet we would also expect the statesmen again to miss their chances. Nor does Churchill's hope for a "balance of terror"—"where safety will be the sturdy child of terror and survival the twin brother of annihilation"—hold today the promise it seemed to have a year ago. Everything comes too late. The Eisenhower proposal for a ban on atomic-weapon manufacture should have been made long ago. If the Russians reject it, they will base it on the fallacy of believing that our bigger stockpile can do us much good. Actually the world has reached the saturation point where either side can destroy the other without making any more bombs. The problem now is disarmament on both sides, with controls to prevent any future weapon of total destruction.

MAX LERNER

New York City

Strangers in the Land: Patterns of American Nativism, 1860-1925. By JOHN HIGHAM. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955. Pp. xiv+431. \$6.00.

To make the past relevant to our times is a challenge met by all too few historians. Higham's scholarly study of the ebb and flow of restrictive immigration since the Civil War has succeeded so admirably that it truly illuminates our times.

This study provides documentation for the thesis that the valleys of economic depression in American history have been matched by the peaks of nativist activity against foreign immigration. Higham finds that recurring nativist cycles coincided with periods of social tension such as were brought on by the adjustment to a rapidly industrialized, urban society and the conquering of the frontiers. His narrative is crisp, tightly written, remarkably well documented, and at times as exciting as the current newspaper account of the latest racist incident. The copious footnotes, annotated bibliography, and methodological discussion of his use of sources will be of great interest to students of immigration and intergroup relations.

Insufficient attention has been paid to the fact that scientific legitimization of antiforeign sentiment came from historians and social scientists of the days before the 1920's. Even the eminent Frederick Jackson Turner was impressed with the Anglo-Saxon heritage and saw the Eastern peoples and the Slavs as "inferior races." Higham might more thoroughly have analyzed this scholarly underpinning of nativist activity.

He indicates in one of his few explicit references to social science that much of current social science literature forms part of a general intellectual revolt against 100 per cent Americanism as epitomized by the racist groups. Much of the literature, he feels, underplays the objective reality of group conflict in assuming that antipathies are largely referable to subjective irrational processes. This perhaps is more true of social science before 1920 than, for instance, of the current work of men like Otto Kleinberg, who has brilliantly analyzed the changing attitudes toward the Chinese on the West Coast in the 1870's. When the Central Pacific Railroad was completed and the Gold Rush was over and there was competition for jobs, the stereotype of the Chinese, Kleinberg points out, shifted from "industrial, law-abiding citizens" to "unassimilable, deceitful and servile people, smuggling

opium." Far from irrational, it was an effective weapon in intergroup conflict.

The immigrant, be he Irish, Jewish, Chinese, or Italian, was often seen as a bulwark of national strength. American industry in the period under review combed Europe for additional labor to man the factories. This objective attitude toward immigrants per se could go hand in hand, however, with unfavorable reactions to direct personal contact. Higham emphasizes that personal reactions are not nativistic *unless* they become integrated with hostile, fearful nationalism and xenophobia. The nativist impulse was finally curbed, at least partially and despite the McCarran-Walter Act, by prosperity and democracy and by what Higham calls the indifference to "big problems" characteristic of Coolidge's day, at which period the study ends.

The narrative ends on a troubled note. The vast folk movements of immigration, once a fundamental social force in American history, were essentially over in 1924. But nativism has left a deep scar on American thought. While the social scientist proposes by talking of a multicultural society and the dignity of the individual person, the racist in modern congressional dress disposes by talking of a pure "Americanism" and restrictive immigration. The old belief in America as a promised land for all who yearn for freedom has lost its effectiveness.

ALEX ROSEN

New York City

Marriage, Authority, and Final Causes: A Study of Unilateral Cross-Cousin Marriage. By GEORGE C. HOMANS and DAVID M. SCHNEIDER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 64. \$2.00.

Lévi-Strauss, in *Les Structures élémentaires de la parenté*, maintains among other things that (1) matrilineal cross-cousin marriage is structurally independent of the mode of filiation and does in fact work in matrilineal as well as in patrilineal society; (2) matrilineal cross-cousin marriage provides a more effective integration of society than patrilineal; and (3) it is because of its superior integrating effects that matrilineal is far more common than patrilineal cross-cousin marriage.

There must be a number of anthropologists, however, who have noted that the matrilineal form in fact occurs mostly in patrilineal societies, while preferred patrilineal marriage occurs

in at least one famously matrilineal society, the Trobriands. It is this association that Homans and Schneider have demonstrated and tried to explain. From the thirty-three societies they examine it is evident that, with few exceptions, mother's brother's daughter marriage is found in patrilineal societies and father's sister's daughter marriage in matrilineal. To explain this, they propose a general theory that "the form of unilateral cross-cousin marriage will be determined by the system of interpersonal relations precipitated by a social structure, especially by the locus of jural authority over ego." In a patrilineal society, for instance, the father will be the authoritarian figure and the mother the indulgent. The authors argue that the opposed attitudes toward the parents are extended to parent's siblings, so that ego feels constraint with the father's sister and affection for the mother's brother. "As he visits mother's brother often, ego will see a great deal of the daughter: contact will be established. As he is fond of mother's brother . . . he will tend to get fond of the daughter. Their marriage will be sentimentally appropriate; it will cement the relationship."

The obvious objection—that the sentiments may be derived from the form of marriage—they refute by pointing to the large number of societies featuring the patrilineal complex (authoritarian father, indulgent mother's brother) which do not practice cross-cousin marriage at all. This is their main evidence for advancing a theory of sentiments as efficient causes instead of Lévi-Strauss' final cause.

As the authors present their case, it is well-ordered, clear, and exciting, and they establish beyond doubt an important connection between potestality and the form of marriage. In this they are clearly right and have made a valuable theoretical advance on Lévi-Strauss. Their handling of the sources, however, is not always so commendable: in some cases their interpretations are hardly supported by the literature and in one case at least (Sherente) includes a careless error which impairs confidence. It can be argued that their analysis of sentiments and jural relations in the patrilineal complex, as they relate to unilateral cross-cousin marriage, is inaccurate. It is often not the true mother's brother's daughter who is married, and it is difficult to conceive an extension of sentiments (from mother's brother to his lineage mates to equivalent members of other related lineages) such as the theory demands if it is to fit the facts. The sentiments concerned are character-

istics of unilineal societies; unilateral cross-cousin marriage is as positively correlated with this type of social structure as with the sentiments; there is no a priori reason for seeking a solution in sentiments rather than in the social structure, and there are good grounds for preferring sociological to psychological analysis.

The authors' achievement can best be evaluated here by returning to Lévi-Strauss' propositions (which, incidentally, are not so clearly distinguished by them). The first proposition is concerned with structural possibilities, not with statistical frequencies, and is unaffected by Homans and Schneider's argument. The second remains an important problem and is also unaffected by the argument. The third is effectively refuted by simple statistical correlation, but the theory advanced to explain the correlation is highly disputable.

Homans and Schneider have made an important point, but Lévi-Strauss' chief problems—the structural implications of unilateral cross-cousin marriage—remain. A major fact that seems to have eluded the authors is that, while exclusive matrilineal cross-cousin marriage does exist, there is no sure evidence that exclusive patrilineal cross-cousin marriage is practiced by any society at all. In theory it is possible, and according to their theory it should be expected to exist in matrilineal-avuncupotestal societies and to the exclusive degree that the matrilineal form is practiced in patrilineal societies. Why, then, does it not exist? Lévi-Strauss suggests an answer in terms of integration, but there appears to be no answer in Homans and Schneider's theory.

The greatest difficulty of all, however, is that we do not know what the facts are. There is no adequate account of unilateral cross-cousin marriage anywhere in the literature; and, until there is, there can be no great theoretical progress. Meanwhile, Homans and Schneider deserve our congratulations for giving us a highly stimulating exercise in kinship theory which makes a definite theoretical advance and will probably become a minor classic.

RODNEY NEEDHAM

University of Illinois

Childhood in Contemporary Cultures. Edited by MARGARET MEAD and MARTHA WOLFENSTEIN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xi+473. \$7.50.

This is an interesting collection of papers, many of them written especially for this book, on children in Bali, France, Germany, the Soviet Union, and the United States. There are also papers about Jewish children and several general essays. Culture-specific characteristics are emphasized, and the general psychological matrix, where it appears at all, is psychoanalytic. Many essays, however, like those of Belo on Balinese children's drawing, McPhee on children and music in Bali, and Zborowski on the place of book-learning in traditional Jewish culture, are factual and largely descriptive. The book is packed with exciting material not available elsewhere and makes rewarding reading. Belo's paper shows how early spontaneity and playfulness in Balinese children's drawings becomes gradually more subject to cultural controls and how spontaneity is squeezed out. McPhee's paper not only makes us yearn for a culture where children can have such a passion for making music but also makes us admire his capacity to soak himself in the culture and get so close to Balinese youngsters.

Zborowski, of course, is well known through his *Life Is with People* (in collaboration with Elizabeth Herzog) and his numerous sensitive and penetrating articles on Jewish culture. His essay in this book is a reprint of a paper already printed. Sunley's paper on "Early Nineteenth-Century American Literature on Child-rearing" is a stunning and scholarly analysis of cultural changes; and Wolfenstein's article on "Fun Morality: An Analysis of Recent American Child-training Literature" is in the same vein. No one interested in changes in attitudes toward American children can afford to miss these two. Rhoda Métraux's paper on German novels and their relationship to attitudes between parents and children will be a surprise to those under the influence of clichés about German "authoritarianism," for parents are found to be much closer to the American ideal than the popular impression.

An introductory theoretical essay is contributed by Mead, along with a welcome paper summarizing her view of Balinese children. Transitional statements, written by Mead or Wolfenstein, help orient the reader to the principal foci in each new section.

Though many of the articles rely little on psychoanalytic theory, most of those by Wolfenstein do, as do those by Erikson, Frenkel-Brunswick, and Françoise Dolto. At times the interpretations, though often skilful, seem somewhat strained, and one then has the impression

that the analytic theory is used more to *fill* gaps in the data than to *interpret* them. Sometimes, too, one essay or another is based on materials which, even in this field where data are so hard to find that whatever there is of them must be exploited to the limit, seem a little too thin.

These weaknesses, however, detract little from the book, which, on the whole, is absorbing and deserves to be put into the hands of relatively sophisticated people who need to read of cultures other than our own.

JULES HENRY

Washington University

Hawaii's People. By ANDREW W. LIND. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955. Pp. xii+116. \$2.50.

Hawaii's pattern of interracial tolerance developed, strangely enough, in a plantation economy, typically the counterpart of a rigidly stratified society. The large sugar and pineapple plantations imported laborers from all over the globe—principally Chinese, Japanese, and Filipinos, but also smaller numbers of many other nationalities. Meanwhile, however, the economic structure was being transformed. Over the last seventy years, productivity on sugar plantations increased ten times; and the people who had begun as field workers, or their sons, moved into commercial, tourist, or defense jobs. By 1950, only 19 per cent of the labor force was engaged in primary production, and more than two-thirds of the population lived in an urban environment, half of it in Honolulu alone; and the sharp dichotomy between landowner and plantation worker, and also between whites and other races, was blurred.

The bare outline of this fascinating story is given in Lind's most recent book, *Hawaii's People*. Its five chapters are entitled "Introduction," "Who Are They?" "Where Do They Live?" "How Do They Live?" and "What Are They Becoming?" Successively, within each the demographic and economic changes over the past century or so are recounted, resulting in a good deal of repetition and in skimping the most recent period. For example, the rise of trade unions is mentioned once, in passing; the special case of the Japanese during the war is not given the attention it warrants; the allegation that the spread of suffrage has brought with it racial voting blocs is stoutly denied but with no evidence.

The book suffers from a number of minor faults. The author is not acquainted with standard professional terms: he writes "employed" when he means occupied, "fertility rate" when he means fertility ratio, "corrected birth rate" when he means general fertility rate. Although he tells the reader that the census designation of races other than the Caucasians and the Hawaiians indicates either pure or mixed types, on several occasions in his own analysis (e.g., p. 47, Table 25 and commentary) he seems to have forgotten it.

More fundamentally, within the unpretentious limits Lind has set for himself, this is an interesting and useful book. It is slighter than the author's previous works or those of Romanzo Adams, but these are now twenty years out of date. No definite answer is suggested to the main question posed by the subject—why Hawaii is relatively free of interracial tension—but the social framework within which such an answer would have to be sought is given. How these demographic and social forces have influenced individual attitudes is not touched on; but this means, in substantial compensation, that there is no "index of friendliness" less well based than, say, the intermarriage rate.

The design of the book, by William S. Ellis, Jr., is excellent. There is an adequate index but no bibliography.

WILLIAM PETERSEN

*University of California
Berkeley*

Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest. By MARTIN MEYERSON and EDWARD C. BANFIELD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 353. \$5.00.

This book, taking for its data the largely political controversy over public housing in Chicago between 1949 and 1952, is offered as a contribution to the scientific analysis of decision-making. As such, it must be evaluated both as a narrative account of real situations and events and as social science. Its value will lie in the quality of its presentation of a case history and in the success of its concept- and theory-building.

As a narrative, it is well written, even exciting in parts. One of the authors, Meyerson, headed the Planning Division of the Chicago Housing Authority during part of the time

covered. He makes good use of his ringside seat to follow the action closely, to quote some enlightening conversations verbatim, and to give sharp, often amusing, characterizations of the individuals involved—the mayor, aldermen, professional planners, and others. This "inside" picture is itself worth the price of the book for practicing planners and social agency workers who must know something about practical politics. The problems of prejudice and self-seeking underlying the specific issue—the selection and location of slum or vacant-land sites for public housing projects—are handled in a sophisticated manner. While the view of machine politics and special-interest groups and their influence on the Chicago City Council, the Housing Authority, and other public agencies is not likely to sell democracy to the Asians, students and others concerned with political education and social action will find the reading most profitable.

On the work as social science, some questions must be raised. There is a 26-page supplementary "Note on Conceptual Scheme" and a rather unusual "Index to Particular Concepts" referring to this note and to the use of these concepts in the text. The idea of such an index seems a good one. The note is the work of Banfield alone and leans heavily, although somewhat superficially, on Parsons and Shils's action theory in defining and analyzing the basic concepts of "politics," "planning," and "the public interest." Unfortunately, it seems, at best, a plea for agreement on the language and definitions to be used in working with these concepts, and its intent is clearly greater than that. Occasionally, the authors attempt, without much depth or rigorous application, to use these concepts in the text. The attempt is not always successful, and even the placing of the "Note on Conceptual Scheme" at the back of the book reinforces the impression, probably erroneous but hard to escape, that the narrative was written first, with the "scientific" approach almost an afterthought. Unquestionably, Banfield has contributed to the building of a theory of decision-making, but the precise value of his work is by no means measured by its use here.

The book excels in the capturing of the "imagery" of a significant real-life case history. It is considerably less effective at pointing to the specific "indicators" which, when used in identifying and perhaps measuring the "dimensions" of the case, will yield valid "indexes" and concepts. Without these latter steps, which

shape a complex, colorful reality into scientifically useful form, the book is a highly readable, informative history of people and events, but it is hardly science.

ARTHUR JORDAN FIELD

Columbia University

The Spatial Structure of Economic Development in the Tennessee Valley. By JOHN R. P. FRIEDMANN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xiv+187.

Synonymous with the New Deal is TVA, a long-range program for the social and economic improvement of an entire region through the co-ordinated use of all natural resources. It is not surprising, therefore, that geographers, economists, and political scientists have contributed more to the wealth of literature on the Tennessee Valley than have sociologists. In this monograph the author sets for himself the task of analyzing the reciprocal relationship between economic development and spatial structure in the region, an area of some 92,000 square miles, which includes all of Tennessee and parts of six other states.

Economic development, according to the author, can best be approached from the perspective of industrialization. The role of TVA was to provide the requisite electricity and water power. Dissatisfied with the concept of spatial structure "as an already existing configuration," the author deals with spatial structure in process of development while holding economic development constant and at the same time attempts to assess the effects of structure on the developmental processes. A series of general propositions, divided into two categories, are presented: (1) economic development and its influence on spatial structure and (2) spatial structure and its influence on economic development.

Unfortunately, in the plethora of data provided in the body of the text, the theoretical orientation of the author is completely submerged. The first section is a detailed account of the trends in employment, occupations, and population from 1930 to 1950. It is evident that, while rural electrification was stimulated by TVA, its significance is minimized by the benefits reaped by the urbanized areas. The second part of the study, entitled "Regional Planning" is devoted to a general discussion of

change and the "persistence of patterns." As in Part I, regional *economic progress* dominates the point of view; but what is "progress"? Conditions favorable to economic expansion also tend to usher in a variety of social problems. Crime, vice, suicide, and mental disorders find sustenance in an ever expanding industrial economy. Is this also "progress"? Notably absent throughout the study is any attempt to relate the process of community development to economic development. Is this, too, not a proper and vital part of planning? If, as the author points out, planning has implications of controlling the behavior of individuals, groups, and institutions, to relegate dynamic social forces to a mere footnote is evasive. By confining himself to the dimension of physical space, the author has only indirectly touched upon the functional interdependence of physical and social space.

An interesting dialogue, presented through a series of questions and acted out by an economist, a planner, and a philosopher, brings into focus the problem of poverty in rural areas isolated from the cities.

HEINZ J. GRAALFS

University of Washington

The TVA: An Approach to the Development of a Region. By GORDON R. CLAPP. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+206. \$3.50.

Gordon Clapp joined the TVA as assistant personnel director when it was created in 1933. In 1954, on its twenty-first birthday, he left, his appointment—he was now a member and chairman of the board of directors—not having been renewed by President Eisenhower. Six months later, he reviewed the TVA experience in the Charles R. Walgreen Foundation Lectures at the University of Chicago. These lectures, with some supplemental materials, including, happily, the text of the TVA Act, comprise the present volume. It covers familiar ground—the TVA "approach," personnel policies, regard for local interests, relations with the states, electric power policy, and the fertilizer program—and in doing so brings up to date and adds some detail to the latest (1953) edition of David Lilienthal's *TVA: Democracy on the March*. Clapp's book, like Lilienthal's, is an earnest plea for established policies. It

raises no questions about any of them. Even the selected bibliography contains nothing critical; Philip Selznick's provocative book, for example, is not listed. For Clapp, the great achievement of TVA is not that it has regulated a system of rivers or that it has demonstrated a way of facilitating and co-ordinating public and private resource-development measures; it is that TVA has produced "faith" in the fundamental virtue of men, in man's ability to make a living without destroying his natural environment, and in the possibility of united action in the public interest. His account of the TVA faith, however, is by no means as eloquent as Lilienthal's.

E. C. BANFIELD

University of Chicago

Das Dorf im Spannungsfeld industrieller Entwicklung: Untersuchung an den 45 Dörfern und Weilern einer westdeutschen ländlichen Gemeinde ("The Village in the Throes of Industrial Development: A Study of 45 Villages in a West German District"). By GERHARD WURZBACHER *et al.* With an international comparison by CONRAD M. ARENSBERG. ("Schriftenreihe des UNESCO-Instituts für Sozialwissenschaften, Köln," Vol. I.) Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1954. Pp. xii+307. DM. 18.

German sociology has certainly come a long way since Leopold von Wiese mustered the pathetic remainder of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie briefly after World War II. Within less than ten years, sociology has attained a status in German universities which is probably higher than it ever was in the golden days of the Weimar Republic. Moreover, an impressive number of recent publications suggests that, for the first time in a troubled history, sociology is really becoming an empirical science in Germany.

The present book, published under the auspices of the UNESCO Institute for the Social Sciences in Cologne, deals with forty-five single farmsteads and hamlets integrated into a communal structure. Situated on the periphery of the Westerwald hill country, the community belongs to one of the poorest regions of Western Germany. Renate Pflaum's enlightening introductory chapter describes its development from small-scale subsistence farming to a system of farming and industrial job-holding. With few exceptions, the industrial

jobs are available at distances which vary from 7 to 63 kilometers. Thus the commune has been tightly woven into a larger ecological system, and its economic equilibrium has come to depend on commuting: 43.2 per cent of all gainfully employed in 1950 were commuters. Various aspects of this process have been made convincingly clear, at least in so far as the villages are concerned. But except for a few tantalizing remarks, the reader is left in the dark about the larger ecological system—the *Spannungsfeld* specified in the title.

The bulk of the book deals with occupational differentiation, family structure, neighborhood, associations, religious institutions, and political organization. The rank order of occupations shows that "social power," "responsibility," and "professional training" carry the highest prestige. Among the money-making occupations, only the industrialist received a high rating, yet this was inferior to that conceded to physicians and high government officials. Up to 1910, Wurzbacher points out, there was a clear stratification into an upper and a lower class. Several of his findings indicate that the old order has broken down and that increasing fluidity of class lines renders ascription of class status difficult. In fact, Wurzbacher feels that the community is structured by associations, churches, political parties, co-operatives, and trade unions rather than by social classes.

A few conceptual neologisms are used to characterize the family. *Kindbezogenheit* ("child-centeredness") of the parents, as against the previous *Elternbezogenheit* ("parent-centeredness") of the children expresses a radical change in parent-child relationships. Furthermore, the integrative forces of marriage are now less economic and more affective. Also commuting habits affected the relative position of married women within the home. Hardly any of the findings suggest a patriarchal family structure.

There are indications that spontaneous co-operation among neighbors has changed from a "closed" to an "open" stage, since there now exist alternative solutions to problems which formerly could be solved only by mutual vicinal aid. Neighborhood controls are still powerful, but, oddly enough, to Wurzbacher, neighborhood control is coterminous with social control.

In spite of numerous centrifugal tendencies which have altered the ecological position of the community, the recreational associations still perform a major integrative function. On the

other hand, the churches, both Catholic and Protestant, have lost a great deal of their non-religious functions to other institutions.

Major changes have taken place in the realm of political organization, most of which go back to the Weimar Republic. Naziism was an interlude which did not completely destroy the foundations of democratic self-government laid in 1918. A participation of 72-80 per cent in the local elections of 1952 is high by United States standards.

Statistical techniques are up to date, and most conclusions are amply supported by quantitative findings. On the whole, the results are incompatible with current stereotypes which, according to Nels Anderson's Foreword, depict the German family as authoritarian, German class structure as rigid, the citizen as politically immature, and the rural population as backward.

Conrad Arensberg has contributed a highly instructive chapter on German community studies in the light of cross-cultural comparison.

EMILIO WILLEMS

Vanderbilt University

The Shopping Center versus Downtown: A Motivation Research on Shopping Habits and Attitudes in Three Cities. By C. T. JONASSEN. Columbus, Ohio: Bureau of Business Research, Ohio State University, 1955. Pp. xviii+170. \$3.50.

An interesting phenomenon of urban decentralization in recent years has been the rapid growth of suburban shopping centers. The impact of these centers on consumer practices and attitudes is analyzed in this book. Building upon an earlier study in Columbus, revised and pretested interview schedules were used, with samples drawn from selected areas in Columbus, Houston, and Seattle. Shopping-habit scales were developed to contrast consumer behavior at the shopping center and downtown, and shopping-attitude scales were devised to determine relationships between shopping satisfaction and such items as income, education, age, sex, and urban-rural backgrounds.

A major purpose of the investigation was to test the applicability of the Columbus findings to other cities. In all three cities, downtown had an advantage over the suburban shopping centers on 16 of the 23 factors. The major ad-

vantages of downtown in each city were larger selection, the ability to do several errands at once, and lower prices, while the disadvantages were difficulty in parking, crowded conditions, and traffic congestion. The consumers were consistent and gave as disadvantages of shopping centers "lack of large selection," "not all kinds of business represented," and "prices too high." The one attraction of the centers generally agreed on was, as one might, the nearness to home.

The study seems to have been well designed, and the report stays close to the statistical findings. In fact, the statistics are given in such profuse detail in text and table that one wishes there had been more interpretation in non-technical language. This is particularly true when one seeks to discover the author's conclusion on consumer motivation. The "motivation research" of the subtitle is not defined and is misleading, since the interviews do not explain *why* the shoppers behaved as they did or why the behavior of one group differed from that of another. Fortunately, the shopping patterns seem to be perfectly sensible, and an economist would be tempted to say that the consumers for the most part went about their shopping in the rational way that an economist would expect.

The study, which was financed by the Highway Research Board of the National Research Council, will be of some immediate value to city planners, traffic engineers, and businessmen.

RICHARD C. WILCOCK

University of Illinois

Employment Expansion and Population Growth: The California Experience, 1900-1950. By MARGARET S. GORDON. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954. Pp. xii+192. \$3.50.

Sociologists and geographers are expressing a growing interest in the problem of how pleasant living conditions (amenities), as compared with primarily economic advantages, affect migration. California is often cited as an example of an area where creature comforts exert a strong pull upon population movement. Margaret S. Gordon, on the other hand, re-examines the pertinent economic circumstances. Her carefully conceived and extensively documented study relates population growth to employment expansion, specifically to employ-

ment trends, income and wage differentials, and economic fluctuations. Sociologists and geographers will be interested in her work.

In reviewing employment trends in California, the author deals effectively with problems of comparability of the Census Bureau concepts of gainful workers and employed persons in the labor force. For example, she finds that California employment by major industry groups has deviated from the national pattern since 1870. Total California employment seems to be expanding at approximately the same rate as California population, but for different industries distinctive fluctuations are found in ratios of employment expansion to population growth.

The author shows that per capita income differentials between California and the nation have decreased since 1919. The per capita income of the nation is now approaching the traditionally high California level. However, the limited data indicate a fairly constant and favorable wage differential for California during the same period. No single relationship is found between California in-migration and state-national income and wage differentials.

The author considers California population growth to be characterized by its irregularity and its concentration into a series of three waves: from approximately 1901 to 1916, 1917 to 1933, and 1934 to 1948. She makes an effort to link these waves, which reflect largely net migration, with the following economic sequence: improved economic conditions, exploitation of favorable investment opportunities, expanding employment opportunities, accelerated net migration, increased consumer demands, and—when population growth exceeds employment opportunities—an economic decline. But in attempting to show, by comparisons of state and national indexes of economic activity, industrial growth, construction, and employment, that this economic sequence is linked closely to an amplification of waves in the rate of economic expansion in the state relative to such waves in the nation, she is hampered by the lack of reliable yearly data on the social characteristics of California in-migrants.

The study concludes by presenting evidence that California population growth tends to be associated with national growth patterns. The economic growth of California is thus characterized in terms of cyclical fluctuations and alternating phases of growth rates of longer

duration than the usual business cycle. These longer variations are like secondary swings in the gross national product. The author does not discount here the role of amenities in the decision to migrate: she emphasizes economic factors in the *timing* of the movement.

In addition to providing a basic sourcebook on California employment expansion, the author makes a contribution to migration literature. Throughout the study, she emphasizes the tentative nature of her conclusions. She shows keen discernment in relating population to economic phenomena. Her research isolates what may prove to be important relationships between employment expansion, secondary swings in the gross national product, and the timing of migration, whatever values may be involved. However, the relative importance of economic and non-economic desiderata cannot be assessed fully until we have dealt further with the interchangeability of values, not to mention the relationships of the changing age and sex composition of migrants to employment expansion in particular industry groups. It remains for both sociologists and economists to describe additional migration regularities, to specify the conditions under which they occur, and to formulate more efficient forecasting schemes which would include both economic factors and the amenities.

MAURICE D. VAN ARSDOL, JR.

University of Washington

Studying Your Community. By ROLLAND L. WARREN. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955.

This book is written as a "working manual for both laymen and those engaged in some branch of community service who are interested in learning more about their own community in one or all of its aspects." It is a successor to Joanna C. Colcord's book, *Your Community*, published by Russell Sage Foundation in 1939. Separate chapters give directions for learning about the history, economic life, government, housing, education, recreation, religious activities, social services, health, intergroup relations, and other aspects of the community. Each chapter shows evidence of having been based upon a careful and thoughtful reading of the recent sociological and other research on the topic. It is clearly and interestingly written

and could well be used as supplementary reading in courses in introductory sociology.

The book is premised on the belief that knowledge of a wide variety of social facts will guide the administrator and community service worker in his daily activities. The author seems to be aware that there is a level of sophistication above this: that a knowledge of empirically supported generalizations and principles about social phenomena, when applied to a particular community, can be of even greater help in comprehending the problems which the administrator, planner, and service worker face. As yet, sociological research has not been worth much to anybody with community responsibilities. Warren proves that this is not due entirely to the unwillingness of social welfare workers to try to comprehend what the sociologists write.

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

Man and His Environment. By ALOO J. DASTUR. Bombay: Popular Book Depot, 1954. Pp. 296. Rs. 12/8.

The author begins by reviewing environmental theories, starting with the ancient Greeks, of the relationship between geography and human societies. Rejecting previous theories, Dastur adopts the regional view of Geddes, which is a synthesis of Comte's historical method and Le Play's geographical hypothesis.

The geographic environment is divided into valley sections, each composed of eight regions: barren hilltops, woodlands, grasslands, etc. Each region is classified by the typical occupation associated with it: miner, woodsman, hunter, shepherd, crofter, peasant, gardener, and fisherman. The author then analyzes the social patterns of non-industrialized peoples associated with each occupational type. Next, she discusses the impact of industrialization, which upsets the natural balance of the valley section, resulting in overspecialization, slums, imperialism, and wars. Her solution of the industrial crisis is through regional planning, with a balance between agriculture and industry, abolition of private profit, and the beautification and improvement of city life.

But Dastur's schema is not suited to urban society, and, indeed, she virtually abandons it when discussing modern urban society. She

makes value judgments and unsupported generalizations and tends to be utopian. Unless the reader makes the same metaphysical assumptions, for example, about the relation of man to nature, the author's conceptual analysis seems far too ambitious and, indeed, quite inadequate. Where she lacks data, where she interprets the behavior or social customs of various societies, where her conceptual scheme is inadequate, her ideological and metaphysical convictions fill in the gap to give her schema a fulness and continuity that it would not have for the reader with different assumptions. On an unconscious level the author appears to be struggling mightily with some of India's basic problems as she works out her conceptual scheme.

GEORGE A. THEODORSON

University of Buffalo

Interpreting Social Change in America. By NORMAN F. WASHBURNE. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954. Pp. xiii+50. \$0.95.

The Development of Modern Sociology: Its Nature and Growth in the United States. By ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR., and GISELA J. HINKLE. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954. Pp. x+75. \$0.95.

Religion and Society. By ELIZABETH K. NOTTINGHAM. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1954. Pp. x+84. \$0.95.

These three pamphlets are Nos. 4, 6, and 5, respectively, of the "Short Studies in Sociology" launched in 1954. The plan of publishing as separate pamphlets short presentations of up-to-date formulation, concerning divisions and topics of a broad, recognized discipline seems potentially a good one. Just how much they will be appreciated will presumably depend in no small degree upon their general excellence. On the three titles at hand, one must render a mixed verdict.

Professor Washburne has interpreted social change in terms of institutions as the units which may be assumed to change, the human needs which give rise to the institutions, their functions and dysfunctions, the dynamic equilibrium of a society, and certain typical roles played by individuals in social change. He has followed, in part, the treatment of similar topics set forth by Robert K. Merton in *Social Theory and Social Structure*. Though

he mentions (p. 7) the distinction between function and motivation, he does not make much use of the latter concept. I found little or nothing in this booklet that I was inclined to challenge or question; on the other hand, I did not find the author's treatment particularly stimulating or provocative.

The content of the Hinkles' pamphlet is not so well indicated by its principal title as by its subtitle, *Its Nature and Growth in the United States*. The booklet is concerned almost exclusively with the development of sociology in the United States; and about fifty-seven of the seventy-four text pages are devoted to events since 1918. This, however, is perhaps as it should be for most moderately advanced students, who are trying to get a minimum knowledge of the process by which their subject has come to be what it is today. I cannot refrain from challenging the authors' apparent assumption on page 1 that the development of sociology in the United States dates from 1905, though, to be sure, this is qualified somewhat by text pages 4-17. Sociology was being taught, in many cases under that name, in a number of American colleges and universities by 1890. Nevertheless, a student reading these pages will get a fairly accurate impression of the last forty years.

Professor Nottingham's *Religion and Society* seems to me to be the best of the three. Not only does it embody competent knowledge and analysis, but it has qualities of stimulation and provocativeness relatively lacking in the other two books. Perhaps the most serious limitation of this pamphlet, and one not suggested by its title, is that the author has had little to say about the historical or evolutionary aspects of religion, a subject on which a number of suggestive ideas have been set forth by earlier writers. However, any student engaged in the earlier stages of studying religion from a sociological point of view could hardly fail to find this little book helpful.

Each of these three pamphlets concludes with a short list of "Selected Readings"; but, unfortunately, none has an index.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Law and Morality. By LEON PETRAZYCKI.

Translated by HUGH W. BABB. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. xlv+335. \$7.50.

H. W. Babb has undertaken the formidable task of translating into contemporary scientific language an author with a highly idiosyncratic terminology. N. E. Timasheff edited and selected the material from Petrazycki's two major works, published in 1905 and 1907 and so far accessible only in the Russian original, although many of Petrazycki's ideas have been discussed by Gurvitch, Sorokin, and the editor.

Petrazycki belongs, with Durkheim, Duguit, and Ehrlich, to a generation of writers who at the turn of the century became concerned with fundamental problems of social control in anticipation of the approaching social and cultural crisis in Europe. Convinced that the deductive methods of traditional juristic logic and philosophical ethics were unfit to grasp the actual normative constitution of society, he set out to initiate an empirical science of law and morality based on observations of their function in human conduct.

In his theoretical design Petrazycki was influenced by the historical jurists. He rejects the normative theory of law as fantastic and holds that juridical interpretation is not concerned with imperatives but with "legislative expressions" and their logical consistency. At this point, Petrazycki departs from a merely juridical position by contrasting formal law with its psychological "reality," much as Max Weber distinguishes a legal from a sociological meaning of law. The reality of law and morality he finds in individual experiences, which he calls "ethical impulsions" and describes as feelings of duty associated with images of anticipated action and their positive evaluation. He interprets these experiences as nothing more than subjective phenomena and does not realize that norms, like other cultural content, transcend the psychological acts by which they are presented to us. In this failure to recognize the interpersonal and cultural nature of law arise some artificial problems, which occasionally reduce the usefulness of the analysis.

Since he interprets legal experiences as exclusively individual phenomena, Petrazycki must explain how they can have identical contents. Except for vague references to "subconscious mass adaptation," he offers no conclusive answer; but he circumvents the question ingeniously with his theory of "normative facts," a social-psychological version of the juridical doctrine of legal sources. Normative facts comprise such conventional "sources" of law as statutes, customs, and court practices,

but also private contracts, sacred models, public programs, etc.; their "normative" character consists in their influence on individual convictions, by which they assure objective legal uniformity. Legal phenomena which are socially guaranteed by normative facts are distinguished as positive law from intuitive law, which has no such support. Normative facts need not be associated with socially approved techniques of external constraint, still less with coercive state authority. Rules reinforced by state sanction are classified as "official law"; but it is maintained against prevailing opinion that a reference to techniques of enforcement does not belong in a general definition of law, since these techniques presuppose the validity of law and are based on it. It is perhaps this emphasis on law without force which has prevented an adequate evaluation and treatment of the procedural aspects of legal systems.

The volume contains a detailed description of the particularistic tendencies of intuitive law and its variability and adaptability in comparison with the universalism and relative rigidity of positive law. It is shown how intuitive law varies with social class and religious or criminal subcultures and how conflicts between positive and intuitive law arise on the basis of simultaneous integration of individuals in general society and its various subgroups. The influence of intuitive law on the transformation of positive law is vividly described. Acceleration of social change necessitates increasing recourse to intuitive law by the courts. Petrazyski feels that all empirical phenomena to which the theories of natural law refer are comprised in his description of intuitive legal experiences. Identifying the latter also with justice, he suggests an interesting, though perhaps not satisfactory, answer to an elusive problem of legal philosophy. The work concludes with an analysis of the social functions of various legal orders. The basic function of law is seen in the co-ordination of individual activities by introjection of specific value orientations into actors, influencing their motivation in all areas of social life. Law is interpreted as making, not just reflecting, society.

Petrazyski has constructed a complex and consistent theoretical model which makes it possible to grasp structural and functional differences between various normative orders, their conflicts and mutual reinforcement. His theory contains many suggestive ideas still unexplored by sociologists and anthropologists

who are interested in the scientific study of social control.

FREDERICK W. HENSSLER

Upsala College

Energy and Society: The Relation between Energy, Social Change, and Economic Development.
By FRED COTTRELL. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. xix+330.
\$6.00.

This volume is genuinely important and timely. The treatment is original. Starting with organic energy, characteristic of simple, peasant, and preliterate societies, and tracing the effects of the inorganic mechanical energy sources of water power, steam, electricity, petroleum, and nuclear fuel, the author compares the social structures of low-energy and high-energy societies.

Low-energy societies, such as those dependent wholly on food-raising, are typically self-perpetuating, and they tend to develop a balance between population, social institutions, energy uses, and energy production. The balance tends to become rigid and unchanging.

High-energy societies are characterized by rapid change and insecurity of social status. The individual loses control of his environment. In effect, a process of depersonalization occurs. It is interesting to note the similarities between Cottrell's ideal-type dichotomy and Weber's *traditionalistic-rationalistic*, Tönnies' *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, Redfield's *folk-secular*, Becker's *sacred-secular*, and a host of others. References to these thinkers and their concepts are sparse.

The author avoids extremist theories in social change. Instead of attributing social change to technological and material parameters or to the manifestations of ideas, Cottrell posits the acceptable theory of interaction between material technological conditions and ideational configurations. He further amplifies this theory to suggest that the independent causal variable depends on the hierarchical value systems of different cultures.

The book suggests many theories awaiting empirical test. One of Cottrell's major theories may be summed up in his own words: "a fairly consistent ordering of choices does take place in every known society. Through the use of scientific means, it is possible to predict such ordering with much greater accuracy, for example, than it can be predicted by deductions

about human nature in general. It is also possible to anticipate to some degree the way in which changes in the ordering of choices will take place when given changes are introduced among a people who share a given set of values" (p. 112).

JOSEPH B. GITTLER

University of Rochester

Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology. By the INTERNATIONAL SOCIOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION. 2 vols. London: International Sociological Association, 1954. Pp. xxii+258; xxix+450.

These two volumes contain most of the papers or their abstracts presented at the meetings of the International Sociological Association at Liège, Belgium, in 1953. Of the ninety articles, twenty-two are in French, three in German, and the rest in English.

The first section of Volume I is devoted to brief surveys of sociological research in Australia, Denmark, East Africa, France, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Mexico, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Germany, and West Africa, most interesting of which is Koenig's discussion of problems of interviewing in Germany. The next section consists of twelve reports on specific research projects, including papers on the Darmstadt community study and on a survey of a rural German community, on youth movements and on leadership in Israel, and on the attitudes of German youth toward authority. Most of the thirteen articles in the last part deal with the responsibility of the sociologist and the ethical dilemmas that face him. The two dominant themes are represented in relatively pure form in the papers by Everett C. Hughes and Ruth Glass. The former is concerned with the dangers of professionalization for scientific pursuits, while the latter argues against value-neutral detachment and for a commitment on the part of the sociologist to ideals of progress and their promotion.

The theme of Volume II is social stratification and mobility, a subject which is also the focus of the ISA's long-term research program. In Part I, "National Surveys of Social Stratification," Shu-Ching Lee advances a Malthusian thesis to account for historical developments in the administrative hierarchy in China; and Lipset and Bendix explore the reasons for the paradox that ideological equali-

tarianism is distinctive of the United States, although opportunities for upward mobility do not seem to be greater here than in various European countries. The three other papers in this section describe social stratification in India, Uruguay, and the U.S.S.R., respectively.

In Part II, "Regional Studies," Hofstee analyzes an interesting change in stratification in rural Holland; although the socioeconomic position of farmers has improved in absolute terms, it has declined relative to that of farm laborers and other workers. The findings of the papers by Mueller and Boalt present a suggestive contrast; the one shows that migrants from East to West Germany have disproportionately high socioeconomic origins, and the other, that in-migrants to Stockholm have disproportionately low socioeconomic positions. Two other papers in this part are concerned with prestige rankings of occupations and two with occupational mobility of selected groups.

Most of the "Studies of Particular Groups of Occupations" deal with social origins. Kelsall shows that higher civil servants in Great Britain include a larger proportion of working-class sons now than they did a generation ago. Bottomore finds a similar trend among higher civil servants in France. Nordal's analysis of the professions in Iceland also indicates an increase in upward mobility into the professions over the last fifty years. Dogan compares the occupational background of parliamentary representatives in eastern and western European countries, and Tropp examines changes in the status of teachers in England.

The first three papers in the section on "Social Mobility" deal with the role of education in mobility. Floud, Martin, and Halsey, for example, complement the conclusions of papers in the previous section with their finding that the chances of British working-class children of going to grammar school have greatly increased since the turn of the century, but this applies largely to children of skilled workers with small families. The other four papers in this group study sociopsychological aspects of mobility. Thus Eisenstadt examines the consequences of the individual's upward mobility for his relations with his group of origin and his ability to transmit to them the values of the dominant group.

Particularly suggestive is Bendix' historical study of entrepreneurial ideology, which traces the development from traditional authority, legitimated by the higher classes' responsibility

for the poor, to the nineteenth-century emphasis on self-dependence and individual opportunity. The rest of Part V is devoted to empirical studies of class differences in formal participation in Wales, in class identification in France and Sweden, and in religious practices and family life in France. Most comprehensive of these are Segerstedt's investigation of class consciousness among Swedish factory employees and Brennan's study of leadership in formal organizations in a Welsh town and its surroundings.

The last part is devoted to "Theoretical and Methodological Studies." Pfautz presents a general sociological framework for the study of stratification. Mayer evaluates various theories of social classes and stresses the importance of taking different dimensions of class into consideration, and this is also the central point of Lebret's paper. The study of occupational prestige is criticized by both Touraine and Schelsky; but while the former considers it too arbitrary an index for the analysis of stratification in different societies, the latter argues that social leveling in recent decades has made class distinctions an unimportant area of inquiry. Foote *et al.* outline ten alternative pairs of assumptions implicit in stratification research. Miller's proposal to define the boundaries of social classes in terms of obstacles to mobility is suggestive, but the methodological difficulties are not adequately treated. Both Bresard and Svalastoga discuss methodological problems of measuring status, and van Heek suggests the investigation of extreme types of communities as a method for studying mobility, a questionable procedure, since it rests on the assumption of linearity. There is also an interesting report on an empirical study of stratification and mobility in six Japanese cities.

It is hardly surprising that the ninety papers in these *Transactions* are very uneven. But this publication does contain some very suggestive discussions, and it also serves the general function of providing a good overview of the status of sociology throughout the world and of research in social stratification in various countries.

PETER M. BLAU

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MANN. Stuttgart: Ferdinand Enke Verlag, 1955. Pp. 258. DM. 28.20.

To convey an idea of the unity of the social sciences, the editors of this *Gedächtnisschrift* for the late economist and sociologist, Franz Eulenburg, asked twelve social scientists to write about the work in their fields with emphasis on the nature of scientific knowledge and the scientific method. Most of the essays are thoughtful and stimulating. They deal with philosophy, sociology, economics, psychoanalysis, anthropology, and political science. Those that present the subject in its broad theoretical aspects, such as "*Weltanschauung* and Unity in the Social Sciences" by Hans Peter (Heidelberg), "The Place of Sociology in the Social Sciences" by Talcott Parsons (Harvard), and "Some Problems of Politology" by Ossip K. Flechtheim (Berlin), enable the reader to see the continuous interplay between the growth of ideas and techniques in the several disciplines is logically converging to, no less than issuing from, what Parsons calls a "general theory of action."

Those that deal with selected problems and methods will prove equally valuable and thought-provoking, especially the essays on the "Typology and Mechanics of Social Fluctuations" by Theodor Geiger (Aarhus), "Primitive Group, Primitive Mentality, and Dream Structure" by Wilhelm Bernsdorf (Berlin), and "Music Forms and Societal Forms" by Paul Honigsheim (Michigan State). Without deliberately weaving together the fabric provided by the contributors, the editors have nevertheless presented a volume in which the interlocking of several social sciences is much in evidence. The least satisfactory contribution is the one by Alfred Vierkandt. One might have expected that this distinguished sociologist would have something more significant to say about "the witches' sabbath of the Hitler period" than emerges from his highly commonplace observations on "the mixture of healthy and diseased conditions" in the "Grundlagen der heutigen Gesellschaftskrise."

JOSEPH MAIER

Rutgers University

Die Einheit der Sozialwissenschaften ("The Unity of the Social Sciences"). Edited by WILHELM BERNSDORF and GOTTFRIED EISER-

Ethical Judgment: The Use of Science in Ethics. By ABRAHAM EDEL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 348. \$5.00.

This book, written by a philosopher, is "a pilot study in the relations of ethics and the human sciences." The problem, of interest to sociologists at several points, is that of ethical relativity: to question the tenet of indeterminacy at the basis of ethical relativity and search the human sciences for more definite answers in moral judgment. Edel seeks not categorical propositions of Kant's type but "phase rules" which state "an operational universal or rule of reckoning" that should be taken into account, even though it might be broken.

He finds that both relativistic and absolutistic positions have dependency points that make them uncertain. In absolutism it might be the nature of God, choice of prophets, or some assumption about reason. His hypothesis is that *both* theories, instead of solutions, present obstacles to fuller exploration and participation of the human sciences in problems of ethics. Then follows a survey of possible ways in which the human sciences could contribute to greater determinacy in ethics. Though biology, he thinks, has been overworked, there are, for instance, certain drives that should be satisfied in all men. The expression of drives is regarded with growing favor, and repression is generally deplored. In psychology there are concepts, such as basic needs, maturity, egoism, psychopathy, and authoritarian personality, which he feels have an important bearing on ethics. Pertinent, he finds, is the psychologists' theory that repression and dependence are not the roads to maturity, fulfilment, and happiness.

Cultural, social, and historical perspectives take up a good part of the book. He criticizes, for instance, Benedict's "patterns" thesis and believes that analysis of functional relations between parts of society will give to ethical evaluation new dimensions and a more determinate structure. In history he seeks for evidence of general or perennial human strivings. Finally, a theory of the "valuational base" is presented. This is a set of guiding principles growing out of the fullest available knowledge about men's aspirations and conditions. On such a base one might judge, let us say, a current morality.

It is hard to criticize the intention of this book. Few ethical studies competently cover philosophical, biological, psychological, and social knowledge in one sweep. One must admire the magnitude of the task Edel has

undertaken, which is to make scientific data speak the language of ethics. Further, one cannot argue with a statement of sensible hope, for who can say what will be the result of tomorrow's inquiry? Yet some doubts do arise. Sociologists will want to know whether Edel has answered the fundamental question: By what *method* will reliable ethical judgments be made? The method of verification of values must be, he says, a full estimate of the impact, character, and consequences of an activity or value throughout the range of human life. Now an "estimate" is not a verification: there is too much in it of interpretation and guess. Nor does Edel claim that science will make the verification: "Science does not create values, only men create values." The question remains, then, "How will the accumulation of factual knowledge lead to reliable values?" Even though there were no inherent obstacles, it is arbitrary to assume that men will reach consensus without a method as reliable as that of science. Edel does not do full justice to the "fact" and "value" dichotomy which now exists, nor does he offer clear enough suggestions as to what the method of "valuational verification" will be (if not scientific) to justify full confidence in the prospectus he outlines.

ORRIN E. KLAPP

San Diego State College

Psychoanalysis and Ethics. By LEWIS SAMUEL FEUER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1955. Pp. 134. \$4.00.

The central thesis of this book is that different social structures speak their own corresponding ethical languages and that, since ethical terms cannot be unequivocally analyzed in a logical manner, they can only be psychoanalyzed in a somewhat sociological manner. This does not, however, commit us either to "ethical nihilism" or to "cultural relativism," both of which positions the author repudiates on the grounds that there are *in fact* universal, transcultural values, termed by him "authentic" or "rational," which express certain "primal drives" of all men everywhere and always. Indeed, statements as to ultimate values turn out to be testable, and the "common values of life" provide the final criterion for the evaluation of inauthentic values."

Ethical terms are made unique and unanalyzable, according to the author, by our

disposition to feel anxiety and guilt upon hearing them. Thus the attempt to analyze the typical ethical utterance (containing the characteristic ethical term) by providing a purportedly equivalent utterance will fail to do the job: "X is good" cannot be adequately rendered, for instance, by the expression "I approve of X," for the latter has "none of the emotive, unconscious, anxiety-inducing, guilt-provoking power" of the former. Such utterances can only be psychoanalyzed: all we can do is to try to present those unconscious experiences which have led people both to utter, and to be intimidated by, such unanalyzable noises. For instance, "the language of traditional philosophical ethics is . . . a rationalized precipitate of the authoritarian situation in which the child finds himself." And "the ethical language of the toilet-training situation provides the model and archetype for much philosophical analysis and speculation." By citing such "facts" as these, Feuer hopes somehow to neutralize the venom of ethical utterance and at the same time to reduce the anxiety produced thereby. In some way he feels that this may ultimately help men to the joyful lives they both desire and deserve; and, with these critical and therapeutic aims in mind, he undertakes to "psycho-analyze" a host of moral philosophies—Nietzsche's, Mill's, Calvin's, the cynic's, the totalitarian's, etc.—all of which he impugns as specious. None of these analyses is very deep, however, and, if I understand the central polemic of the book, it is largely irresponsible.

To begin with, when certain philosophers claim moral utterances to be untestable, they mean that such utterances do not qualify as propositions, even though those who assert them sometimes think they are asserting something factually true. This is part of the reason why Russell, for example, would maintain that "science cannot decide on questions of value." Whether or not this position is correct, Feuer has produced no evidence which might either weaken it or persuade the theorists in any way to modify their views. To be sure, nearly all moral theorists have held to certain views about human nature at the same time that they have defended certain moral prescriptions. Feuer correctly says that their propositions about human nature are testable, but this does not really touch Russell's argument. Russell would not deny for a minute that science may test propositions about human

nature, but he still is free to maintain that science cannot arbitrate recommendations as to how human beings ought to behave if they wish to be moral.

Feuer, however, quite definitely believes that we *can* arbitrate between competing moral systems by testing competing and corresponding theories of human nature and that we can falsify a moral system by falsifying the appropriate views on human nature. But, surely, statements about human nature are cast in the indicative, and ethical utterances are cast in the imperative mood. I am unable to see any logical relationship between indicative premises and imperative conclusions. Yet, even if there were, how would a falsification of the premises in any way "automatically" falsify the conclusion? For it is a logical fact that both the truth and the falsity of *Q* is compatible with the falsity of *P* in "If *P*, then *Q*." Further, Feuer must recognize that the very individuals who first framed the value of liberal democracy (which Feuer wants to defend) based their values on certain views of human nature which psychoanalysis, as much as anything, has long since modified. And Freud, whose theories of human nature Feuer seems to accept, subscribed to certain social and moral theories which Feuer spends a third of his book in trying to demolish. It is not inconceivable that one might *persuade* someone to change his value-attitudes by showing him that he holds false views on human nature. But this is not the same thing as falsifying his moral theories. For he might still maintain the attitudes while changing his mind about the facts. Were this not the case, we would all have to abandon democratic values when we learn that men are not always rational and that there are natural inequalities among them.

In the second place, I am not at all sure what are the "ultimate values" that psychoanalysis is supposed to reveal, for Feuer barely discusses the very point he moots. I find only two or three scattered remarks, none of which is more than oracular: "The seat of ultimate values is the newborn child's primitive emotional responses" and "The basic values are those with which the individual is biologically endowed."

And, finally, what Feuer calls "psychoanalysis" is what any logician will call *Argumentum ad hominem*. Thus Charles Stevenson's brilliant analyses of ethical language are conveniently neutralized by indicating that they reflect the persuasive techniques of the Ameri-

can huckster, a point which *may* be historically correct but which *is* philosophically irrelevant. *Ad hominem* is a game any man may play, and Feuer's approved usage of "good"—"I like this, and since we are so much alike, you would probably like it, too"—might be said to reflect the techniques of a new generation of advertising men on Madison Avenue who have gone genteel and taken over the low-pressure urgings of the Schweppesman. But what contribution this game can make to ethical theory is by no means clear.

ARTHUR C. DANTO

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Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences. (Vol. IV.) Edited by WARNER MUENSTERBERGER and SIDNEY AXELRAD. New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1955. Pp. 295. \$6.00.

This is the most recent volume in a series instituted by the late Géza Róheim for applying the concepts of psychoanalysis to the study of society. The introductory chapter, "On the Biopsychological Determinants of Social Life: In Memoriam, Géza Róheim," by the senior editor establishes the rationale.

The majority of the contributors are psychiatrists. Part I, "Theory," with its three essays, however, is the work of Ph.D.'s as is to be expected. Sidney Axelrad maintains that the anthropologist is pre-eminently qualified in the field of culture and personality because he looks for the "functional relation between man's needs, including the biological, and man's culture" and because of his exposure to different cultures and his relative objectivity. Most studies of personality and culture have been based either on psychoanalytic propositions or upon modifications of them because of their "applicability to the significant dimensions of human psychological life." However, with few exceptions, these studies have been conducted by investigators who have not been trained in psychoanalysis. The result too often has been the use of isolated fragments of psychoanalytic theory and the ingenious uncovering of spurious correlations.

R. E. Money-Kyrle attempts a culture-free definition of the "normal" in terms of the psychoanalytic conception of mental health. The normal individual is viewed as a person free of defensive mechanisms (particularly

paranoid projection) in the capacity to "form true beliefs on the evidence of sense perception." Rationality, in this sense, conditions the happy, efficient, sympathetic type of moral character, the humanistic in contrast to the authoritarian. The vexatious problem of how to "form true beliefs on the evidence of sense perception" with regard to psychological and social realities that are not culture-bound is not discussed.

In the last paper under theory, Louise Howe shows how the work of George H. Mead on the development of the self parallels and supplements the work of Freud on ego development.

In Part II, "Problems of Leadership," ten contributors deal with what sociologists would subsume under spontaneous collective behavior: mass hysteria, mob behavior, panics, charismatic leadership. Focus is upon the personality of the leader and the susceptibilities of their followers.

The leader, according to Otto E. Sperling, M.D., is likely to be a paranoid, psychopathic, or manic-depressive personality, since a "normal and honest leader would, in a catastrophe, reveal his doubts or his despair." George Devereux states: "In fact, psychoanalytic theory fully accounts for the observation that no known charismatic leader can be described as a genuine genital character." Gustav Bychowski, M.D., similarly claims that revolutionary leaders and dictators suffer from megalomania and ideas of persecution. The followers, for their part, seduce the leader as much as they are seduced by him. They love him as an omnipotent parent, but he must deliver the goods, otherwise the love may be readily turned into hate. The result, according to Edith Weigert, M.D., is a vicious cycle: the leader is "forced into more false promises, estrangement from reality, more rigidity of discipline and dogmatism."

Part III consists of three papers on religion.

The fundamental premise is that spontaneous collective phenomena are to be viewed as the projection of infantile personality traits into the field of interpersonal relations. The volume is thus a stimulating addition to the burgeoning field of culture and personality on the personality side; cultural and social analysis, for the most part, is lacking altogether or underplayed.

NATHAN LEWIS GERRARD

University of Miami

Operationism. By A. CORNELIUS BENJAMIN. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1955. Pp. vii+154. \$4.00.

This book is both an exhaustive survey of the literature on operationism in this country and a criticism of the operationist philosophy. It will undoubtedly be welcomed by those social scientists who have found solace and inspiration in it, or have found in it a butt for their criticisms.

The beginning is a general description of operationism and an exposition of the vagueness of the term. The original intent of Bridgman, the "father" of the operationist movement, was probably no more than to eliminate some abuses of the language of science. But behind Bridgman's concern there lies a philosophy of science, and, because he never made it explicit, a fundamental vagueness occurs in both his writings and those of his "followers." This vagueness forms the central theme of Benjamin's book; it is based on two conflicting aims of science: to be specific and clear and to arrive at general, fruitful results. The "narrower" concept of operationism restricts the meaning of concepts to clear and distinct ideas that can be grounded in empirically verifiable operations. ("Empirically verifiable" becomes almost an advertising slogan for the ardent operationist.) This idea seems to be "good" because it banishes vagueness and unverifiable metaphysics from science. But it also banishes many fruitful ideas; sociologists will recall disputes about the existence of group minds or the meaning of "value judgments," which arose out of the desire to be more "objective," i.e., to adopt the narrower form of operationism.

The "broader" type of operationism permits investigation of the vaguer but more fruitful ideas of science. This runs the danger of being all-embracing.

The author next reviews Bridgman's writings. He argues that Bridgman did not maintain a consistent viewpoint throughout his writings—few creative thinkers ever do—and that he was trying to express an empiricist philosophy, on the one hand, represented by the narrower form of operationism, and a pragmatic philosophy, on the other, represented by the broader type.

There follows a review of operationist literature, with special mention of Dodd, Lundberg, Chapin, and Stevens.

Finally, the author sets forth criticisms of operationism. Perhaps the most challenging of these is that operationists fail to distinguish between symbolic and non-symbolic operations. For Benjamin, a symbol is essentially an instrument of communication (p. 98). The emphasis that operationists place on the *physical* aspects of operations ignores the ultimate purpose of scientific defining: to communicate. "*By themselves* [the physical operations] are neither cognitive nor definitional, and to call them 'operational' apart from the supplementary acts by which symbols are created is misleading in the extreme. In this sense, to speak of a recipe for a chocolate cake as an operational definition of such a cake is a source of great confusion" (p. 102).

In the last chapter—which is all too brief—Benjamin constructs a "generalized operationism." The problem is put forth in an exciting manner. It is a restatement of the first chapter: science must meet conflicting demands. It tries to be clear and certain, to have a wide "range" over experience, and to be useful. If it succeeds in doing one of these things very well (e.g., in being clear), it is all too apt to fail in doing one of the others (e.g., in covering a wide range), and Benjamin does not attempt to show how science can best compromise. He does develop his concept of symbol, which was the basis of his strongest criticism of the less generalized operationism. This entails an account of "cognitive" operations, which, in addition to the data, are required to produce symbols. The account is provocative but annoyingly brief and no doubt will appear much too vague to the tried-and-true narrow operationist, who values clarity and precision above all.

Granted that in both physics and the social sciences certain basic concepts should be made more definite, why was this need transformed into a whole philosophy of science? The absurd result was that the proponents of the philosophy had to deny on occasion the "existence" and "meaningfulness" of "mind," "consciousness," "right and wrong," and other important ideas. Did they fear becoming lost again in an intellectual morass? Or was it a fad suited to personalities that like to keep things neat and clean? Or is there some deeper import in this phase of the history of science?

C. WEST CHURCHMAN

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Small Groups: Studies in Social Interaction.

Edited by PAUL HARE, EDGAR F. BORGATTA, and ROBERT F. BALES. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. xv+666. \$6.50.

The present anthology differs from others in its field in a number of ways. It includes the biggest collection of readings, fifty-five selections, most of which are not readily available elsewhere. It has by far the best bibliography, an annotated listing of 584 titles. It has the widest coverage, representing more schools of thought, types of analysis, and research techniques. Fortunately, this coverage is not, as is so often the case with books of readings, at the expense of the length required by the individual selections. In addition to all this, it is a very handsomely designed and printed volume.

The selections are organized in chapters under three main headings. Part I, "Historical and Theoretical Background," includes chapters on "Early Theory" and "Early Research" (e.g., Cooley and Thrasher, respectively), as well as a longer chapter on "Current Theory," where contemporary notables are represented. Part II, "The Individual in Social Situations," contains chapters entitled "Together and Apart," "Social Perception," and "Consistency in the Individual." The third part, "The Group as a System of Social Interaction," has a more explicitly sociological emphasis, with chapters on "The Communication Network," "Interaction and Equilibrium," "Role Differentiation," and "Leadership."

The individual selections vary considerably in quality and interest, an unevenness which can, in part, be accounted a virtue, in that the diverse and variable nature of the field itself is the more accurately reflected. But the editorial aim of originality and of diversity has led to the introduction of some second-best material. For example, the most characteristic, comprehensive, or sophisticated discussions of Lewin, of Bavelas, and even of Bales are omitted in favor of less adequate selections. What *was* included presumably met the standard of being infrequently reprinted and written by a known author.

Small Groups will be an invaluable reference work for the professional. It will also be a highly useful source of readings in courses dealing with problems of group life and process. It could not, however, be used as a general text for undergraduates; it is too advanced, and, except for brief but knowing introductions to the main divisions, the editors have not chosen

to include connecting or interpretive commentary. If the contemporary interest in small groups is to become established permanently in sociology and social psychology, it will be due in no small part to anthologies such as this, where specialists may delve and general readers may conveniently discover what has been going on behind laboratory doors.

Aside from pragmatic considerations, the book leaves two general impressions of the field of small-group research. One is of immense technical inventiveness; for those who value this, *Small Groups* happily devotes many pages to methodology and to relatively raw data. The other impression is of lack of agreement as to what is worth studying. It appears that everything is equally worth studying. This is certainly democratic, and the resulting Babel is probably both inevitable and necessary in a new field. But while one can hope that this volume will help—as the editors intend—to overcome the evident tendency for specialists to ignore what others are doing, internal evidence suggests that particularism will not be eliminated simply by making more research reports available. A more fundamental reappraisal is called for, but one gathers that quiet reflection is made difficult by the clatter of the IBM machine.

MICHAEL S. OLMSTED

Smith College

Current Research in Human Fertility: Papers Presented at the 1954 Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund. By MILBANK MEMORIAL FUND. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1955. Pp. 163. \$1.00.

In line with much of the work sponsored by the Milbank Memorial Fund, the latter's 1954 annual conference placed heavy emphasis on social and psychological factors in fertility. The ten conference papers are grouped into three broad categories.

Section I, "Studies of Underdeveloped Areas," contains three papers reporting on fertility research in India, Jamaica, and Puerto Rico. The reports reflect the current desire of many demographers to include in their analysis such variables as attitudes, motivations, and values. The findings range from innocuous listings of verbalized "motivations" to results of considerable interest. A number of convergences are apparent in the three studies.

The four papers in Section II, "Studies of

Sweden and the United States," are excellent empirical studies of fertility without social-psychological emphasis.

Section III, "Development of Plans for New Studies of Social and Psychological Factors in Fertility," comprises three papers discussing the work of the steering committee set up by the Milbank Memorial Fund to develop plans for new studies to follow the Indianapolis study. These three papers, as well as Grabill's discussion of the coming census monograph on fertility, will be of particular value in helping the demographer to keep up with new developments.

Even those who remain a little skeptical of the "new social demography" will be interested in plans for improved research in the future. However, many readers will feel that the real contributions are made where the investigators worked on population composition or the organization of society and the family rather than when they treated verbalized responses regarding values and motivations.

WALTER T. MARTIN

University of Oregon

Re-educating the Delinquent through Group and Community Participation. By S. R. SLAVSON. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xvi+251. \$4.00.

Slavson demonstrates the uses of group techniques in the re-education of delinquents. He shows how interpersonal relationships and wisely contrived social situations within the scope of community living may help delinquent girls and boys achieve self-awareness and reconstruct their lives on newly discovered self-esteem. The book describes the change which took place in the Hawthorne and Cedar-Knolls School under his guidance. Twenty years ago he was called in to try to end a riot that had raged for six weeks in the school. Because of his insight and talent, he succeeded not only in the task of restoring order in the institution but also in changing the philosophy of the management of delinquent young people. The story might be called not only re-educating the delinquent but re-educating the staff in charge of disturbed children.

The thirteen chapters of this book are filled with absorbing details of how Slavson put into practice his ideas of the healing qualities of democratic living. Following his philosophy of

group work, he laid the responsibility for their conduct upon the group, and the group accepted it. While the general plan stressed social control by the community, Slavson also bent his efforts toward satisfying each individual's talents and capacities. What these were, was determined by studies of the personality of each of the 180 residents. One must admire Slavson's talent, yet at the same time wonder whether some of his intuitive decisions and acts, if undertaken by another leader, would bring the same results or perhaps actually achieve the opposite.

It could be questioned whether the successful treatment of delinquents described here is not due to a dedicated worker who understands disturbed children and who has acquired in the course of his experience a fine skill in handling difficult cases, more than to special group technique and group work. The various group discussions and community projects in the institution were all inspired by a very forceful personality who aroused in the delinquents friendliness, admiration, and confidence in his authority. The delinquent girls identified themselves strongly with Slavson and very frequently corrected their behavior under his personal guidance and influence. The rest of the staff tend to appear as pawns, and the entire group is often on the verge of losing its identity under the watchful and wise eye of the director. It is difficult to imagine any other leader being as successful as Slavson in handling the difficult personality problems and intricate situations described in this book.

It is not entirely clear how the processes of group living actually resolved the inner conflicts of the very disturbed delinquents. Some of the cases described in the book appeared to be in need of psychiatric help. Yet Slavson was not in favor of having them treated by psychiatrists. Later on, in the reorganization of the institution, the need for psychiatric service was recognized.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Delinquent Boys: The Culture of the Gang. By ALBERT K. COHEN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 202. \$3.50.

Albert Cohen, who leads off from contemporary structural-functionalism and an understanding of what is meant by social process, has accomplished a fresh theoretical formulation

of an old criminological interest—the culture of the gang.

The delinquent subculture—defined as non-utilitarian, malicious, and negativistic—is “carried” primarily by working-class boys. He asks, “Why does this subculture exist in this locus?” rather than the more traditional query, “How is the subculture taken over by the child?” To answer his question he develops a theory of subcultures and treats the empirical problem as a special case.

Subcultures, he argues, are products of group problem-solving, solutions being arrived at through an interaction process among individuals facing a common problem. The subculture—whether it is that of a religious sect, a reform movement, or a juvenile gang—exists because it is an appropriate response to problems shared by a community of individuals.

The crucial problem, for which the delinquent subculture is a “tailor-made” solution, is a class-linked, trained incapacity to compete in the status system of middle-class-dominated institutions—schools, churches, settlement houses. Because the working-class boy is judged according to this core value system and has in part internalized it as a criterion of self-respect, he faces a problem of status. The culture of the gang exists because it performs two primary functions: it sets up status criteria which the boy can meet and equips him to retaliate against “normal” society for its assaults upon his ego.

From this perspective the author makes a cogent criticism of traditional theories of delinquency. The psychogenic approach, which merely points to the existence of personality problems, is insufficient. Culture-transmission theories fail to explain the existence of the subculture or even its perpetuation; “the recruitment of new culture-bearers presupposes life-problems which render them susceptible to the established pattern.” Through asking a new question, the author arrives at a position from which it may be possible to achieve a synthesis of seemingly contradictory facts and perspectives.

Alternative responses to status insecurity, female delinquency, middle-class delinquency, and gang participation are carefully explored. The section on “The Future of Research,” however, does not pull together adequately the research suggestions and implications scattered throughout the earlier pages. Yet, whatever may be the fate of the conclusions when put to

empirical test, no investigation in the future should ignore Cohen’s questions and hypotheses.

DONNELL M. PAPPENFORD

University of Chicago

Sourcebook in Marriage and the Family. By MARVIN B. SUSSMAN. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955. Pp. xi+431. \$3.00.

Faced with the problem of sampling the sixty “best” items from a vast and growing literature, Sussman has restricted himself primarily to five journals (the *American Sociological Review*, *Marriage and Family Living*, the *American Journal of Sociology*, the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the *Journal of Orthopsychiatry*) and to the years from 1949 to 1953. Conspicuously absent are selections from such relevant sources as *Child Development*, the *Journal of Home Economics*, and the remaining journals of the American Psychological Association; and it would be reassuring to know that Sussman had combed this literature with equal care.

The concentration on recent sources makes this almost a current clippings file. Only six articles seem to have attained the tentative status of “family classics” by coinciding with Winch and McGinnis’ selections of less than two years before. Beigel, Dinkel, Kingsley Davis, Hollingshead (twice), and Margaret Redfield would be joined by Kirkpatrick and Caplow, had not Sussman, curiously, chosen their graphic methodological article instead of their more useful substantive report.

Sussman’s selections fail to provide an adequate cross-cultural context of American family life. Within American limits, his inclusions are generally judicious (with rare exceptions, such as the purely biological “Male Fertility” by Ferris and the purely developmental article by Strauss on “Monetary Meanings in the Child”). Students of the literature will be delighted with such gems as Strauss’s “Ideal and Chosen Mate,” Aberle and Naegele’s study of middle-class fathers, Bossard and Boll’s “Ritual in Family Living,” Sussman’s own “Help Pattern,” and Jaco and Belknap’s “Is a New Family Form Emerging in the Urban Fringe?” Such empirical studies are nicely balanced by both theoretical-descriptive articles like Sirjamaki’s “Culture Configurations in the American

Family" and case studies like Strodbeck's "Henpecked Husband" and Harper's premarital counseling case.

The articles are well organized in the usual life-cycle style, ending with sections on divorce and therapy. Treated gently, this *Sourcebook* will enrich any family course with exciting research reports, chewy theories, and communicative cases.

ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR.
University of Michigan

Anticipating Your Marriage. By ROBERT O. BLOOD, JR. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xviii+482. \$5.00.

For the functional versus theoretical family-life education debate this volume, designed primarily for teen-agers and others without previous training in the social sciences, offers a compromise by giving greater verbal emphasis to action or learning by doing.

If rationality is a sufficient guide to successful courtship, marriage, and parenthood, this book holds the promise of being an outstanding instrument for human happiness. On a more modest level, it is notable in that it integrates recent social (and some biological) research in a readable manner with a process perspective; a task-oriented development from "dating" to "educating children"; and an occasional Freudian explanation.

Occasional and appropriate references are made throughout to case histories and the accumulated experience of the writer as a marriage counselor. There is an excellent chapter containing a specific outline of procedure for problem-solving among couples with everyday—or not so everyday—problems. On such debatable issues as birth control, premarital intercourse, and divorce, the author avoids the dangerous practice of giving answers, for the most part successfully. He states alternatives and consequences and the points of view of various religious and other groups.

Procedures and effects of marriage counseling are included within the scope of the book, but little attention is given to current proceedings in a number of classrooms on marriage preparation through "emotional learning" or learning of attitudes through group process, role playing, and discussions—all so much in the spirit of the author's approach to his subject but not amenable to communication via

textbooks. This is among the best of the "functional" textbooks—but is a textbook functional?

GLORIA COUNT
University of Chicago

The History of a Soviet Collective Farm. By FEDOR BELOV. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. Pp. xiii+237. \$5.50.

One of the few features of the Soviet Union which is relatively free from ideological controversy is the state of agricultural production. Soviet officials and Western observers alike have pointed to the backwardness in agricultural technology, the inefficiencies of collective-farm operations, and the low productivity of peasants. In fact, collectivized agriculture appears to be one of the principal sources of instability of the Soviet system, if not its Achilles' heel.

In this book Fedor Belov, a recent Russian escapee, depicts some aspects of life on a collective farm in a Ukrainian village. The title does not adequately describe the contents; it is not simply a chronological narrative about a particular kolkhoz but an account of its political and economic structure and functioning. Moreover, it is based on intimate knowledge of a native villager who was also a strategically located participant-observer, albeit not a professional social scientist. As the manager of the collective farm for three years, the author had access to statistical records which, together with diaries and observations, are his sources of data. His repeated claim that his case study is typical (pp. 8, 194) may be justified, judging from other reports.

The opening chapter is devoted to a brief historical sketch of the village. There follow chapters on such topics as the structure of the kolkhoz, its relation to a multitude of state organizations, the planning and organization of production, and individual households. Included among the seven informative appendixes is a record of bribes by the kolkhoz to various officials and a list of references to the Soviet press which allegedly confirm the author's observations.

Two recurrent and related themes are noteworthy. First, evasions of norms in the form of corrupt administrative practices, bribery, and black marketeering are widespread. Apparently, this is a function not only of economic scarcity and level of ideological commitment but of a

highly centralized bureaucracy with coercive and capricious authority. Second, peasant resistance to the kolkhoz system is pervasive. Having discovered that conscientious effort and "socialist competition" are not rationally rewarded, peasants have resorted to such tactics as restriction of output, theft of crops, absenteeism; and, at times, outright sabotage.

Area specialists will find this book of some value, and students of utopias may be interested in comparing the kolkhoz with the *kibbutz* and the Hutterite community.

WILLIAM M. EVAN

Princeton University

Satellite Generals: A Study of Military Elites in the Soviet Sphere. By ITHIEL DE SOLA POOL.

With the collaboration of G. K. SCHUELLER and others. ("Hoover Institute Studies," Ser. B: "Elites," No. 5.) Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955. Pp. vi+165. \$1.75.

The Soviet Union is faced with a major dilemma in building up the armies of the satellite countries: the recruiting of a military leadership loyal to Communist principles as well as professionally skilled. Organizations of like scope in all countries, of course, are confronted with the same demands. The problem of selecting satellite generals, however, introduces its own difficulties, in that satellites must be kept subordinate to Russian policy while a fiction of nationalism is maintained. The objective is to attain a leadership that is native, yet Soviet-educated and skilled; it is a goal to be reached quickly, yet from revolutionary, not stable, beginnings. This is a large order and one beset with sufficient possibilities of failure to have motivated the author and his collaborators to study the situation for signs of possible weakness that could be exploited by the West.

The Soviet Union is attempting to achieve the objective by a process of successive recruitment after selective purging of experienced pre-war officers and old Communists who lack the needed professional skills and the gradual transfer of Russian army personnel used in the interim period. Any link in this delicate chain, the author suggests, might be exploited through psychological warfare by the West in an attempt to win over the military elite in satellite countries.

This background analysis and research rationale occupy most of the introductory chapter, and the remainder of the monograph is given over to more specific descriptions of the situation in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Hungary, and China. Much of the description depends upon biographies of 753 pre- and post-war generals for whom there was some published information in sources admittedly hard to find and even harder to standardize.

The monograph misses making the substantial contribution it could have made to those sociologists whose interests are in the subject of military leadership and organization. Even within the limitations that have become chronic features of research on the Soviet Union, the volume suffers by a notable failure to organize and compare the information it does contain. One is soon cut adrift among strange events and strange names as the guide lines set forth in the introductory chapter run out. It is especially regrettable that the reader is denied the author's competence precisely where he would most like to have it—in interpreting the meaning and judging the validity of the comparisons that the reader tries to draw by himself. Of the nine tables given in the text, "purging" is a common dimension in one each for Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Rumania. However, in one, "purging" is analyzed by rank; in another, by activity during the war; and, in the third, by a comparison between career and Communist officers.

The difficulty is further compounded by the omission of basic data for the satellite generals. Only for China is information presented on age, education, and experience, although the introductory chapter implies that these and other categories were available for many biographies. Apparently, an earlier study in this series includes this as well as additional material on 817 generals in non-Communist countries. Worse than the inconvenience of having to consult another volume for the material is the fact that the reader is denied the conclusions and explanations that the author would be required to make if such material were summarized in the present study.

It is a disadvantage for the sociologist that the monograph is oriented to the needs of policy-planners. This is indicated in the stated purpose of the study and symbolized in the easy, though infrequent, use of such a term as "syke-war" (without quotes in the book) as a neologism for "psychological warfare." It gives one the feeling of being an unwelcome intruder in a

conversation meant for a more select group of specialists.

LEONARD REISSMAN

Tulane University

brief concluding chapter, on the relations between all these and the Revolution.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

The Bourgeoisie in Eighteenth Century France.

By ELINOR G. BARBER. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. xi+165. \$3.50.

It is a pleasure to read this book and in the process be instructed on its topic. The aim is twofold: to present the position of the bourgeoisie in eighteenth-century France and thereby to "demonstrate the usefulness of a certain kind of social theory" (p. v), namely, functional stratification theory. The sociological theory only provides the historian with a perspective, which might have been richer had it also been drawn from more history-drenched sociologists. Notable among the latter is Simmel, who illustrates his "functional" analysis of group size with examples from Mrs. Barber's time and place, e.g., the *tertius gaudens* who in the eighteenth-century king-noble-bourgeois triangle first was the bourgeois, then, in the "feudal reaction" described by Mrs. Barber, the nobleman, and only after the Revolution the bourgeois again. The time of her book is the eighteenth century; yet to tell how the bourgeoisie lived and changed during this period, antecedent developments, especially the relations between king and nobility and the increasing recognition of "universalism" and "rationality," the elements of bourgeois life, should have been brought out even more fully. Similarly, a brief synopsis of circumstances leading to the Revolution, beyond the excellently analyzed bourgeois conflict between the espousal of old-regime stratification and of social mobility would have illuminated the developments of 1789.

After a brief exposition of the current sociological conception of stratification, the book opens its proper theme with a survey of eighteenth-century French class structure; analyzes the chief hierarchies, business and professions, within the bourgeoisie; describes the coexisting and ever more conflicting Catholic and "lay" moralities, noble and bourgeois attitudes toward social mobility, the bourgeois ways of life, and the opening and again narrowing channels of bourgeois mobility; and touches, in the very

Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation. By W. D. BORRIE. Melbourne: F. W. Cheshire Pty., Ltd., 1954. Pp. xix+236. 30s.

This book is a report on a study of the assimilation of Germans and Italians in Australia, undertaken with the help of UNESCO, within the framework of various other studies on assimilation of immigrants. The book's twelve chapters are divided into four main parts. In the first four chapters the author describes Australian immigration policy, some basic characteristics of Australian social structure, and the non-British in Australia. The second and largest part deals with the patterns of Italian settlement in the twentieth century and with demographic, social, and cultural aspects of assimilation of Italians in Australia. The third part (three chapters) deals with the German settlement in the nineteenth century and their problems of their assimilation. The last chapter provides a comparative analysis between these two communities. Most of the analysis is based on general historical sources—newspapers, reports of governmental commissions, etc.—demographic materials, and statistics, and a special survey conducted in Queensland. Earlier studies of immigrant communities have also been utilized.

In these two groups the processes of assimilation differ markedly. The Germans came in the nineteenth century in the great colonizing movements and have mostly established themselves in separate rural settlements, maintaining a high degree of communal organization through the Lutheran church, German newspapers, and clubs and associations. They were for the most part accepted by the Anglo-Saxons, especially as they participated in colonization yet without becoming competitors or economic threats. It was only during World War I that some tension arose. The Italians came in the twentieth century mostly as laborers to the cities, with relatively strong family organization but very weak communal organization. They made enemies by their thrift, especially in hard times, and their willingness to accept low, non-union rates. As they lacked communal organization, the pres-

tures of the urban environment caused the second generation to become more and more assimilated, and it is merging now into the Australian way of life.

This is a very short summary of some of the sociologically most interesting aspects of this study—aspects which are documented with a wealth of detail. The descriptive part is presented lucidly and well. Some problems are not described fully enough—especially the problems of second-generation Germans and problems of social disorganization among the immigrants in different generations and communities. In so far as tensions are discussed, they are mostly those between the immigrants and the absorbing society and not those within the immigrant groups. Among studies of assimilation, this one is to be commended for its clear and well-organized description.

Some theoretical points made by the author—the necessity of a historical perspective and time dimension as well as of the analysis of the absorbing structure and its demands are very well taken. But the picture of the absorbing Australian society is—despite many descriptions in the book itself—much too homogeneous, and the various possibilities of change within it under the impact of migration are not fully worked out. The author seems to be guided too much—despite the example of the Germans—by the image of total assimilation and “obliteration” as the best single index of absorption. He does not fully analyze the implications of his data: that such indexes are themselves relative to different institutional structures and substructures of a society and that a society can accommodate subgroups to varying degrees without demanding total assimilation. The comparative analysis, while very interesting, is as yet too descriptive and not analytical enough.

S. N. EISENSTADT

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Old People in a Modern Australian Community.
By BERTRAM HUTCHINSON. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. xii+180.
\$4.75.

This volume reports an eighteen-month study in 1952–53 of the aged in the state of Vic-

toria, Australia, which was community-initiated and foundation-sponsored. The director of the research and author of this volume is on the faculty of the Department of Social Studies, University of Melbourne. The report is comprehensive, telling a good deal not only of the aged in Victoria but of the conceptual framework within which such research must take place. The author notes, for instance, the importance of distinguishing between “older people” (chronologically delimited) and the “aged” (socially denoted). Frequently, in research on the aging, one defines the universe as the aged in an area but selects the sample from among the older persons; that is, the conceptual and the operational universe are not the same thing.

Hutchinson dealt with this problem by obtaining data from three sources. First, he selected a stratified sample of 1,600 persons aged fifty-five or older from electoral lists, from whom he obtained certain objective data such as income, rent, occupation, etc. Such sampling certainly ignores some persons who have not registered, who have recently moved, or do not qualify, although such a list in Australia is likely to be more complete than a similar list in this country. Next, he selected a second group of persons from whom he obtained “qualitative” rather than “statistical” data by means of open interviews. They were apparently selected on the basis of availability. One wonders why the researchers did not obtain both qualitative and quantitative data from the same sample. The collection of interdependent data from two separate samples raises important questions of interpretation. Finally, visits were made to forty-eight homes and institutions for the aged in Victoria where interviews were obtained with administrators concerning the function and operation of their establishments; these are reported in a separate chapter of the report.

This book is of real interest to sociologists. It contains an excellent sociology of aging in the first two chapters. The general hypothesis within which the research was designed may be stated as the identification of the aged as a minority. The Myrdal notion of “accumulation,” or what others have called the “vicious circle,” is used to explain how the aged become a separate, identifiable, researchable group. Since they are unable to compete for jobs, housing, etc., they do, in reality, become inferior, and their minority role becomes rationalized through an opportunistic approach on the part of younger people to the whole problem. The

volume is unpretentious, readable, and full of insight.

LEONARD Z. BREEN

University of Chicago

Technology and the Changing Family. By W. F. OGBURN and M. F. NIMKOFF. New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1955. Pp. v+329. \$3.79.

The authors have two interrelated aims: to appraise the basic causes of change in the family in modern society and to depict the effects on it of scientific discoveries and technological inventions. First they present the results of a poll on the significant changes in the family; then they construct a model, based on cause-effect relationships, which is designed both to encompass and to delineate the variables; next they review in detail the relevant empirical data on American social trends; and, finally, they preview forthcoming changes in family life. The renowned craftsmanship of the joint authors as objective analysts and lucid interpreters of social facts is once more manifest. These qualities should make the book a useful reference for undergraduate students and a source of suggestive questions for more advanced students.

A sample of eighteen "prominent students of the family" (mostly sociologists) were asked to list the "ten outstanding changes in the family in recent times." Because two-thirds of the changes they mentioned revealed no consensus, the authors focused on those items on which there was substantial agreement. These are: increasing divorce rates, wider diffusion of birth control and decline in family size, decline in authority of husbands and fathers, increase in sexual intercourse apart from marriage, increase in number of wives working for pay, increasing transfer of protective functions from family to state, and decline in religious behavior in marriage and family. One infers that the question sought an evaluation of only the American family—at least there is no indication of concern for the great changes taking place in the non-Western world, e.g., the shift from the traditional and consanguinal to the conjugal family structure.

They constructed a model as a social map on which to locate and examine the pattern of causes which make for changes in the family. Its prime components are summed up in these propositions: "Changes occur in a sequence like the links on a chain. These may be classified as the

proximate and remote"; "A change is usually the result of several causes which may be said to converge to produce the result"; and "The effects of a single cause may be numerous and may disperse outward into many different fields." From this series they derive five subsidiary propositions: "1. A change is caused by another change and never by a constant"; "2. Changes are of two kinds: those that occur (a) over time in a single group and (b) contemporaneously in a number of groups"; "3. Simultaneous variation does not establish causation which must be demonstrated from knowledge not observable in the variation"; "4. The causal connection between two variables may be obscured by lags"; and "5. Psychological changes, such as changes in motives, are incomplete explanations of change unless we know what social or material conditions have brought [them] about . . . for the physiological bases of psychological traits of a people rarely change over short periods of time."

The model differs from comparable theoretical schemes in that it is less of a closed system and resembles many others in the methodological problems it involves. Ample illustrations can be assembled to fit the propositions without ever testing their validity; basic social facts in some instances are lacking to meet the needs of the sociological theory; and gifted analyzers can gain insight from nearly any theoretical scheme without necessarily demonstrating its economy or efficacy. These comments are meant merely to call attention, as a case in point, to the critical need for further consideration of the pervasive technical problems in model construction in the behavioral sciences.

A full-scale review of social trends, technological innovations, and scientific discoveries which have made for changes in the American family comprise the main part of the book. In each of the nine chapters the authors relate manifest events in a particular area of social life (e.g., the change in the emphasis in courting from economic skills to romantic aspects of personality) to the cluster of variables which may explain their occurrence (e.g., the relocation of production from the household to urban factories and the development of new attitudes as a consequence of preventive medicine and biological science). Perhaps few of the generalizations will be entirely surprising to sociologists familiar with the pioneer works of the authors, but the observations invite further research into the little-explored subject of the impact of

natural and social science on present-day societies.

The final section may be viewed as an experiment in prediction; the authors use the selected variables—technology and science—to forecast changes in the immediate future. Another way of testing their cause-effect hypotheses would be a replication of the study in another society.

JOHN USEEM

Michigan State University

The Health of Regionville: What the People Thought and Did about It. By EARL LOMON KOOS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+177. \$3.25.

Modestly reported, this is actually a very substantial study of family behavior in the face of illness. Over five hundred households (20 per cent) in a town in the hilly part of New York State were interviewed four times annually for four years. Each household was assigned to one of three social classes by occupation, and this was then verified by inquiring into its circle of acquaintanceship, whereupon all findings were tabulated by class.

Wherever one stands on the controversial subject of what determines class, there is no doubt that the members of Koos's three classes behaved like their fellows and unlike the members in the other two. The most important fact about a sick person, it appears, is his class culture, for the latter intervenes at every point between the patient and the treatment. It determines whether or not one is ill, what illnesses call for treatment, where to turn for help and advice, and how to judge the treatment. Consequently, the mere provision of health services is no guaranty that they will be used, and the reasons people give for taking advantage of doctors and hospitals or for avoiding them are for the most part irrelevant to illness. When the children have chickenpox, Class I calls in the doctor for precisely the reason Class III does not: "everybody else does." Koos remarks (p. 139) that every family makes some sort of compromise between what it believes to be expected of it and what it can afford. In some, the mother's operation will wait until the television set is paid for. But the family notion of what it can afford also comes from the subculture. So does the family's attitude to its own course of action once taken: Class I mothers seem particularly sensitive and apologetic.

It is no surprise to learn that the poor and ignorant need most and get least help. Koos quotes their poignant remarks on how ill at ease they are with doctors and nurses and how they fear going to the hospital. What the psychiatrist is for Class I, the chiropractor is for Class III: "He's a good listener." The community hospital is "ours" to Class I; "theirs" to Class III.

In the final chapter, "Dilemmas and Possibilities," the author relates the community's habits, class by class, to the doctors and hospitals and draws some general conclusions in the light of them as to how the local medical services can take better care of all the people.

In an appendix the author tells how the study was made and what technical difficulties arose as the work progressed; his account is highly readable and instructive. This little book is a mine of useful information and a classic in its way of "action-directed" research. It happily corroborates the impression of competent and sympathetic scholarship given by Koos's earlier work, *Families in Trouble*.

HELEN MACGILL HUGHES

University of Chicago

Mental Health and Mental Disorder: A Sociological Approach. Edited by ARNOLD M. ROSE. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955. Pp. xiv+612. \$6.50.

This anthology was sponsored by the Society for the Study of Social Problems in an effort to encourage problem-centered research and co-ordination between sociology and other disciplines in the study of social problems. The volume includes ten previously unpublished articles, seventeen which have appeared in one of the sociology journals, and eleven previously published elsewhere. Although no over-all interpretation of the collection is included, in the first four articles Ernest W. Burgess, Thomas D. Eliot, R. A. Schermerhorn, and H. Warren Dunham review the field.

The incidence of mental disorder in various population categories, a focus of considerable sociological research activity, is introduced with a summary table prepared especially for this volume from widely scattered sources. There follow analytical articles on differences in incidence among social classes, occupations, ethnic groups, and ecological areas, in which patterns of mental disorder are interpreted in terms of the structure of rural, sectarian, and primitive

societies. Although, in general, the rates are crude and explanations very gross, there is evidence of progress in coping with methodological problems. More complete enumerations of diagnosed cases and deeper probings of life tensions have, for example, been pioneered in studies of small social universes.

On the basis of theoretical positions and some empirical evidence, many authors throughout the volume develop, promote, and defend the sociological approach to mental disorder, sometimes noting with satisfaction the development of sociological vision in psychiatry, occasionally complaining that psychiatrists remain nearsighted. Several articles relate social psychological ventures into the clinical field: S. Kirsan Weinberg analyzes schizophrenia in terms of self-image, isolation, self-acceptance, and social acceptance; Robert E. L. Faris studies a schizophrenic patient's conflicts of role, status, and value; Harrison G. Gough explains psychopathy in terms of role-taking deficiencies; Norman Cameron considers the role-taking problems of paranoids; Bingham Dai formulates personality organization in terms of primary and secondary selves; and Howard S. Becker applies George Herbert Mead's "social meaning of objects" to explain the development of marihuana addiction.

Marginal but related to this type of social psychology are articles by Erich Fromm, Marie Jahoda, and Maurice E. Linden (in collaboration with Douglas Courtney).

There is little that is conclusively established in *Mental Health and Mental Disorder*; rather, it is a prelude to more extensive research. In an article very appropriately placed at the conclusion of the volume, John R. Seeley raises some fundamental questions about the expansion of mental health research and action programs and asks what the effects are of the movement on that which it is intended most to affect, namely, mental health.

WARREN A. PETERSON

University of Chicago

Suicide in London: An Ecological Study. By PETER SAINSBURY. London: Chapman & Hall, Ltd.; New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1955. Pp. 116. \$2.25.

The author, a psychiatrist in the University of London, presents a serviceable review of the leading American literature on urban ecology as related to abnormal behavior, including suicide, and of the most important statistical literature on suicide. On the basis of hypotheses arising from this survey, he undertook an ecological study of suicide rates in the twenty-eight metropolitan boroughs of London.

Although the variations in suicide rates among the boroughs are not great, they are systematic and, in general, are closely similar to the suicide patterns in cities of the United States. The high rates of suicide are all to the west and northwest of the City. Ecological correlations show no significant connections between suicide rates and the percentage of the population in the middle class, or overcrowding, poverty, or unemployment; but an individual relation is shown between suicide and poverty and unemployment. The chief positive ecological relationships are with the familiar indexes of the type of disorganization which characterizes highly mobile areas—the hotel and rooming-house districts. Correlated significantly are percentage living alone, percentage in lodgings and hotels, percentage of immigrants and foreign-born, rate of daily movement in and out of the borough, percentage divorced, rate of illegitimate births, and rate of mental disorders.

The proportion of individual causes of suicide with physical illness (roughly one-third) and mental abnormality (also about one-third) is about the same as reported in other studies.

This is a competent and useful piece of research.

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OF SOCIOLOGY AND THE INTERVIEW: EDITORIAL PREFACE

MARK BENNEY AND EVERETT C. HUGHES

Sociology has become the science of the interview, and that in two senses. In the first sense the interview has become the favored digging tool of a large army of sociologists. The several branches of social study are distinguished from one another perhaps more by their predilection for certain kinds of data and certain instruments for digging them up than by their logic. While the essential features of human society have probably varied within fairly narrow limits in all times and places where men lived, certain of these features can be more effectively observed in direct contact with living people. Others may perhaps be best seen through the eyes of men who left documents behind them. Sociologists have become mainly students of living people. Some, to be sure, do still study documents. Some observe people *in situ*; others experiment on them and look at them literally *in vitro*. But, by and large, the sociologist of North America, and in a slightly less degree in other countries has become an interviewer. The interview is his tool; his works bear the marks of it.

Interviews are of many kinds. Some sociologists like them standardized and so formulated that they can be "administered" to large groups of people. This can be done only among large homogeneous populations not too unlike the investigator himself in

culture. Where languages are too diverse, where common values are too few, where the fear of talking to strangers is too great, there the interview based on a standardized questionnaire calling for a few standardized answers may not be applicable. Those who venture into such situations may have to invent new modes of interviewing. Some of the articles which follow deal with problems of large-scale standardized interviews; others tell of the peculiar problems of interviewing special kinds of people.

In the second sense sociology is the science of the interview in a more essential way. The subject matter of sociology is interaction. Conversation of verbal and other gestures is an almost constant activity of human beings. The main business of sociology is to gain systematic knowledge of social rhetoric; to gain the knowledge, we must become skilled in the rhetoric itself. Every conversation has its own balance of revelation and concealment of thoughts and intentions: only under very unusual circumstances is talk so completely expository that every word can be taken at face value. The model of such exposition is the exchange of information among scientists. Each is pledged to tell all he knows of the subject in terms whose meanings are strictly denoted. Every member of any society knows from early childhood a number of

such model situations and the appropriate modes of rhetoric. He knows them so well, in fact, that he can improvise new ones and can play at the game of keeping others guessing just what rhetoric he is using. We mention these subtleties of social rhetoric and social interaction, not to spin out analysis of them, but to sharpen the point that the interview, as itself a form of social rhetoric, is not merely a tool of sociology but a part of its very subject matter. When one is learning about the interview, he is adding to sociological knowledge itself. Perhaps the essence of the method of any science is the application, in quest of new knowledge, of what is already known of that science. This is certainly true of sociology; what we learn of social interaction—of the modes of social rhetoric—we apply in getting new knowledge about the same subject.

But the interview is still more than tool and object of study. It is the art of sociological sociability, the game which we play for the pleasure of savoring its subtleties. It is our flirtation with life, our eternal affair, played hard and to win, but played with that detachment and amusement which give us, win or lose, the spirit to rise up and interview again and again.

The interview is, of course, merely one of the many ways in which two people talk to each other. There are other ways. About a year ago Miss Margaret Truman was employed on Ed Murrow's "Person to Person" television show to interview her parents in their home, and the event proved to be a notable exercise in multiple role-playing. As a daughter, Miss Truman asked the kinds of questions that any daughter might ask of a parent: "Dad, how is the book coming?" As interviewer, she asked questions that bore the unmistakable stamp of the newspaperman: "So many people want to know what you do to relax, inasmuch as you don't fish, hunt, or play golf." And at the end of the interview she achieved a nice convergence of the two roles by asking, as interviewer, her parents' views about herself, as daughter. Now

Miss Truman is by way of being both a professional daughter and a professional interviewer, and the happy idea that she should act in the one role in a situation and with people where the other role is conventionally to be expected takes us right to the center of our concern.

If we look at the variety of ways in which people in our culture meet together and talk, we will be struck not only by the range of expectations which subsume unique, particular encounters under a rubric of reciprocal roles but also by the different degrees of self-involvement that inform the playing of different roles. Much attention has been given to the range of intensity with which the individual plays his roles; much less attention has been paid to the degree of *expected* intensity. It is clear enough that along with more or less specific expectations of the appropriate behavior in a given role go other expectations about the degree of self-involvement. The general expectation is that Miss Truman should be more involved in the role of daughter than of interviewer; and certainly she managed to underline the family ties by very frequent use of such terms of address as "Dad" and "Mommie" and also by occasionally prefacing a question with the phrase, "Ed Murrow wanted me to ask. . . ." These differences of expected intensity are to some extent codified for us in such terms as "commandment," "law," "rule," "standard," "convention," "fashion." At the upper limits of intensity there is a total prescription of alternative roles—the priest must never be a lover, the citizen must never be a traitor: only minimal distinction is expected between the self and the role. At the lower limit there is still the expectation that, when roles conflict, the resolution shall favor one role rather than another—but, by their very semantics, such terms as "convention" or "fashion" operate in areas of life where ethical neutrality is acceptable and ambivalence frequent. Thus, Miss Truman could abandon the role of interviewer for that of daughter without our feeling that violence has been done to

our ethos; she could not, if the two roles conflicted, abandon the role of daughter so easily.

The role of the interviewer, then, is one governed by conventions rather than by standards, rules, or laws; it is a role that is relatively lightly held, even by professionals, and may be abandoned in favor of certain alternative roles if the occasion arises. *What* alternative roles is another matter. The interview is a relatively new kind of encounter in the history of human relations, and the older models of encounter—parent-child, male-female, rich-poor, foolish-wise—carry role definitions much better articulated and more exigent. The interviewer will be constantly tempted, if the other party falls back on one of these older models, to reciprocate—tempted and excused. For, unlike most other encounters, the interview is a role-playing situation in which one person is much more an expert than the other, and, while the conventions governing the interviewer's behavior are already beginning, in some professional circles, to harden into standards, the conventions governing the informant's behavior are much less clearly articulated and known. Viditch and Bensman, discussing this aspect of the interview, give examples of the respondent's insecurity in his role: "In a difficult joint interview between a husband and wife, which required them to discuss certain problems, respondents would remind their spouses of failures to fulfill the instruction to 'discuss' with the remark that 'this is not what they wanted!' When couples failed to fulfill the instructions and saw that they had failed, they frequently apologized for their 'ignorance' or ineptitude."¹ Of course there is an enormous amount of preparatory socialization in the respondent role—in schools and jobs, through the mass media—and more and more of the potential respondents of the Western world are readied for the rap of the clipboard on the door. (In some places, perhaps, overreadied.

There was a charming story in the London *News of the World* recently about a political canvasser who liked to demonstrate, on the backsides of young suburban mothers, how they could check the urge to delinquency in their offspring. During the ensuing prosecution it was suggested that the ladies had become, through their experiences with interviewers, so docile as subjects of experiments that they were surprised at nothing.) Probably the most intensive presocialization of respondents runs in roughly the social strata from which interviewers themselves are drawn—the middle, urban, higher-educated groups, while at the top and bottom—though for different reasons—the appropriate role of the informant is apparently much less known. At the moment it is enough to say that where the parties to an interview are unsure of their appropriate roles they are likely to have recourse to other, more firmly delineated social roles that will turn the encounter into one where they feel more at home.

Two conventions characterize most interviews and seem to give this particular mode of personal encounter its uniqueness: these are the conventions of *equality* and *comparability*.

The view that information obtained under stress is likely to be unreliable is not universal, even in our own culture, as "third degree" practices by the police and some popular techniques of cross-examination in the law courts indicate. But in the research interview, at least—and we can regard this as archetypal—the assumption is general that information is the more valid the more freely given. Such an assumption stresses the voluntary character of the interview as a relationship freely and willingly entered into by the respondent; it suggests a certain promissory or contractual element. But if the interview is thought of as a kind of implicit contract between the two parties, it is obvious that the interviewer gains the respondent's time, attention, and whatever information he has to offer, but what the respondent gets is less apparent. A great

¹ A. Viditch and J. Bensman, "The Validity of Field Data," *Human Organization*, XIII, No. 1 (spring, 1954), 20-27.

many people enjoy being interviewed, almost regardless of subject, and one must assume, from the lack of tangible rewards offered, that the advantages must be totally subjective. Here Theodore Caplow's suggestion, in his article in this issue, that the interview profits as a communication device from the contrast it offers to conversation in less formal situations might satisfy us until further evidence is available: that by offering a program of discussion, and an assurance that information offered will not be challenged or resisted, self-expression is facilitated to an unusual degree and that this is inherently satisfying. In this sense, then, the interview is an understanding between the two parties that, in return for allowing the interviewer to direct their communication, the informant is assured that he will not meet with denial, contradiction, competition, or other harassment. As with all contractual relations, the fiction or convention of equality must govern the situation. Whatever actual inequalities of sex, status, intelligence, expertness, or physique exist between the parties should be muted. Interviewing-training consists very largely of making interviewers aware of the kinds of social inequalities with which respondents are likely to be concerned and of teaching them how to minimize them. This is most important, perhaps, if the respondent is likely to see himself as inferior in some respect to the interviewer, and certainly this has been the most closely studied aspect of interviewer effect.

But what happens when, as increasingly happens, a run-of-the-mill, middle-class interviewer encounters a member of some financial, intellectual, or political elite? Our own impression is that such respondents contrive to re-establish equality in the interview by addressing themselves subjectively, not to the actual interviewer, but to the study director or even his sponsor. The different subjective uses to which respondents put these ghostly figures is something that might very profitably be looked into; certainly, people of superior status are more aware of

them, and make more use of them, than others.

Evidently such a view of the interview has much in common with Simmel's view of sociability. Both in the interview as seen here and in the sociable gathering as seen by Simmel the convention of equality is a formal necessity and is achieved by excluding from immediate awareness all those attributes of the individual, subjective and objective, which make for inequalities in everyday life. But, as Simmel stresses, the objects of a sociable gathering can be achieved only within a given social stratum—"sociability among members of very different social strata often is inconsistent and painful."² The muting of minor social inequalities, such as age, sex, wealth, erudition, and fame, can be accomplished only by the physical elimination of the grosser subcultural differences. But the interview was designed to provide a bridge for communicating between the social strata precisely of the kind that sociability cannot provide (if it could, interviewing would be unnecessary). And this fact brings out another important difference between the interview as practiced and the sociable gathering as seen by Simmel—in the handling of affect. The identifications which bring people together easily in sociable gatherings are primarily established on an emotional basis, and, as Simmel stresses, any affective expression which runs counter to these emotional bonds is suppressed: it is, says Simmel, the essential function of *tact* "to draw the limits, which result from the claims of others, of the individual's impulses, ego-stresses, and intellectual and material desires."³ The only emotional expression tolerable in the sociable gathering is that which heightens the emotional bonds already established within the group. Psychologically, however, exclusion from these shared affective responses constitutes social inequality; and, if equality in the inter-

² Kurt Wolff (trans.), *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), p. 47.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 45.

view is to be established, it must at bottom be achieved by the interviewer's encouraging and accepting the affect as well as the information the respondent offers. (Hence the growing emphasis on "rapport" in the technical manuals dealing with the interview.) The problem of establishing equality in the interview, then, depends on the expression rather than the suppression of affective responses, on some encouragement of the private, idiosyncratic, and subjective dimensions of at least one of the personalities involved. True, the interview *tends* toward the form of the sociable conversation, in that, once the interviewer has been "cued" to the level of discourse a given respondent is capable of, and has adapted himself to it, communication is expected to approximate that which would take place between actual equals, so that the information carried away is assumed to be such as a man might give when talking freely to a friend. Thus students of the dynamics of interviewing find that there is in general an early release of affect, followed by a more equable flow of information.

Interviewing, then, is distinguished by the operations of the convention that both parties to the encounter are equals, at least for the purposes and duration of the encounter. But there is another important characteristic of the interview which serves to differentiate it from other modes of human interaction—the convention of *comparability*. The first operates primarily for the advantage of the respondent; the second, for the advantage of the interviewer and his employers. They are not completely compatible conventions, and the latent conflict between them is always threatening to become manifest.

Regarded as an information-gathering tool, the interview is designed to minimize the local, concrete, immediate circumstances of the particular encounter—including the respective personalities of the participants—and to emphasize only those aspects that can be kept general enough and demonstrable enough to be counted. As an encounter be-

tween these two particular people the typical interview has no meaning; it is conceived in a framework of other, comparable meetings between other couples, each recorded in such fashion that elements of communication in common can be easily isolated from more idiosyncratic qualities. However vaguely this is conceived by the actual participants, it is the needs of the statistician rather than of the people involved directly that determine much, not only the content of communication but its form as well. Obviously, this convention conflicts with the psychological requirements for equality of affective interchange, and one can observe various attempts to resolve the problem, from interviewing in groups to interviewing in depth. At its most obvious the convention of comparability produces the "standardized" interview, where the whole weight of the encounter is placed on the order and formulation of the questions asked and little freedom is permitted to the interviewer to adjust the statistician's needs to the particular encounter. The statistician, indeed, seldom uses *all* the material collected; few reports, apparently, make use of more than 30 or 40 per cent of the information collected. But less obtrusively it enters into almost all interviewing, even psychiatric interviewing, as the possibilities of statistical manipulation of "data" force themselves on the attention of research-minded practitioners. Here technological advances such as the tape recorder are hastening the process—directly, by making available for comparison transcripts of psychiatric interviews hitherto unobtainable and, indirectly, by exposing more clearly to colleagues those purely personal and private (or "distorting" and "biasing") observations and interpretations which the practitioner brings into the interview with him. The very displacement of the older words "session" or "consultation" by the modern word "interview," to describe what passes between the psychiatrist and his patient, is a semantic recognition of this spread of the convention of comparability.

All this amounts to a definition of the in-

terview as a relationship between two people where both parties behave as though they are of equal status for its duration, whether or not this is actually so; and where, also, both behave as though their encounter had meaning only in relation to a good many other such encounters. Obviously, this is not an exhaustive definition of any interview; it leaves out any reference to the exchange and recording of information, to the probability that the parties involved are strangers, and to the transitory nature of the encounter and the relationship. In any formal definition of the interview these elements must have a place.

A relationship governed by the conventions just discussed can occur, it is clear, only in a particular cultural climate; and such a climate is a fairly new thing in the history of the human race. Anthropologists have long realized—if not always clearly—that the transitory interview, held with respondents who do not share their view of the encounter, is an unreliable source of information in itself. It is not until they have been in the society long enough to fit into one of its better-defined roles that they can “tap” a valid communication system and hear the kind of messages that the others in the culture hear. Equally, the climate which makes widespread interviewing possible in the West today is itself relatively novel. A century ago, when Mayhew pioneered in the survey by interviewing “some thousands of the humbler classes of society,” the social distance between his readers and his subjects, though they largely lived in the same city, was such that he could best conceptualize his undertaking as an ethnological inquiry, seeking to establish that “we, like the Kaffirs, Fellahs and Finns, are surrounded by wandering hordes—the ‘Sonquas’ and the ‘Fingoes’ of this country.” Mayhew was a newspaperman, and his survey was first

published in a London newspaper. This fact serves to remind us that interviewing as we know it today was an invention of the mass-communications industry and, as a mode of human encounter, has much the same boundaries. On the other hand, the interview has become something very like a medium of mass communication in its own right, and one, on the whole, with less frivolous and banal concerns than related media. One might even make the point that newspapers, movies, radio, and television have been encouraged to pursue their primrose paths by delegating to the survey researchers and their interviewers most of the more serious functions of social communication. If this is so, the interviewer has ousted the publicist by virtue of the convention of comparability, and the ideological and social shifts which have made it possible for individuals willingly to populate the statistician’s cells become as worthy of study as, say, the spread of literacy.

We can trace the spread of this convention from the time it was a radical idea in the mind of Jeremy Bentham and a few of his disciples until it became a habit of thought of all but the very top and bottom segments of our society. In like fashion we trace the growth of the convention of equality from the ideas of John Locke and his disciples to its almost total permeation of the American scene. To chart such changes in the way people relate themselves to one another is the historian’s job rather than the sociologist’s, and it is one requiring volumes rather than pages. But even a brief review of the course of such changes will lead to a sharper sense of the novelty and significance of the interview as a mode of human relationship and will perhaps aid in assessing its limits and potentialities in the future.

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AGE AND SEX IN THE INTERVIEW¹

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ABSTRACT

Analyzing combinations of sex and age of interviewer and respondent in interviews in a sensitive area of communication reveals, for example, that male interviewers obtain fewer responses than female and fewest of all from males, while female interviewers obtain their highest responses from women, except for young women talking to young men.

The interview, as the chief measuring instrument of the social scientist, has been subject to frequent re-examination. There have been waves of concern with interviewing styles, rapport, group-membership effects, recording methods. The theories of Freud and Carl Rogers and Roethlisberger and Dixon, the experiments of Merton and Kornhauser, the experience recorded in *The American Soldier*, the crisis over the pre-election polls of 1948—all stimulated studies of who tells what to whom under what conditions. Our own preoccupation is with the general social conditions governing communication between strangers—with the conversation, as recorded in the interview, of the several social classes, the two sexes, the age grades, ethnic groups, character types, and so on. Now that electrical recording devices have helped to minimize problems of reporting the interview (though not of transcribing it!), attention can all the more be focused on these personal aspects.

In general, there is no such thing as an ideal interview. Every encounter will reveal some significant things and conceal others, and field directors know that their worst interviewers occasionally achieve a climate of rapport sufficient to the task at hand, while their best interviewers occasionally fail. Nevertheless, that quality of relationship we call "rapport," which encourages a respondent to speak as freely and frankly as

may be, without at the same time diverting the interviewer from his reportorial duties or compelling the continuance of the relationship beyond the optimal point, naturally interests all social scientists. Various studies, at the National Opinion Research Center (NORC), at Cornell (Stephen Richardson), at Pennsylvania State University (Lester Guest), have sought to measure the generalized ability of interviewers to gain rapport and traits deemed relevant in selection of interviewing personnel. But, of course, these studies have not yielded any easy diagnostic sign. While they are proceeding, it seems worthwhile to continue the research tradition of examining factors of group membership, since we can usually tell on inspection the age, sex, and social class of an interviewer and study their effects in combination with the same characteristics of the respondent.

Hadley Cantril and Samuel Stouffer have independently shown that the answers of Negro respondents to questions, at least on certain topics, vary according to whether the interviewer is white or Negro. Robinson and Rhode have shown that an interviewer with a Jewish appearance or a Jewish-sounding name affects what the respondent will say about the Jews. The Audience Research Institute, NORC, the Ministry of Health (Great Britain), and Herbert Hyman find that the flow of information is affected by the sex of informant and interviewer. Daniel Katz, Arthur W. Kornhauser, and Robert K. Merton demonstrated that social-class differences affect the interview. There is evidence, from the Office of War Information

¹ This is a publication of the Interview Project at the University of Chicago, supported by the university's Social Science Research Committee and the Foundation Fund for Research in Psychiatry.

(OWI), that in certain circumstances local interviewers get significantly different results from those obtained by non-local interviewers.²

The characteristics examined in this body of research are, in the sociological sense, either voluntary or involuntary, and their importance in the communication pattern of the interview varies accordingly. Interviewer-training can to some extent minimize the grosser disparities of social class but hardly age, sex, and ethnicity. Sex and age, particularly, are interpenetrating characteristics on which our culture builds generalized and exacting differentiations of role, and each role has its own distinctive pattern of communication. In any given field of social action, specifically appropriate behavior is expected from men and women, young and old; training in these roles is the most exigent the individual receives; and one of the deepest significance of social class in our culture is that its training of individuals in their sex and age roles is effected with differential efficiency. In the mass media, particularly, invariable feminine roles are assigned to young women regardless of their social class,³ but there are enormous class differences in the opportunities available to any particular woman to acquire the appropriate skills and attitudes.

These processes are similar to those described by Merton as "homophily"—"the tendency for friendships to form among people of the same kind." However, age, as we all know, does not put men and women into the same groups: the age stages are more dramatic and perhaps more meaning-

ful for women, and this may lead to differential homophilous tendencies in the interview—tendencies likely to be concealed when the results are broken down without reference to the age and sex of the interviewers and, as is often done, without even the age and sex of respondents being brought into relation with each other. For each age-and-sex role carries with it a pattern for communicating with other age-and-sex roles; thus in most strata men and women in each other's presence talk more conventionally, act more formally, than in groups of one sex, and the conventions influence the style as well as the amount and content of expression. Female talk is expected to be more affective and less effective than male talk, for example, though in many circles there "should" be less of it. Likewise, every sex-age role has its areas of calculated ignorance which show up in the "don't know" columns: "regular guys" don't know about millinery," "nice girls" don't know how to shoot craps. But these taboos, as already stated, vary also by age: older men can say things to young men they would not say to men of their own age or to any woman, and girls can say things to each other they would hesitate to "know" when questioned by one of the older generation of either sex. In this way the stranger—the interviewer—often finds canons of intimacy and privacy already established for a person of his sex and sort.

Obviously, what matters is not actual chronological age but perceived age—much as in the case of social class the respondent's self-assessment of status has been shown to "explain" deviant political opinions better than objective class ratings.⁴ In the Kansas City study of Adult Life the responses of a sample of urban respondents over forty years old interviewed to obtain their version of the "seven ages of man" and their own views of their position therein turn up the unsurprising news that "middle age" and "old age" are constantly pushed ahead as one grows older and that recognitions of

² Useful summaries of all this work and some impressive extensions of it will be found in Herbert H. Hyman *et al.*, *Interviewing in Social Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

³ In the typical movie or magazine story, lower-class heroines are usually represented as being tougher, more decisive, and independent than their upper-class sisters—in the opening reels or chapters. It then becomes the province of the male to cut through these exciting, but unfeminine, attributes and find the "real" woman, gentle, graceful, dependent, and sustaining. Katharine Hepburn and Grace Kelly sometimes play this transformation in an upper-class version.

⁴ Mark Benney and Phyllis Geiss, "Social Class and Politics in Greenwich," *British Journal of Sociology*, I (1950), 310-27.

one's own age can be sudden and traumatic.⁵ Such studies would lead us to expect, other things being equal, maximum rapport among same-sex age peers as modified by both parties' perceptions of age. To be sure, the prestige of youth will be one of the things not equal which will often make itself felt in the interview. Moreover, task orientation, the interviewer's or the respondent's, is not unrelated to age, and this may lead to the conversation's being carried on for the sponsor's benefit rather than for the mutual enjoyment of rapport. Indeed, Hyman has presented a good deal of empirical evidence that good rapport often operates against the sponsor, since the respondent hates to disturb with untoward views the camaraderie of the session.⁶ In general, then, it would seem wise at this stage of our knowledge to question the assumption that good rapport and good communication are the same thing. While the social climate of any particular interview—whether or not this derives from or is modified by membership in a common group—can determine how an established pattern of communication is used, it is quite another thing to expect good rapport to nullify the limitation. What a respondent says in the interview is still addressed to a particular person of observable age and sex; and it seems probable that the greater the mutual enjoyment of the encounter, the more clearly articulated will be the communication system appropriate to it. In other words, we might expect that uniformly good rapport in the interview is as likely to enhance as to mitigate the limitations on communication imposed by the interaction of role systems.

On these matters further research and experimentation are greatly to be desired, especially since it is not customary, in reporting the results of a survey, to give the

age and sex of the interviewer or to report the latter's comments concerning ease or difficulty of access to particular categories of respondents. These have been matters of practice and lore rather than research. Pending experiments, however, and better practice in reporting survey data, much may be learned through the secondary analysis of vast stores of material already gathered; Herbert Hyman and his NORC colleagues have pioneered along this line.⁷ We turn now in some detail to their research and to our own reanalysis of a mental health survey.⁸

Hyman and his associates present in their book some of the results of a study of rapport conducted by Marshall Brown in cooperation with NORC. Respondents in a nation-wide survey of political attitudes were asked, in a ballot to be mailed separately, to rate the interview and the interviewer. The interviewers were asked to rate the respondents on "honesty and frankness" as well as to state how much they enjoyed the interview. There is much to be learned from the "enjoyment" ratings, which show, for instance, that women interviewers tend to work equally well with both sexes, whereas men enjoy contacts with their own sex more; that interviewers under thirty are the hardest to please; and, of course, that no one enjoys interviewing lower-class respondents even though the latter more often than not enjoy being interviewed.⁹ Indeed, in from a third to a half of the cases, one member of the dyad rated the encounter high on enjoyment while the partner rated it low—a tribute to different levels of aspiration and expectation and, doubtless, to many instances of Sullivanian parataxis.¹⁰

Our interest here, however, is chiefly in the "frankness and honesty" ratings, which

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–52.

⁸ A survey made at NORC, directed by Shirley A. Star. We are greatly indebted, singly and collectively, to Clyde Hart, director of NORC, for his generous and thoughtful facilitation of our work.

⁹ Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff. and Table 29.

¹⁰ Cf. Harry Stack Sullivan, *The Psychiatric Interview* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1954), pp. 25–27, 230–31.

⁵ David Riesman, "Some Clinical and Cultural Aspects of the Aging Process," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (1954), 379–83; Warren Peterson, "The Game of Life: Class and Sex Perspectives in the Stages of Adulthood," *Human Development Bulletin*, Vol. VII (1956).

⁶ Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 46–52.

we can compare with ratings made by interviewers in NORC's 1950 mental health survey, where they were asked to rate each respondent's co-operativeness, frankness, and degree of disturbance by the interview. It is not often that one has a chance to compare parallel findings in such an area from two

ness ratings made in the two surveys in the light of the sex and age¹¹ of interviewers and respondents.

There is a remarkable correspondence between these two sets of figures, making it clear that, whatever the ratings represent, they measure something relatively independent of the subject matter of the interview. In both, female interviewers are more likely than male interviewers to rate respondents of either sex as completely frank and honest. In both, too, there is a greater tendency for older interviewers to rate their respondents as completely frank and honest than there is for younger interviewers, although these differences are sharp only between the youngest and oldest. Sex and age seem to exert an equally decisive influence.

In Table 1 we have treated sex and age independently, in order to facilitate comparison with Hyman's results, thereby offsetting against the canons of significance elaborated previously. And, in any case, since most interviewing is conducted by women, the age of interviewers is in practice the more significant variable. What happens, then, if we hold sex constant by considering only female interviewers, and compare by age the ratings they give to different sex-age groups? In Table 2 we present the data from the mental health survey.

In spite of great differences in the size of the groups on which the percentages are based, the table brings to light some very interesting effects. Since a majority of the interviewers were middle-aged women, and these probably were the most experienced, it is reassuring to discover that we find the least effects of age and sex in their ratings. The extreme contrasts of rating are in the extreme age groups. Young interviewers (in line with Table 1) are more critical of their respondents than old; and both are some-

TABLE 1

RELATION OF RESPONDENT CANDOR TO AGE
AND SEX OF INTERVIEWER AND RESPOND-
ENT: TWO SURVEYS COMPARED

RESPONDENT-INTERVIEWER COMBINATION	PERCENTAGE INTERVIEWERS RATING RESPONDENTS AS "COMPLETELY FRANK AND HONEST"	
	Political* Survey	Mental Health† Survey
<i>Sex:</i>		
Male interviewers		
Male respondents. . . .	68 (98)‡	60 (273)
Female respondents. . .	56 (91)	64 (256)
Female interviewers		
Male respondents. . . .	79 (476)	72 (1,433)
Female respondents. . .	79 (512)	76 (1,504)
<i>Age:</i>		
Interviewers under 30		
Respondents under 30	68 (55)	66 (127)
Respondents 30-39. . .	69 (47)	63 (132)
Respondents 40 and over.	68 (90)	61 (296)
Interviewers 30-39		
Respondents under 30	68 (31)	70 (166)
Respondents 30-39. . .	66 (33)	61 (231)
Respondents 40 and over.	74 (78)	66 (477)
Interviewers 40 and over		
Respondents under 30	75 (167)	81 (382)
Respondents 30-39. . .	80 (224)	76 (537)
Respondents 40 and over.	81 (431)	77 (1,118)

* Modified over-quota sample of 1,177 cases.

† Modified over-quota sample of 3,531 cases.

‡ Figures in parentheses indicate the number of cases on which each percentage is based.

separate surveys; here the comparison is all the more valuable because politics is traditionally a concern of males, and mental health is typically a concern of females, as is amply demonstrated in the general findings of the mental health survey. Thus an opportunity is afforded to study interview rapport in two cases, one where the subject favors the involvement of male respondents, the other where the subject favors female respondents. In Table 1 we compare the frank-

¹¹ In Hyman's presentation (see Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 163 ff. and Table 29) a break by social class of interviewer and respondent is included. We have omitted this, since by cultural definition, if not by income or home-town status, the overwhelming majority of NORC interviewers are middle class, engaged in the characteristically middle-class task of scribe and counselor.

what more affected by the age of their male than of their female respondents.

On the hypothesis that communication is freer within than between peer groups, the table has some suggestive, but very tentative, evidence to offer. Looking, first, at cross-sex communication, one sees that it is only the youngest female interviewers who show a clear preference for males of their own age; the oldest interviewers favor, in-

their chronological age peers, so that the tendency to identify themselves with younger groups may well be realistic. But certainly the effect is significant enough to warrant closer examination than the data allow.

Since there were too few interviews conducted by men in this survey to permit a more refined breakdown, Table 3 compares the combined effects of sex and age on interviewer ratings for two age groups only.

TABLE 2*

RELATION OF RESPONDENT CANDOR TO AGE OF FEMALE INTERVIEWERS AND SEX
AND AGE OF RESPONDENTS IN MENTAL HEALTH SURVEY

		PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP RATED BY INTERVIEWER AS "COMPLETELY FRANK AND HONEST"								
		Male			Female			All		
		-30	30-50	50+	-30	30-50	50+	-30	30-50	50+
FEMALE INTERVIEWERS	-30									
30 and under.	64	56	49	68	65	70	66	61	59	
	(50)	(93)	(59)	(44)	(123)	(57)	(94)	(216)	(116)	
31-50.	74	73	74	81	77	74	78	75	74	
	(173)	(457)	(380)	(224)	(493)	(332)	(397)	(950)	(712)	
Over 50.	74	83	77	80	85	80	78	84	78	
	(34)	(101)	(86)	(51)	(97)	(83)	(85)	(198)	(169)	

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which the percentages are based, that is, the number of interviews conducted by female interviewers of a given age with respondents of given sex-age characteristics. In this first instance, 50 of the interviews in the entire sample were interviews with men under thirty conducted by female interviewers of thirty and under. Of these 50 interviews, 32, or 64 per cent, received interviewer's ratings of "completely frank and honest."

TABLE 3

RELATION OF RESPONDENT CANDOR TO AGE AND SEX OF INTERVIEWERS
AND RESPONDENTS IN MENTAL HEALTH SURVEY

		PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH GROUP RATED BY INTERVIEWER AS "COMPLETELY FRANK AND HONEST"			
		Male		Female	
INTERVIEWER	AGE	Age	Age	Age	Age
		-40	40+	-40	40+
Male.	-40	56 (62)*	58 (77)	59 (56)	61 (72)
	40+	68 (62)	58 (72)	68 (63)	69 (65)
Female.	-40	61 (258)	63 (307)	71 (280)	68 (317)
	40+	77 (378)	78 (490)	81 (416)	80 (491)

* Figures in parentheses indicate the number of cases on which percentages are based.

stead, males of the age just below them. If one ignores for the moment the effects of sex on age, the case becomes clearer; the summary columns reveal a general (though slight) tendency in female interviewers to respond more to the age group below them, and, as it were, move their subjective age downward in consequence of the greater prestige given to youthfulness in our culture. On the other hand, interviewing staffs know that the older women who take on interviewing assignments tend to be much more socially energetic and "young in heart" than

Again we find older female interviewers being little disposed to question the validity of anyone's responses, while young male interviewers are consistently the most critical. In particular, males are critical of their own peers as women are not; and, in general, the age of the interviewer makes for more consistent differences of evaluation of the respondent than the sex. The ratings of the male interviewers particularly warrant attention, since they conflict with the tendencies shown in the political data provided by Hyman in Table 1. Here, probably the fact

that the subject matter of the mental health interview was more tolerable to women asserts its influence. We suggest that male interviewers were uncomfortable with it as a covert violation of their own sex roles; that they were still more uncomfortable when they had to expose a reversal of their own sex role to other males and most uncomfortable of all when the males in question were also age peers. But the statistics are not impressively different and are primarily useful in stimulating such speculations as these. They carry with them, as just indicated, a strong suggestion that the interview is experienced in one way by male and in another by female interviewers. One wonders whether these differences of distribution reflect systematic differences in the libidinal component of the interview relationship—that is, whether the internalized social controls governing tender relations between men, so much more rigid than the control of relations between women, are not in part responsible for these differences. Whatever it is that makes kidding a mode of relationship more firmly institutionalized among men than among women could help account for these differences in confidence.

Furthermore, there is, of course, something more of a cult of informality in relations between men than in those between women: the sex associations of such ritual images as the "smoke-filled room" and the "tea party" attest to it. The very elements of formality and ritual which distinguish the interview from a casual conversation may make the situation more congenial to women than to men; and the differences discussed here may reflect degrees of discomfort in a formal situation. Or, again, moving to yet another level of analysis and recalling Bales'¹² analysis of sex-role orientation, one might hypothesize that males tend to associate themselves more closely with the instrumental than with the expressive aspects of interviewing, and that these findings indicate the degree to which male interviewers, as contrasted with females, can detach

themselves from immediacies and keep in mind the ultimate purposes of the survey. (The latter hypothesis is perfectly compatible with any findings that female interviewers tend to be more task-oriented than males, to the extent that they more diligently and consistently follow the field director's instructions.) All this is admittedly a heavy load of speculation to be borne by a table of such dubious statistical significance.

But, speculations apart, the general tendency of these tables is to suggest strongly—always with the initial assumption that interviewers are sufficiently task-oriented to prefer encounters with respondents who are frank, honest, co-operative, and undisturbed—that (in a survey on such a topic as mental health) interviewers of both sexes feel most at home when communicating with women. Would *respondent* ratings of the interview produce an analogous distribution of preferences?

In the study used by Hyman *et al.* (Table 1) replies to the question "Did you enjoy the interview?" which was put to both interviewers and respondents show that female respondents did not much enjoy being interviewed by males, while males did not much enjoy interviewing women (on the subject of politics, anyway) and that, while younger interviewers had fewer enjoyable encounters than older, the same was not true of respondents. In the mental health study no such question was put to either party, so no comparison can be made. But the question assumes that a common criterion of enjoyment is applied by both interviewer and respondent, and this must be examined more closely before conclusions based on the answers may be reached. Interviewers have a job to do; to the extent that they identify themselves with either the purposes or the processes of a study, they have sources of satisfaction unavailable to the respondent. But it is a job with relatively low status, hard conditions, and poor pay, and one would expect the interview to be more satisfying to interviewers who no longer have other careers in mind—that is, in middle-aged and older females. Thus, of two interviewers both answering "Yes" to the

¹² Talcott Parsons, Robert F. Bales, and Edward A. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Action* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 268-69.

question "Did you enjoy the interview?" one may mean, "Yes, I did a good job with an unpromising respondent," while the other may mean "Yes, I had a stimulating social encounter." The respondent can normally expect only the second kind of enjoyment (although there is evidence that some respondents become vicariously concerned with the fulfilment of the interviewer's task and appear anxious to help).¹³

Like Hyman's question of enjoyment, our question on frankness elicits an over-all judgment rather than an answer-by-answer account of the ebb and flow of feeling in the interview. If we seek not the general climate of communication but specific blockages, we must focus on the touchier sorts of questions. Hyman reports reactions in an NORC survey in Baltimore to two sex-linked questions taken from the Berkeley F-scale: agreement or disagreement was sought on the statements, "Prison is too good for sex criminals: they should be publicly whipped or worse," and "No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage." Here the most puritanical answers were given by women talking to male interviewers,¹⁴ as if women responded to their culturally defined role of guardian. The re-analysis of the mental health survey, following Hyman's lead, yielded two more or less projective questions, whose answers might be influenced by the age and sex of the interviewer: the "Betty Smith" question and the "sex habits" question.

The first of these occurs in a sequence of questions designed to tap popular notions of normal and abnormal behavior and their etiology. The respondent is asked to consider the schizophrenic behavior of a young woman named Betty Smith who stays in her room and shuns boys and parties. Speculation is invited about why she does this, and a judgment as to whether she is mentally ill. Since the age and sex of Betty Smith are made clear, one might expect that respondents in the same categories, because they

readily identify themselves with her, would mention a variety of causes, including possible sexual interpretations. Conceivably, such responses would be brought to mind if the interviewer were herself young and a possible Betty Smith. On the other hand, it is likely that public inhibition of sex references is greatest in cross-sex encounters, and we might expect, then, that respondents would be most reluctant to assign a sexual cause—even when this explanation occurs to them privately—when interviewed by a member of the opposite sex, and least so when asked by a member of their own sex and age.

Of the total sample of 3,531 respondents in this survey, 333, or 9.4 per cent, referred to sex as an answer to the question. The sex composition of this subsample does not differ significantly from that of the total sample; but its age distribution within sex is skewed significantly to increase the proportion of *younger* women. (In the total sample, 46 per cent of the women were under the age of forty, but in this subsample, it was 55 per cent of the women.) This makes the initial hypothesis, that younger women can identify themselves with "Betty Smith" more readily than other respondents, the more plausible and is further strengthened when we find that they are not only more likely to offer a sexual explanation than older women but also more likely to do so than men of any age.

Of course, we must not push such interpretations of differential identification and candor too far. The young, if better educated than their elders, are more likely to have been influenced by the mental hygiene movement—the very moment that brought the study into being, and, if education is held constant, women have been more responsive than men to its male high priests. If this is so, it is not easy to separate "interview-effects" from "interviewer-effects." But not all the differences can be explained entirely by educational differences among the respondents. For one thing, sexual explanations for the "Betty Smith" question were caught by only 112 out of 144 interviewers, of whom only 14 were males. However, while

¹³ Cf. H. Viditch and J. Benson "The Validity of Field Data," *Human Organization*, III, No. 1 (spring, 1954), 20-27.

¹⁴ Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-66.

males did 15 per cent of the interviewing, they obtained 18 per cent of the sexual responses; and, more revealing, while interviewing 16 per cent of the males in the total sample, they obtained 22 per cent of all such replies from the males. (By contrast, interviewing 15 per cent of the females in the total sample, they obtained 14 per cent of the females' sexual responses.) In Table 4 we give the percentages of these responses obtained from each sex and age group of respondents, tabulated by the sex and age of their interviewers.

If again one casts aside the misgivings that would inhibit all interpretation,¹⁵ one

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE* OF SEX RESPONSES TO "BETTY SMITH" QUESTION BY SEX AND AGE OF RESPONDENT AND INTERVIEWER

PERCENTAGE OF SEX RESPONSES FROM:					
INTERVIEWERS	Males		Females		Total Re- sponses
	-40	40+	-40	40+	
Male					
-40	16	14	9	8	12
40+ . . .	10	11	11	9	10
Female					
-40	7	11	14	8	10
40+ . . .	9	8	10	8	9
	—	—	—	—	—
All inter- viewers	9	10	12	8	9.4

* These percentages are calculated on the base of all the interviews with a given sex-age group of respondents conducted by a given sex-age group of interviewers.

may find in this table tantalizing glimpses of homophily, as sought and rejected when the conversation turns upon sex. There is the worldly wise flavor of man-to-man talk, in contrast to the reticence of the older woman, unversed in all this complex psychologizing. There is the young man who, in the presence of a young woman, hesitates to say what

¹⁵ One such misgiving arises from the fact that interviewing skill affects not only the quality of responses obtained but also the number of interviews assigned; and in a survey where relatively few male interviewers were used the skilled interviewer with a heavy case load can have a disproportionate effect on the findings. In this survey, one especially highly regarded male interviewer did 35 per cent of all interviews done by men and 73 per cent of all interviews done by men over forty. In relation to the "Betty Smith" question, however, the proportion of sexual to other responses obtained by him does not differ from that obtained by other men of his age.

may be on his mind concerning the Betty Smiths who retreat from the concerns of men. Such a young man may not be skilled in sorting out the lecherous from the hygienic in his talk of sex, in making, that is, public opinion out of private graffiti. In contrast, young women, able to talk sex among females and having already a laundered vocabulary for talking to an avuncular older male, are somewhat more diffident in talking with younger men. In short, as respondents, younger women are most likely to give sexual responses to everyone but younger men, and as interviewers, most likely to inhibit¹⁶ the young men.

In another question in the mental health study, sexual habits as a possible cause of mental disturbance were brought to the attention of every respondent in one item in a 12-item check list. A respondent who did not want to mention sex specifically could either leave the item out or simply say "all" of the twelve items. But, if he chose the latter course, the interviewer was instructed to probe specifically what he had in mind by including "sex habits." It was unlikely that he would have anticipated this probe. Likewise, if he had singled out "sex habits," along with other putative causes, the response would be probed. Hence the responses provide, first, the voluntary choice of sex as a cause, as related to age and sex of interviewers, and, second, the degree of evasion or frankness after presumably unanticipated probes.

A total of 2,036 respondents, or 58 per cent of the sample, listed sex habits as a possible cause of mental disturbances. There were rather more older women and fewer older men among them than chance would dictate, but the statistical significance of the differences is slight. Table 5 gives the percentage of these responses obtained from each sex and age group of respondents, related to the sex and age of the interviewers.

¹⁶ To say "inhibit" is not to insist that a sexual response occurred to the respondent but was suppressed in deference to the interviewer—communication systems are not so mechanical, nor can what the respondent thinks about be so neatly isolated from the social encounter of the interviewer and the frame this puts around thinking itself.

Again, different combinations of interviewer and respondent yield different orders of responses to the question. The effects of the sex of the interviewer are pronounced: in general, female interviewers obtain about 9 per cent more "sex habit" responses than do male interviewers; and older interviewers obtain 5 per cent more than younger ones. These general interviewer effects are—not quite consistently—reinforced by similar effects of the sex and age of the respondents: that is, male interviewers who get fewer responses than females get fewest responses of all from male respondents (except in the case of older men talking to young men),

communication. For the same moral controls which inhibit the discussion of sex in the first question operate to encourage it in the second question. That is, in the "Betty Smith" question a sexual response probably referred to deprivation; in the check-list question "sexual habits" probably referred to overindulgence. It seems likely that both the greater volume of sexual response and the mirror-image distribution reflect the generally moralistic tone of the answers.

If this is so, the follow-up probing of the "sex habit" responses should offer evidence of the tendency. For the probe offered these respondents an opportunity either to elabo-

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE OF "SEX HABIT" RESPONSES BY SEX AND AGE OF
RESPONDENT AND INTERVIEWER

INTERVIEWERS		PERCENTAGE OF "SEX HABIT" RESPONSES				All Respondents
		Male		Female		
		-40	40+	-40	40+	
Male	40 or less.	44	44	54	51	48
		(62)*	(77)	(56)	(72)	(267)
	Over 40.	60	46	48	55	53
		(62)	(72)	(63)	(65)	(262)
Female	40 or less.	60	55	53	56	56
		(258)	(307)	(280)	(317)	(1,162)
	Over 40.	61	58	63	65	61
		(378)	(490)	(416)	(491)	(1,775)
All interviewers..		59	55	58	60	58
		(760)	(946)	(815)	(945)	(3,466)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based, that is, the number of interviews conducted by interviewers of given age and sex with respondents of given age and sex.

while, conversely, female interviewers (the notable exception being young women talking to young men) get their highest responses from women. Deviation from the expected distribution for their group is greatest in young male respondents, least in older female respondents. This tendency was also reflected in Table 4 and we presume indicates the degree to which a double standard exists in talking about sex.

But that is the only point of correspondence between the two tables. On the face of it, the findings of Table 4, seem to negate those in Table 5. Thus in Table 4 sex responses are generally highest in groups of one sex and age, whereas in Table 5, they are generally lowest. But there is good reason why the two tabulations should reflect almost mirror-images of the structure of

rate with a frank, natural discussion of sexual maladjustment or with embarrassed, evasive generalities. And no one knew, at the time of the first response, that the answer would be followed up. The probed responses will identify in Table 5 those whose frankness on probing argues against their having used a moral frame of reference, as shown in Table 6.

Filtering the "moralistic" responses to the probe yields quantitatively much the same order of responses as given to the "Betty Smith" question; and, by extracting from each of these two tables the high and low responses and superimposing them, one finds only two cells in the two tables where the responses are consistently high and only two where they are consistently low. The distribution is as follows:

High responses:

Young men talking to young men.

Young women talking to young women.

Low responses:

Young men talking to young women.

Older women talking to older men.

In other words, the least inhibited communication seems to take place between young people of the same sex; the most inhibited between people of the same age but different sex. Again, since the young may be supposed to be more familiar with the general subject matter of the survey than the old, the higher level of response among the former, no matter who the interviewer, is not surprising;

themselves have re-examined, where the interviewer (though probing behavior may and does differ widely) is held to a predetermined schedule and an order of questions. The interviewers are forbidden Kinsey's technique—only feasible in a small corps of highly gifted and trained interviewers—for accommodating the questionnaire to the respondent by using his vocabulary and taking account of his resistances and his idiosyncratic interpretation of the interviewer. Such a technique allows the interviewer to redefine who he is, by what he says and the order in which he says it. National survey organizations, however, with their concern

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF FRANK "SEX HABIT" RESPONSES IN RELATION TO SEX
AND AGE OF INTERVIEWERS AND RESPONDENTS

INTERVIEWERS		PERCENTAGE OF RESPONDENTS GIVING FRANK "SEX HABIT" RESPONSES			
		Males		Females	
		-40	40+	-40	40+
Male	-40	10 (62)*	8 (77)	8 (56)	12 (72)
	40+	8 (62)	6 (72)	6 (63)	5 (65)
Female	-40	10 (258)	6 (307)	14 (280)	9 (317)
	40+	10 (378)	5 (490)	14 (416)	7 (491)
All interviewers..		10 (760)	6 (946)	13 (815)	8 (945)
					All Re- spondents
					9 (267)
					6 (262)
					10 (1,162)
					9 (1,775)
					9 (3,466)

* Numbers in parentheses are the number of cases on which percentages are based: that is, the number of interviews conducted by interviewers of given age and sex with respondents of given sex and age.

but for this very reason it is all the more interesting that young men and young women are so inhibited in each other's presence.

The many untested assumptions used in arriving at interpretations of the secondary analysis have been built from our data, on the one hand, and available theories and hunches concerning homophily in the interview, on the other. In confining attention to such crude indexes as sex and age, the blurring introduced by other probable sources of difference, such as class, ethnicity, and skill, is ignored. Yet it is perhaps safe to say that the interviewer's group affiliations are at least as likely to affect results as what he says or what he expects of the respondent.

This is so, at any rate, of a national survey of the kind Herbert Hyman and we our-

to standardize their products, almost inevitably allow the interviewer little discretion. Hence it seems sensible to compare analyses from many different surveys on many different topics for a clearer basis for generalizations on the effects of differences between the two parties to the interview, either for the purpose of better assignment of interviewers (where sample size and transportation costs make this feasible) or for a sounder allowance for a kind of "interviewer effect" about which we know very little. Apart from such practical benefits, work along this line can tell a good deal about two-person communication in American culture.

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ROLE RELATIONSHIPS AND CONCEPTIONS OF NEUTRALITY IN INTERVIEWING¹

LEWIS ANTHONY DEXTER

ABSTRACT

It is commonly supposed that the interviewer should be "neutral" toward interviewee and topic. In fact, however, interviewers on many political and social subjects are identified by interviewees with values and opinions they think are characteristic of the former's real or supposed social group. Co-operation may be obtained by deliberately seeking to establish "neutrality on the interviewee's side" through using the interviewee's phraseology and otherwise adopting a style and manner which lead the interviewee to feel that the interviewer is on "his side."

"The essential point regarding role relationships in an interview is that the interviewer must occupy *some* role, whether he wishes to or not."² In my experience, under normal circumstances the role assigned to the interviewer by the informant will be in terms of the informant's conception of the interviewer's group affiliations. In interviewing in which I have recently been engaged, it became clear that many of the most involved advocates of reciprocal trade expected me to be on their side,³ and many of the protectionists expected me to be against them. Obviously, my role, therefore, in the one case was likely to be different from my role in the other; and yet, presumably, in a study of communications about the reciprocal-trade program a reasonable distribution

of equivalent relationships should be established with both sides.

The expectation in itself was perfectly reasonable: I represented two academic institutions (the Center for International Studies at Massachusetts Institute of Technology,⁴ and American University), and for many years past nearly all vocal academic people have supported free trade, internationalism, and the like. And, in fact, protectionists in Washington could hardly fail to be aware that my colleagues and I belong to the same group from which the State Department recruits its personnel. On several occasions, protectionist informants stated that the State Department was certainly their biggest enemy (in fact, the only other candidate for that position was "big oil"). One of the ablest and most aggressive protectionist leaders in Congress, himself a college graduate, declared that the only people *supporting* reciprocal trade in his constituency are some of "the educated," a term he used sneeringly to denote some people at the colleges in the state. And the favorite damning adjective of the protectionists about the State Department and reciprocal trade generally is "theoretical."

If under these circumstances I started out by saying and declaring that I am a "neutral," that we at M.I.T. are interested only in finding out what people hear about re-

¹ This paper is a by-product of a study of business and political opinion in the United States on reciprocal trade and tariff issues, conducted by the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1953-56. Part of the time the author's portion of the project was under subcontract to the Bureau of Social Science Research, American University. The author is greatly indebted to his colleagues, Raymond A. Bauer and Ithiel de Sola Pool, for criticisms and suggestions on this paper, but neither they nor the universities are responsible for anything said hereinafter.

² E. and N. Maccoby, "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science," in G. Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954), I, 463.

³ A colleague reports that a person associated with a group favoring reciprocal trade declared she was shocked that a university should undertake such a study as ours without trying expressly to help "the cause."

⁴ While Massachusetts Institute of Technology is likely to sound more realistic and practical to most of those who fear "theoretical free-traders" than most universities, the Center for International Studies puts the curse on again.

ciprocal trade and the tariff and from whom they hear it, what will happen? Many of the protectionists will think, "He's a liar." I can, of course, declare a personal position, adding that it does not affect my objectivity in seeking the facts. But this will handicap interviewing in two ways: the most involved people will try to convince me of the correctness of their position, unless mine happens to be theirs; and the less involved will, out of courtesy, desire to avoid a possible argument or, out of respect for academic people, stress their agreement somewhat more than the facts warrant.

In several interviews I encountered the latter difficulty. Some inconsistencies in my interviews with some local labor-union officials may be explicable in this fashion: they sympathize more with a protectionist position than does international headquarters; and, because I, the interviewer, came from Washington, I was to them possibly identifiable with the braintrusts of the international and CIO headquarters and might know some of them, and therefore these local officials might tend to play down their own protectionist sympathies.

This problem is not peculiar to studies of reciprocal trade. There is a wide variety of issues on which academic people regard one viewpoint or another as "enlightened" and obvious—and by their tone and manner show their sympathies. Studies of McCarthyism, for instance, by almost any academic people or professional interviewers or studies of anti-Semitism start out with a similar handicap. There are scores of proposals at present for studies of desegregation and integration—and, of those who plan such studies, how many regard the arguments against integration as intellectually admissible?

The point, even so, is not the *actual* sympathies of research directors or interviewers; it is the sympathies which will be attributed to them, the role that will be assigned to them, by those whom they study. The Puerto Rican terrorist, the McCarthyite, the member of the National Association for the Advancement of White People, the protec-

tionist, will all, sensibly, define the scholar as "enemy"; and the internationalist, the economic planner, and the member of the NAACP are likely to regard him as "friend."⁵

In a study of attitudes of some Chicago businessmen toward price-control and rationing regulations made in 1943, an important general conclusion was: when attitudes toward price control are co-operative, businessmen are in consequence more likely to conform to the regulations. This now seems less certain than it seemed at the time, because of the related fact that those who demonstrated "co-operativeness" tended to be more friendly toward academic research and therefore were more likely to give the kind of answers they thought the interviewers would approve. The only generally valid conclusion was merely that those who showed more friendliness to the interviewers and/or the university and/or economic research were less likely to *report* non-conformity to regulations⁶ (the same group would, for the same reasons, have been less likely to *report* anti-Semitism).

So the problem with which an interviewer is frequently faced is, "On whose side shall I be neutral?" In general, the preferred solution seems to be: where possible, to accept the informant's definition of neutrality, for there is great respect, in American culture at least, for neutrality, and to be neutral in the informant's terms.

Failure to recognize this may create trouble. Early in our reciprocal-trade study, for instance, I was given the chance to explain to a strategy meeting of protectionist leaders why I wanted to sit in on the meeting. A coal man objected strenuously: "We

⁵ It is even possible that some of the sharper personality distinctions reported between, for instance, anti-Semites and non-anti-Semites in the literature would be blurred if due allowance were made for the fact that the anti-Semites are much more likely to be made hostile by contact with the testers.

⁶ This study is reported in G. Katona, *Price Control and Business* (Bloomington, Ind.: Principia Press, 1945), esp. pp. 157-71; see also my comment: "O.P.A.: A Case Study in Liberal Friggishness," *Applied Anthropology*, IV, No. 1 (1945), 32-33.

don't want any neutrals here," using the very words of the old Harlan County song: "We don't want any neutrals here; either you are a union man or else you are a ——— scab." I explained that we could not take sides; and yet to at least one-third of the men the very way I spoke and the phrases I used meant taking sides against them. They interpreted what I had to say about "neutrality" in terms of their general frame of reference of suspecting academic economists of being free-traders.

Kinsey⁷ met an analogous problem. He speaks of the need for using "the vernacular." "A volume could be written on the things that should be known by anyone attempting to deal with people outside their own social level. . . . A single phrase from an understanding interviewer is often sufficient to make the subject understand . . . and such an interviewer gets a record where none would be disclosed to the uneducated interviewer." Such a phrase, essentially, suggests to the informant that the interviewer is "on my side" because he "speaks my language." It tells him that the interviewer shares his perspective on whatever he is going to describe; and, for all except a very few informants, that is neutrality.

Dollard,⁸ similarly, reports: "One complaint against me: I had addressed a certain Negro woman as Mrs. . . ." Later on, however, he said to a southern white man, "I am studying personality among the niggers." The man replied, "I am glad to hear you say 'nigger.' I see you understand about that." Dollard adds that the use of the word "Negro" is evidently "the hallmark of a Northerner and a caste enemy."

In the same way, for any given informant, one may be able to pick up the particular damning terms he uses about his opponents and use them one's self. In general, the unfavorable use of "free-trader," "cheap la-

bor," "theoretical," and of leading questions about the substance of the issue seemed to help offset the impression that, as an academic person, one cannot be trusted. Such questions as "Are you bothered by cheap foreign imports?" "Do they undersell you unfairly?" "Does the Defense Department nowadays apply the Buy American Act properly?" while not absolutely committing one, in case one has guessed an informant's views wrongly, help set the stage. Relevant reassurance, for example, that, because of a Massachusetts background, I knew how industries like textile and watches *suffer* from foreign competition also helps. Some of the Bricker Amendment objectors to reciprocal trade would probably have been favorably impressed by the use of the terms such as "constitutional government."

The real point is not to establish neutrality for its own sake but to create a situation in which the informant will tell what is needed. There are, of course, informants who will do this better if one argues, disagrees, or criticizes; but since, after all, one is dependent upon the voluntary co-operation of the informant, this is a hazardous approach, particularly when the informant is of higher status than the interviewer. Frequently, too, one may want to return to check up on something or to repeat an interview under changed circumstances, and this is likely to be easier if one has established one's self as a friend or sympathizer. Of course, studies are conceivable in which more would be told to an unfriend or enemy than to a friend: for instance, some Puerto Rican Nationalists appear to be more eager to convert and instruct the skeptical and scoffing enemy who will listen than to explain to a sympathizer. Also, members of cliques of female homosexuals, who regard everyone as hostile, are more frank apparently with avowed critics than with those who, they suspect, conceal disapproval. But with busy and preoccupied politicians or businessmen in the United States the tendency would be to avoid the minor discomfort of talking to an unimportant critic. Ideally, probably, many politicians or busi-

⁷ A. Kinsey, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), pp. 52 and 60.

⁸ J. Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937), pp. 44 and 47.

nessmen should be interviewed by several different interviewers, some definitely expressing sympathy, some adhering to rigid professions of scientific neutrality, some definitely hostile—"had we but world enough and time." In a study which focuses on *processes* rather than on *attitudes*, one other disadvantage of a failure to imply agreement with the informant is this: if he is genuinely concerned about the issue, he may try to convince the interviewer, taking up time with relatively valueless discussion of the issues.

Paul, in an able discussion of interviewing, says: "The investigator who makes an effort to remain neutral is in danger of being caught in a crossfire. He may have to align himself with one side to participate at all."⁹ In a small village or a tribe, where most relationships are face to face, this is probably true; but in United States society it is remarkable how segregated the channels of communication are and how slight the communication is, even between people who know each other, on an issue where they might disagree, such as the tariff.¹⁰ This lack of accurate knowledge about each other's positions is characteristic even of Washington; probably because congressmen and lobbyists generally have so many things to attend to that they do not know much exactly about any given one. Few congressmen, lobbyists, or businessmen are going to waste the time in scrutinizing in detail the exact phrasing used by an interviewer. They will, if they ever talk about him at all, say: "Well, I got the impression he was on my side"; and each will rest content to believe the other wrong.

Joseph Jastak, of the University of Delaware, points to an extreme case of the disadvantages of the ordinary conception of rational neutrality. He reports that the only way he could hope to establish contact with

a certain psychotic was to accept the latter's frame of reference about reality. Such a course, presumably, may be necessary either for therapeutic purposes or in order to study the "nature" of psychoses.¹¹ To be sure, this situation poses problems considerably greater than those encountered by the ordinary academic interviewer, dealing with relatively normal people; but it provides a clue to the latter's difficulties. Children, adolescents, and the very naïve refer indiscriminately to all who appear to have different conceptions of reality or value as "crazy"; the more sophisticated academic man, in resorting to Freudian or sociological explanations, may sound more neutral and may be more accurate but produces just as much resentment. Even if a particular scientist or scholar has freed himself of the attitude and the use of a vocabulary which suggests "I want to find out why these crazy people are crazy" will hardly produce good will.

At a much more normal level, the study by the American Political Science Association of presidential nominating processes¹² necessarily forced many scholars to interview politicians and journalists. Almost certainly the role of the scholar interacted with the roles of the politicians interviewed; in the several states and parties politicians belong to different groups, so that what the scholars learned may have been a function of the social role of the interviewee and of the scholar confronted with the interviewee as well as of the intrinsic character of the data. Yet nowhere in the five volumes of reports is there a systematic attempt to tackle this issue, basic to the comparative analysis of the politics of the various states.

To establish this sort of neutrality calls for rigorous intellectual discipline. I had to put myself into a frame of mind where I felt as my informants might; I practiced getting indignant, for instance, at the "callousness"

⁹ B. Paul, "Interview Techniques and Field Relationships," in A. L. Kroeber (ed.), *Anthropology Today* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), pp. 430-51.

¹⁰ Ithiel Pool, in a summary of the results of seven community studies, points out the low pitch of communication between industries. (To be published.)

¹¹ See also R. Lindner, *The Fifty-Minute Hour* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1954).

¹² P. David, R. Goldman, and M. Moos, *Presidential Nominating Processes in 1952* (5 vols.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1954).

of a friend in the State Department who did not seem to care about the coal miners thrown out of work by Venezuelan oil, and of another in a purchasing agency who seemed indifferent to rigid interpretation of the Buy American Act. Then I could use terms like "cheap labor," "Buy American," etc., meaningfully and sincerely, having some idea of what they meant emotionally to those being interviewed. In the same way, actors feel that they have to "throw themselves into" a part; it is not sufficient merely to repeat lines. Not every interviewer would have to do this; and obviously it should be done only with the actor's awareness of what he is doing. One great advantage of this effort was, incidentally, that it made me more aware that my customary terms and vocal tones implied an orthodox reciprocal-trade position; and I was therefore better able to avoid them. Most academic people, studying McCarthyism, would probably have to go through a similar discipline to attain neutrality in the eyes of McCarthyites but would have to make a more stringent effort.

This is not at all to argue for the establishment of rapport, if by that is meant a personally friendly relationship with the informant. Valid arguments against this have been advanced elsewhere.¹³ There are various obvious disadvantages in some cases, although advantages in others, in trying to establish rapport on the basis of organizational contacts in common; informants will fear that you hold the organizational viewpoint and may then familiarize themselves with what the organization thinks in self-protection. But it is to argue for the development of a sympathetic understanding, so that the interviewer can, without strain,

¹³ See S. M. Miller, "The Participant Observer and Over-rapport," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (1952), 97-99; H. Hyman *et al.*, *Interviewing in Social Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), several times touch on this point, notably on p. 282, where they deprecate "excessive social skills" as useful for interviewing.

talk the informant's language. It is probably better, however, to make the effort to do so, even if it is not well done; Paul has again suggested a relevant point. He says¹⁴ that the anthropologist's effort to learn native skills "will prove inept but if the effort is made with good grace and a minimum of condescension, the gesture may promote good feeling." The academically trained interviewer who starts out interviewing McCarthyites and tries to intimate his sympathy with the viewpoint that Eisenhower is being befooled and misled by the "same old State Department gang" will sound clumsy; but he is more likely to be regarded as "having the right spirit" than criticized for awkwardness or insincerity.¹⁵

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¹⁴ Paul, *op. cit.*, p. 436.

¹⁵ A. Kinsey, in *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (Philadelphia: W. B. Saunders Co., 1953), gives what must be an example: "The adaptation of one's own vocabulary in an interview contributes to . . . bringing out information which would be completely missed in a standardized interview" (pp. 58-62). Considering the variety of types he and his associates interviewed, it is almost certain that they often failed in getting the *mot juste*.

Paul (*op. cit.*) suggests that the anthropologist needs to establish a role which can be assimilated by the society under study. The social science interviewer has a role with many groups in this country, but not for all; and some labor and thought devoted to the interpretation and creation of roles among unfriendly groups might be rewarding for many studies. Frequently, congressmen whom I have interviewed equated my role with that of a journalist, which led a congressman who is usually rude to journalists to refuse any meaningful answers. I might have had a better reception if I had been introduced as an economist or a historian. In general, I judge, we got more uniform co-operation from big businesses than from small; for one thing, some small businessmen were suspicious because they could not figure out what we were getting at. To overcome this, one might design a special letter of introduction and set of explanations for small businessmen.

DIMENSIONS OF THE DEPTH INTERVIEW¹

RAYMOND L. GORDEN

ABSTRACT

The "depth interview" is defined in terms of social-psychological types of information conceived as "dimensions" of depth: (1) ego-threat, (2) forgetting, (3) consciousness of original experience, (4) generalization, (5) subjectivity, (6) trauma, (7) etiquette, and (8) chronology. Awareness of these types of problems may guide the interviewer in solving practical problems of interviewing and aid research by focusing attention on certain social-psychological barriers to free communication.

What is the "depth interview"? The term is put in quotes because it is more often used with mysterious overtones than as a scientific word with a clearly delineated referent. The term has grown in popularity in motivation research, market research, and studies of human relations in industry and of other areas of pure and applied social science. The principal aim of the social scientist in interviewing is valid and reliable information, not therapy or motivation; however, this is not to deny that many interviews are conducted with more than one aim.

The success of depth interviewing will, in the long run, depend upon having (a) a frame of reference which provides a theoretical bridge between the type of information needed and the techniques to be used in obtaining it; (b) interviewers trained in the skills and sensitivities needed to detect which dimension they are dealing with at a given moment as the interview progresses; and (c) interviewers trained in the skills and techniques applicable to each dimension. Toward this end, a theoretical frame of reference is presented for distinguishing significantly different dimensions of depth.

DEFINITIONS

The definition of any type of interview might be in terms of the techniques or the observable operations. Thus the interviewer in the depth interview could be said to be

"permissive," "reflective," "non-directive," or to be following the principle of "minimal activity."

A second and basically different definition of the depth interview is in terms of the types of information needed. The latter must be translated into social-psychological categories sufficiently abstract to be widely applicable. This has advantages over the first type of definition: first, it avoids the assumption that the specific techniques to be used have already been discovered and developed; second, it defines the goal as clearly as possible before the issues of apparently contradictory techniques and tactics must be faced. These two reasons are logically related to a third: that the effectiveness of various interviewing techniques cannot be tested until a criterion of success is developed.

Not every failure to obtain valid and reliable information is due to the fact that the information is too deep. It may be due to the interviewer's failure to communicate his wishes clearly to the respondent. However, here we are primarily concerned with barriers to communication and are assuming that the interviewer has been successful in communicating the question.

The "depth" of any item of information depends upon its meaning for the respondent, which, in turn, depends upon how he perceives the relationship between the information and the total social context in which it is given. What is in one social situation a mere "objective fact," as, for example, the respondent's age, may be a devastating threat in another.

¹ Many of the ideas presented in this paper were gained while the writer was acting as assistant field supervisor of the Disaster Study Project at the National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

How, then, is any kind of information deeper than another if it depends upon the situation? This is a particularly important question in view of the fact that the "deep" information is presumed to be accessible to the interviewer under certain conditions, and his hope for success depends upon his manipulating the respondent's definition of the situation in such a way as to make what would ordinarily be deep information come to the surface. The word "ordinarily" is important as recognizing the norms regarding what should be communicated to whom under what conditions, as well as how the communication is to be carried out. The further the interviewer varies his techniques and tactics from the prevailing norms of social conversation, the deeper the information he obtains.

DEGREE OF EGO-THREAT

The respondent tends to withhold any information which he fears may threaten his self-esteem. There may be merely very mild hesitancy or complete repression. Three broad categories may be defined on the basis of the degree or kind of secrecy.

The strongest tendency to withhold information is often referred to as "repression." The respondent not only refuses to admit the information to the interviewer but also hides it from himself, to preserve his self-esteem and escape a guilty conscience. He is perfectly honest when he says that he does not know or that he has forgotten. This dimension has primarily occupied the psychiatrist, psychoanalyst, and clinical psychologist.

A less intense threat to self-esteem is found when the respondent, though he consciously possesses the information, hesitates to admit it to the interviewer because he anticipates that the latter will disapprove. Often the respondent is torn between the temptation to withhold the information and the yearning for catharsis. If he is made to feel confident that the interviewer will not condemn him, he may welcome the opportunity to "tell all."

Quite commonly, a victim of a community disaster suffers strong feelings of guilt over his "cowardly" behavior in the panic. His need for catharsis is evident in his expression; he may freely admit that he has not told his family or any of his friends about his behavior. Also it is common for the respondent to say at the end of the interview that he feels much better "since having a chance to talk."

Sometimes the respondent indulges in some shrewd interviewing of the interviewer to discover the latter's attitudes. For example, the respondent who would like to confess socially disapproved forms of sex behavior may first try to discover the interviewer's probable reaction by mentioning a case similar to his own and may even try to provoke the interviewer into condemning it. If the interviewer condemns the hypothetical case, the respondent will not tell about himself. Confession is easiest if the interviewer is a stranger whom the respondent never expects to see again,² but in any case a generally accepting and sympathetic attitude toward the respondent as a person goes far to elicit candid responses.

A less intense threat to the respondent's self-esteem exists if the respondent is willing to give information to the interviewer but fears losing status if the information goes any further. This respondent must be assured that his anonymity will be respected. This is not always easy to do. The respondent may fear that the interviewer will be unable to conceal the source of the information, even with the best of intentions. Indeed, the higher the respondent's status, the more difficult to give information describing his role in the community without revealing his identity.

This was clearly demonstrated in the contrast between the attitude of the officials in a disaster-struck town and that of the average

² The writer agrees with Stephen A. Richardson that if the interviewer remains in a community and it is evident that he is talking to many people, he may be suspected of passing on highly confidential information and lose public confidence.

citizen toward having interviews tape-recorded. It was extremely rare to have an ordinary citizen object to the tape-recorder, but objections from officials were quite common. It appears that the higher the social status, the greater the possible discrepancy between the person's actual behavior and that expected of him. If the leaders had sufficient opportunity to rehearse the role expected of them under crisis conditions, it would be no crisis for them. Also, as the group becomes smaller, assuming that the group itself will not be anonymous, the less chance there is of keeping any particular individual anonymous.

Not only must the interviewer assure the respondent of anonymity at the beginning of the interview, but he also must be sensitive to any need for further reassurance as the interview progresses.

DEGREES OF FORGETTING

Almost as frequent a barrier to candor is the respondent's inability to recall certain types of information. Simple facts which are not ego-involved, such as the date of first going to work at a factory, cannot be accurately determined in a superficial interview. This was discovered when respondents' replies were checked against company records.³

It is difficult for an interviewer to predict which items of information will be difficult for a given respondent to recall. Only after a great deal of experience in interviewing a particular type of respondent for a specific type of information, will he acquire moderate skill in predicting degrees of difficulty. Not infrequently the respondent gives a spontaneous and sincere reply, only to contradict himself later when recall was somehow stimulated.

Several specific techniques have been developed to stimulate the recall of forgotten material, one of the best of which is given by Merton.⁴ He points out that it is possible to create a mood of "retrospective introspec-

tion" in which the respondent imaginatively transports himself backward in time to an actual experience. Then, by certain types of probing to encourage a network of associations, the interviewer can help the respondent to recall specific details and experiences.

The memory dimension of the depth interview is a much more frequent obstacle to obtaining the needed information than is suspected by the inexperienced interviewer, and the techniques which are used to penetrate it are quite different in principle from those needed to penetrate ego-involvement. To complicate the interviewer's task further, the respondent does not say "I have forgotten" but usually continues talking, filling in the gaps in his memory with whatever his imagination suggests.

DEGREES OF GENERALIZATION

Specification may be conceived to be at one pole of a continuum and *generalization* at the opposite pole. In this scheme the term "generalization" designates information relatively free of time, place, or specific events and situations. In certain types of interviewing problems it is relatively simple to elicit a generalized statement but difficult to obtain concrete details of the events leading to the generalization.

There are at least four basic reasons why it is necessary to encourage the respondent to be specific. First, he may make errors in generalizing. Even though generalized information is what is needed for a particular study, the generalizations which the respondent has on the top of his mind may not fit the concrete experiences from which they have supposedly been drawn. This is an especially acute problem in interviewing victims of community disasters. It was not unusual for a local norm to be expressed as a myth which crystallized soon after the crisis was over. These generalized statements might have been about the behavior of women as contrasted to that of men or about the "miraculous" way in which the rescue

³ B. V. Moore, "The Interview in Industrial Research," *Social Forces*, VII (1929), 445-52.

⁴ Robert K. Merton, "The Focused Interview," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (May, 1946), 541.

and first-aid work was carried out, for which the factual basis could not be found. In some cases the generalizations were merely projections of the norms as individuals tried to assess the buzzing confusion.

Second, a respondent is frequently unable to generalize. This may be because the concepts or categories relevant to the interviewer's problem have no direct clear meaning for him, a situation familiar to the anthropologists, who have learned, for example, that a direct generalized question about the kinship structure or the value system of a primitive tribe will not elicit meaningful answers. Unfortunately, this problem is not peculiar to studies of primitive societies but is found very frequently in any study of contemporary communities which attempts to reach an analytical level. For example, if an interviewer were to ask a twelve-year-old boy in a slum area of Chicago, "What is the most common way that conflicts between you and your parents are resolved?" there would be little chance of his being able to give a general answer.

Third, it is often found that a respondent uses evasive generalizations to conceal the real situation. In this case the respondent's inability or unwillingness to give concrete examples throws doubt upon the accuracy of the generalization.

Fourth, it is sometimes necessary for the interviewer to obtain generalized information indirectly by means of specific examples where the general category has a negative value. For example, if the question "Is there discrimination against Negroes in this restaurant?" is put to a white waitress who has recently arrived from the South, she might report that there is none, since nothing "bad" goes on in the restaurant, or she may realize that, since the interviewer is interested in discrimination, he would probably consider the existing relationships as "discrimination." Also, since she considers this to be only a Yankee's point of view, she is not going to give any facts which can be used by the interviewer to draw his own "biased conclusions."

There are certain similarities between the evasive generalization and the value-laden generalization, but in the former the respondent's use of the generalized form is a symptom of his resistance, while in the latter it is caused by the interviewer's use of the generalized rather than the specific form of the question.

It should also be noted that no statement has been made as to whether the general or the specific information is the more difficult to secure. This varies from one situation to another. Thus (a) the generalized information is more difficult to obtain when it calls for more abstract intellectual categories rather than for information on attitudes (this is also true if the respondent is expected to classify concrete events into categories not already in his mind); (b) on the other hand, the specific information is more difficult to obtain when the concrete event was either so ambiguous, confusing, or emotion-provoking that the respondent never had a clear perception of the event or so complex that he had only a general picture of it, or when the process of abstraction by the respondent was so automatic that he could not report the specific perceptions leading to the generalization.

DEGREE OF SUBJECTIVITY OF EXPERIENCE

Both subjective and objective materials constitute social facts. By our definition, a fact is "objective" if it can be readily observed and agreed upon by independent observers. From the standpoint of interviewing, the most significant difference between subjective and objective material is that the latter is less likely to be distorted or inhibited by highly active interviewing methods. For example, it is possible that the "third degree" could be used to learn whether the respondent had buried the body in the swamp or had thrown it into the river. On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that the same degree of activity could be used to obtain the sequence of definitions of the situation in a crisis. This is not to imply that subjective information can never be obtained

by vigorous methods. Some conditions under which activity is appropriate in the interview have been demonstrated by Richardson.⁵

The subjective dimension constitutes a commoner problem for the clinical psychologist and psychiatrist, who are more interested in unique experiences, than it does for the sociologist, who is primarily concerned with more widely shared experiences.

It should be noted that experiences cannot be dichotomized into the purely unique and the shared but that, in actuality, they fall along a continuum and are a matter of degree. For example, the schizophrenic may use many words esoterically; yet, if they were completely unique, never being shared by other schizophrenics or used consistently by one, the therapist could never understand them.

CONSCIOUS VERSUS UNCONSCIOUS EXPERIENCE

Here the term "unconscious experience" refers to behavior which the respondent cannot report because he was not conscious of it at the time and not because of a fading memory, ego-threat, or the uniqueness of the experience. For this reason the answers to the following would be difficult to obtain: "What is the difference between the way you speak to a Negro and the way you speak to a Caucasian?" "When do you use the prepositions 'of' and 'at' after a verb in the English language?" "Which sock do you usually put on first in the morning?"

There are at least three types of unconscious behavior. The most common is simply custom. The degree to which it is unconscious is indicated by Sapir.⁶ Next, there is the unconscious behavior which Blumer calls "circular reaction," which is the immediate, unwitting response of one person to the subliminal cues furnished by

⁵ Stephen A. Richardson, "The Use of Leading Questions in Non-schedule Interviews" (unpublished paper).

⁶ Edward Sapir, "The Unconscious Patterning of Behavior in Society," in E. S. Dummer (ed.), *The Unconscious: A Symposium* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1927), pp. 114-42.

another.⁷ Finally, there is the unconscious behavior found under conditions of acute emotional stress in crises. This differs from circular reaction, in that no interaction with other people is needed.

Disasters provoke many examples of unconscious behavior. For example, persons fleeing from their homes to escape an explosion frequently take the longest route in order to leave by the rear door which they habitually use. Perhaps more to the point: a man rescued several people from a burning building but had no recollection of the acts which were clearly observed by several others; a crowd at an air show obeyed the master of ceremonies' suggestion to extinguish all cigarettes and refrain from starting automobiles when an airplane crashed into the grandstand and parking area, yet many who obeyed the order could not report what made them do so.

Details of these types of behavior are very difficult to obtain from the respondent. However, it was not uncommon for respondents to say that they had never been aware of certain aspects of their behavior during the crisis until after the interview had been under way for some time.

DEGREE OF TRAUMA

Here "trauma" is used to denote an acute unpleasantness associated with an experience. The unpleasant feeling is often brought to consciousness when the respondent is reporting the experience. It is not due to his embarrassment or his fear of losing status or of embarrassing the interviewer; it is because reporting the experience forces him to relive the original emotions.

Here there is no chance of the respondent's obtaining release from a guilty conscience by "confessing his sins," because he has no sins. A comparison of the length of the interviews with disaster victims having traumatic experiences, such as having members of the family killed, with the length of interviews with people who suffered no loss

⁷ Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Robert E. Park (ed.), *An Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), p. 224.

shows that the former tended to give either extremely long or extremely short interviews. In the prolonged interviews there was a tendency to talk repeatedly of the most traumatic portion of the experience. For example, a woman whose daughter, who was standing beside her at the air show, was killed when an airplane crashed into the crowd, repeatedly referred to the horrors of seeing her daughter mutilated. However, a respondent who had had a similar experience would not mention that a member of his family had been killed; this information had to be obtained from other sources.

We make no pretense of explaining why one respondent dilates on the "gory details" while another adroitly avoids the subject. It is possible that the respondent has a need for catharsis after a traumatic experience just as he does when he has feelings of guilt. A permissive attitude in the interviewer might encourage the respondent to talk, particularly if he cannot forget or repress the ordeal. The respondent's repressing a traumatic experience may have some relationship to the length of time after the event. However, it is not sidereal time which is relevant but social-psychological time calibrated by certain local events. Most significant of the latter seemed to be the funerals.

Contrary to expectations, in a community disaster it was easy to induce the respondent to talk before the funerals about the death of friends and members of the immediate family. However, after the funerals his attitude changed markedly. The funeral as a community event seemed to symbolize the establishment of a new social equilibrium: it marked the end of the past horror and the opening of a new chapter in the history of the individual and the community. The individual respondent's attitude seemed to be "Let's not discuss the dead." Somehow the disaster victims seemed to be more dead after the funerals than before.

DEGREE OF ETIQUETTE

Here we refer to the respondent's perception of the etiquette between himself and the interviewer with respect to particular types

of information. Communication is given its form by taboos, secrets, avoidances, "white lies," what Simmel referred to as "vital lies," and etiquette; and certain symbols and attitudes circulate only in restricted channels or between people in certain social relationships. The respondent must perceive his relationship with the interviewer as one permitting the communication desired. The respondent may have the information clearly in mind but feel that it would be impolite to divulge it, a state of affairs corroborated by the fact that many of the most clear-cut examples are unprintable.

The etiquette barrier can be broken down by using an interviewer in a more appropriate role. Sometimes it is not enough to select the correct interviewer, but, in addition, special techniques must be used to define the situation as one permitting a breach of the usual etiquette.

CHRONOLOGICAL ASPECT

"Chronological aspect" refers to the relationship between the time an experience occurred and the time from which the respondent is actually or imaginatively viewing it. Of the many logically possible aspects which might occur in the interview, we will mention the two most frequently encountered.

First is the "introspective past," which refers to information about an event which the respondent is reporting from the same point in time as the event. In effect, he speaks about the past in the present tense, trying thus to relive the original experience in every detail. Merton refers to this as "retrospective introspection." Here we are seeking the person's original subjective experience without distortions due to hindsight.

In a disaster people have great difficulty in correctly defining a crisis, and their definitions often progress through several stages. The individual tries to make sense out of what happened by seeing the original experience in the light of information obtained after the event. This general tendency constitutes an interviewing problem because if we wish to understand why the respondent

acted as he did, we must discover how he defined the situation immediately before and during his action.

Second is the "retrospective past," which refers to information about a past event which the respondent is reporting from the vantage point of the present. Here the perspective is quite different because the respondent has the advantage of having had time to rearrange his own personal experiences in relation to one another and he also has the advantage of much new information from other people involved in the same situation. One of the most difficult tasks of the interviewer is to separate the data in the retrospective past from those in the introspective past. In general, it is easier to obtain information in the retrospective past.

CONCLUSIONS

The foregoing scheme should be useful in three ways. First, it should help the interviewer by sensitizing him to some of the complexities of the depth interview and allowing him to apply his techniques and skills more critically. It might also make him more alert for new insights, techniques, or tactics.

Second, the scheme should help the student of the interview as a process by furnishing what Merton would call a "theory of the middle range" which has been derived inductively and is at a high enough level of abstraction to be applicable to many instances of a certain class. It should not only help locate some of the basic problems but also give some hint of the possible limitations of generalizations based upon the study of one type of interview. It presents the interview as a dynamic process in which there is a constantly shifting relationship between the type of information sought and its meaning.

Finally, the scheme may be useful in developing a realistic design of research by calling attention to some of the problems of collecting valid and reliable data. Although the scheme was developed in the course of the writer's experience in interviewing, it may throw light upon the over-all strategy and the relative desirability of using questionnaires, observation, projective techniques, or interviewing in gathering the data.

ANTIOCH COLLEGE

THE DYNAMICS OF INFORMATION INTERVIEWING

THEODORE CAPLOW

ABSTRACT

Information interviews and therapeutic interviews are distinct but related. Most interviewers are still inadequately trained. Rules of interviewing are designed either to conserve the neutrality of the questioner or to facilitate the self-expression of the respondent. Being interviewed is ordinarily gratifying to the respondent, because of specific devices which facilitate his role. Under ideal conditions, the interviewer's role becomes highly attenuated, yet never without effect.

The interview may be defined as a two-person conversation, conducted by one of the participants in accordance with a definite program.¹ Because it resembles many situations which arise spontaneously and without any commitment to a technique, the interview is often regarded as simpler and more "natural" than it really is. The theme of this paper is that the situation is governed by a number of principles almost independent of the content of the conversation.

In general, there seem to be two types of interview. Both involve an interviewer with a plan for asking questions and a respondent whose statements are the content of the interview. If the conversation is held in order to modify the behavior of the respondent, it is a therapeutic interview.² If the purpose is to inform the interrogator on particular matters, it is an information interview.³

In the last decade there has been a great deal of work on the technique of the information interview by the half-dozen leading

agencies of public opinion and market research. Many of their results came into the public domain for the first time in 1954, with the publication of two authoritative accounts, one by Hyman⁴ and his associates, the other by the Maccobys.⁵ These documents a very thorough exploration of question-wording and questionnaire design, of distortions in recording and coding responses, and of biases introduced by the interviewer's perception of the respondent or the respondent's perception of the interviewer.

There has been, however, remarkably little experimenting with variations in the interview or the comportment of the interviewer. The National Opinion Research Center, which conducted most of the studies on interviewer affect reported by Hyman,

¹ Cf. definitions of the interview in: Pauline Young, *Scientific Social Surveys and Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 243; F. J. Roethlisberger and W. J. Dickson, *Management and the Worker* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), p. 271; Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Methods of Social Study* (London, New York, and Toronto: Longmans, Green & Co., 1932); Eleanor E. Maccoby and Nathan Maccoby, "The Interview: A Tool of Social Science," in Gardner Lindzey, *Handbook of Social Psychology* (Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), Vol. I, chap. xii; R. K. Merton, M. Fiske, and P. Kendall, *The Focussed Interview* (New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1952), p. 2; Anne F. Fenlason, *Essentials in Interviewing* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), p. 3.

² Clear descriptions of current practice may be found in Harrington V. Ingham and Leonore R. Love, *The Process of Psychotherapy* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954), and Felix Deutsch, *Applied Psychoanalysis* (New York: Grune & Stratton, 1949). The most thorough consideration of the therapeutic interview as a procedure may be found in Merton Gill, Richard Newman, and Frederick C. Redlich, *The Initial Interview in Psychiatric Practice* (with accompanying phonograph records) (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1954).

³ A similar division into "situation" and "ego-centric" interviews was proposed by Ralph Bercie more than a decade ago (*Journal of Social Psychology*, XVIII, First Half (August, 1943), 3-31).

⁴ Herbert H. Hyman, with William J. Cobb, Jacob J. Feldman, Clyde W. Hart, and Charles H. Stember, *Interviewing in Social Research* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

⁵ Maccoby and Maccoby, *op. cit.*

and the other agencies were committed to a fairly rigid operation, using a staff of part-time, low-paid interviewers, mostly female, white, college-educated, and urban,⁶ who seldom had had long or intensive experience in interviewing. NORC interviewers are reported to average about eight assignments a year, each of which can be completed in two or three days. Contact with field staffs is maintained by letters and written instructions. The training is necessarily short, and the turnover of interviewers is high. Under these conditions, highly standardized, simple methods of interrogation and note-taking are almost the only choice.⁷ Better-trained interviewers could achieve better results.⁸

Interviewing performed personally by a fully professional analyst is by no means uncommon.⁹ It occurs in many small-scale investigations, including a large proportion of theses and dissertations. Moreover, in a few projects an entire staff of professional persons engages in the interviewing of a large population.¹⁰ In the experience of these investigators, generalizations about the interviewer affect and the reliability and validity of interview data, based on studies of relatively untrained interviewers, can probably not be applied to the work of highly trained interviewers, and there is as yet no reliable body of knowledge about the technique of interviewing by experts. Many of the tech-

niques of interviewing await systematic test. Among these are the group interview, the conference interview, the participant interview, the repeated interview and respondent training, etc.

We are thus in the curious position of knowing a great deal about the reliability and validity of interview data under mediocre conditions and almost nothing about reliability and validity under optimum conditions. The latter might involve the following: (a) highly qualified interviewers, familiar with the purpose of the study; (b) extensive training, including several hundred hours of field experience; (c) continuous experimentation—briefing, quality control, and schedule revision in the early phases of data collection; (d) intensive and continuous discussion in the interviewing staff of intuitive impressions and of preliminary analysis, so that the interviewer develops the highest possible awareness of the situation in which he meets the respondent; (e) the use of *both* mechanical recording (for completeness and verification) and notes (for interpretation and continuity); and (f) rigorous control of sampling, with no selection of respondents by the interviewer.

Despite the unsolved problems of quality control in current interviewing practice, there is surprising agreement among specialists in various fields on the fundamental principles of the method.¹¹ Generally speaking, interviewing proceeds in four stages: first, the preparation of the schedule or guide by which the interview will be con-

⁶ See Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Table 28, p. 153, "Composition of National Field Staffs."

⁷ For a quantitative account of interviewer error under controlled conditions see Lester Guest, "A Study of Interviewer Competence," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, Vol. I, No. 4 (December, 1947). In that study fifteen half-trained interviewers reported the responses of a "planted" respondent. The interviews, also recorded by a concealed machine, contained a total of 279 "serious errors." More recent material on interview error is summarized by Harper W. Boyd, Jr., and Ralph Westfall, "Interviewers as a Source of Error in Surveys," *Journal of Marketing*, Vol. XIX, No. 4 (April, 1955).

⁸ Hyman *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 191.

⁹ For a recent instance see George C. Homans, "The Cash Posters," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIX, No. 6 (December, 1954).

¹⁰ For example, the Strategic Bombing Surveys.

¹¹ Authoritative statements, although with quite different emphases, may be found in Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii, "The Interviewing Method"; Alfred D. Kinsey, Wardell B. Pomeroy, and Clyde E. Martin, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders Co., 1948), chap. ii, "Interviewing"; Young, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii, "The Interview"; William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, *Methods in Social Research* (New York, London, and Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952), chap. xi, "The Interview as a Tool in Field Exploration"; W. V. Bingham and B. V. Moore, *How To Interview* (3d rev. ed.; New York and London: Harper & Bros., 1941), chap. ii, "Learning How To Interview"; and R. C. Oldfield, *The Psychology of the Interview* (3d ed.; London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1947), esp. chap. v, "The Conduct of the Interview."

ducted; second, the development of an approach or self-introduction which will minimize the refusal rate and launch the interview without confusion; third, the questioning and listening, or what may be called the "conversation," spontaneous on one side only; fourth, the recording of data, whether during the interview or by subsequent recall.

The principles of interviewing most generally agreed on are these:

1. The interviewer should not interject his own attitude or experiences into the conversation or express value judgments. When he is forced to offer attitudes or experiences as a means of preserving the illusion of conversation, they should be assumed and neutral: the skilled interviewer makes an extraordinary effort not to display any reaction which is capable of modifying the respondent's self-image and the direction of his expression.

2. Because any sequence of questions structures the subject matter, the interview schedule should have the minimum number of questions in the simplest form adaptable to the problem. A model interview might consist only of the announcement of a topic, followed by a series of questions in the form, "What about . . . ?" The program of the interview should not be discussed in detail with the respondent and should not be emphasized as the interview proceeds.

3. The response which can be anticipated from a question is often quite different from the logical complement of the question. The question "How many baseball games have you attended during the past month?" formally anticipates a numerical answer and will usually involve the naming of particular occasions.¹²

¹² Empirical expectation often involves far more subtle considerations than this. Thus the Kinsey interviews involved the deliberate loading of questions toward the uncommon behavior, in order to facilitate disclosure of sensitive material. The review committee of the American Statistical Association, which evaluated the methods of the study, was somewhat uncertain about the validity of this procedure (W. G. Cochran, Frederick Mosteller, and John W. Tukey, "Statistical Problems of the Kinsey Report," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 264 [December, 1953]).

4. All interview schedules and questions entail certain unpredictable effects. In the present state of knowledge it is not possible to predict with assurance which questions will work best with a given population and which will be unintelligible or unproductive. Questions which produce the greatest yield of information with the least effort are often enigmatic: they may contain pointed ambiguities or happy phrasings which cannot possibly be recognized in advance or ideas which correspond to something in the subject's world of which the investigator is not even aware.

5. The attitude of the interviewer toward the respondent should always be extremely attentive and concentrated. Practice in verbatim recall gives the interviewer an extraordinary sensitivity to the words and gestures of the respondent. This in itself seems to have an influence upon the respondent's behavior, sometimes producing a kind of uninhibited communication quite different from the unstructured conversation of ordinary life. There is some resemblance to the interaction of hypnotist and subject, an element of suggestibility being always present in the successful interview.

6. The expert interviewer is much more than a recording device. No matter what the form of the interview, he should pursue his questioning to the point where no significant ambiguities exist for him.

Although the question has not been fully explored, it is generally believed in research agencies that the rate of refusal is more or less subject to control. In a notable study, Heneman and Paterson¹³ have reported their ability to reduce an initial refusal rate of 18 per cent in a sampling study of the St. Paul labor market to an eventual figure of about 1 per cent. There is somewhat scattered and fragmentary evidence that interviewer-seeking procedure based upon preliminary experiment and flexible enough to meet unusual circumstances will ordinarily lead

¹³ Herbert G. Heneman, Jr., and Donald G. Paterson, "Refusal Rates and Interviewer Quality," *International Journal of Opinion and Attitude Research*, III, No. 3 (fall, 1949), 392-98. The improvement was effected by systematic improvement of interviewer selection, training, and supervision.

to the acceptance of the interview by all but a tiny fraction of those approached.

There have been very few attempts to study the motivation of the respondent. In Merton's study of Craftown,¹⁴ interviewers asked each of the 617 respondents a final question: "The interview is over now, and I'd like your frank opinion. How did you really feel about being interviewed all this time?" The free responses to this question were classified as six distinct reactions or definitions of the situation. The interview was experienced (1) as a democratic channel for the expression of opinion, (2) as an intellectually demanding experience, (3) as a moral inventory, (4) as part of an institutionalized pattern of social surveys, (5) as having an ego- and status-building function, (6) as catharsis. The 617 interviews represented a considerable range of situations, and the answers obtained might not have been strictly comparable. It is equally notable, however, that different images of the interviewer combined with different definitions of the meaning of the interview did not result in immediately ascertainable differences in response.

The two most important interview studies which have been reported (excluding the Census and other routine enumerations), namely, the Western Electric study of employee morale and the Indiana studies of sexual behavior, drew very heavily upon voluntary respondents. The first, to insure that the research would not be interpreted as a management program, used 21,126 volunteers. The second, because the subject of deviant sexual behavior is taboo, has already enlisted 20,000 subjects and proposes eventually to interview 100,000 voluntary respondents.

In the Western Electric studies the interview was offered to workers in the Hawthorne plant as a personnel service. The research staff seems to have been surprised at the extent to which the offer was accepted¹⁵ and at the interest in being interviewed in connection with a program which might not

lead to an improvement of working conditions or to any other practical result. Roethlisberger and Dickson suggest a quasi-therapeutic explanation.¹⁶

The Kinsey Report poses the question of ulterior goals even more sharply. Unlike the Western Electric situation, where the worker was at least offered a short respite from his work and a chance of influencing the environment of the plant, the Kinsey study offers no obvious inducements to its participants;¹⁷ the interviewers believe that emotional catharsis is not an important factor in the typical pattern of response. They do not credit themselves with many cures of sexual neuroses and do not believe that many of their subjects were seeking therapy in the interview.¹⁸

In the ordinary survey interview the respondent often has solid motives for refusing. The interviewer interrupts the harried housewife or the busy executive for his own purposes. Yet, if the request for an interview is appropriately phrased and his manner reasonably polite and self-confident, he may count on getting effective co-operation from the vast majority of those approached. This occurs whether or not the respondent is told that he will benefit from the findings of the research and even when the situation itself is somewhat frustrating.¹⁹ Indeed, the question of how to carry the interview, once be-

¹⁵ They refer to "the unexpected response which the program received from both employers and supervisors" (Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, pp. 194 and 199).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 227-28.

¹⁷ With the minor exceptions of certain professionals paid for their time and of institutional inmates who welcome a conversation with an outsider.

¹⁸ Personal communication from Drs. Pomeroy and Martin, March, 1954.

¹⁹ Professor René Koenig, in a public lecture, reports a training exercise in which students in his seminar in Zurich devised a public opinion questionnaire which violated all the usual rules for maintaining rapport and in which every question was designed to embarrass or confuse the respondent. The purpose of this exercise was to acquaint students with the circumstances under which refusal takes place. But, as it turned out, they were circumvented by the patient co-operation of most subjects.

¹⁴ Robert K. Merton, "Selected Problems of Field Work in the Planned Community," *American Sociological Review*, XII, No. 3 (June, 1947), 304-12.

gun, to its conclusion hardly ever arises for the experienced interviewer unless something has gone extraordinarily wrong in the design of the study or in the episodes of a particular interview. The momentum of the situation is such that even very long interviews are seldom halted by the respondent unless the interviewer himself shows strain or confusion.²⁰

The hypothesis here proposed is that being interviewed is an inherently satisfying experience and ordinarily constitutes its own goal. The respondent does not need a special motive for his part in the conversation: whether or not any practical inducement is offered hardly matters. The quality and quantity of the information secured probably depend far more upon the competence of the interviewer than upon the respondent.

The foregoing notions refer, of course, to the information interview conducted in connection with social research under the general rules previously described. Elements of coercion or of ritual, as in the taking of testimony under oath or the catechism, may alter the situation beyond recognition.²¹

If being interviewed is its own reward, the explanation might be sought in interaction. It has come to be increasingly clear that much social activity cannot be explained in terms of ulterior goals but is self-motivating.²² Somewhere in the course of socialization, interaction comes to be as "natural," as spontaneous, and as essential to the maintenance of the psyche as is the continuation of metabolism to the maintenance of the organism.

Verbal interaction, or conversation, when it occurs between two people speaking the same language and having a sufficiently

common frame of reference to be mutually intelligible, may be visualized as a play of invitation and resistances.²³ Each party to it serves the purpose of the other overtly, in that he provides a stimulus, acts as an audience, and permits the conversation to continue, with whatever symbolic or practical gain may be in view. He simultaneously represents a problem for the other in so far as he may forestall these gratifications. Such may be the case if the discussion leads to frustration rather than clarification, if a plan of action is blocked, or if disapproval of attitudes is expressed. The two participants in a conversation are both means and barriers for each other.²⁴

There is a parallel contradiction in the form of a conversation, considered apart from its content. In the nature of the situation, only one of the participants may speak at one time (except for minor overlapping), and his speaking places the other under an obligation to listen. Neither speaking nor listening is unequivocally advantageous. The participant who gains his principal satisfactions from his own speaking encounters a resistance in the unstructured conversation to the extent that his partner also wishes to be heard. On the other hand, the participant whose chief aim is to hear information or expressions which can be provided by the other is frustrated when he must speak instead.

²³ This is not always literally applicable to "functional" conversations, i.e., those which have overt consequences. The description given here assumes that the subject of the conversation does not lead to immediate action by either party.

²⁴ This emerges very clearly in another special case of the interview situation—cross-examination. Cross-examination differs from the interview chiefly in the emphasis placed on the few selected statements crucial to the case at issue. These are usually known or surmised in advance. The strategy of aggressive questioning is intended to break down the defenses established by the witness around the crucial statements. One eminent lawyer avers that "a lawyer should never ask a witness on cross-examination a question unless, in the first place, he knew what the answer would be, or, in the second place, he didn't care" (David Graham, quoted in Francis L. Wellman, *The Art of Cross-examination* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1927], p. 23).

²⁰ A recent study reports the use of eight-hour interviews! (Neal Gross and Ward S. Mason, "Some Methodological Problems of Eight-Hour Interviews," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX, No. 3 [November, 1953], 197-204).

²¹ The catechism is a special case of the interview in which the responses as well as the questions are prescribed but with the assumption of freedom in the giving or withholding of the appropriate answers.

²² See the excellent discussion of the forms of interaction in Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 147-69.

Whether or not any given conversation will continue depends, of course, upon the balance of satisfaction and deprivations which occur in the course of it. It depends on other things as well—for example, the reciprocal roles of the participants, their inclination to habitual conversation, the presence or absence of immediate alternatives, the expectation that an unsatisfactory conversation will improve, etc. A pair of rational conversationalists whose conversational goal had been adequately defined would theoretically be able to find satisfying strategy. To some extent this is what actually occurs between familiars, and it accounts for the relative facility with which conversation proceeds in the intimate circle of the family or between fellow-workers in long association. In such cases progressive adjustment has made each participant able to predict both the content and the organization of what the other will say. As we move away from the familiar and intimate situation, such adjustment becomes more difficult and less probable. Thus we develop a degree of tolerance toward unsatisfactory, boring, or confusing conversations and a willingness to continue them if only mildly frustrating. This polite tolerance becomes a conspicuous feature of verbal interaction as social distance increases, and conversations between strangers are usually unsuccessful.

The interview, considered as a type of conversation, benefits from the system of expectations developed in it. The normal respondent has endured innumerable conversations with strangers and semistrangers. He has learned to expect that they will be more or less threatening, frustrating, and confusing. The formal interview, however, represents a sharp departure from these conditions, and the satisfaction it gives the respondent may be very great.

The formal interview is gratifying because both participants enter the conversation with explicit expectations, the one to talk and the other to listen, which are satisfied to an extent unusual in ordinary life. Moreover, the expression of opinion, the narration of fact, and the playing of roles by

the respondent are systematically encouraged. Resistances ordinarily encountered in spontaneous conversation are suppressed. The formal interview, for example, offers a rare opportunity to express political opinions at length and in detail without contradiction. Finally, because the interview has a schedule, the conversation appears from the respondent's point of view to be self-sustaining. The problem of organization is understood to be a responsibility of the interviewer. The respondent is assured the immediate satisfactions of conversation without the necessity of making adjustments himself. This often creates an illusion of facile communication which makes prolonged sessions seem short.

On the other hand, certain elements in the interview limit the yield of information under even the most favorable conditions. In general, the less said or done by the interviewer, the more effective the interview, a precept almost caricatured in non-directive interviewing.²⁵ It follows that, as the yield of information approaches a maximum, the interviewer, as perceived by the respondent, has scarcely any characteristics left for ordinary identification. The interviewer seems a kind of verbal mirror reflecting the subject's expression back to him. Persons skillfully interviewed frequently report that they cannot remember or describe the interviewer. In a certain sense the respondent may be said to interview himself, since the interviewer is invested with his characteristics by the respondent in the course of the conversation. One danger is that the interviewer, because his own role is so understressed, may come to believe that he really has none at all and that the respondent is actually talking "as he would to himself." This is false, as was shown by a dramatic and crucial example of distortion in each of the two great studies mentioned before.

In the Western Electric research it was

²⁵ Carl R. Rogers, *Counseling and Psychotherapy: Newer Concepts in Practice* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942), p. 195: "The primary technique which leads to insight on the part of the client is one which demands the utmost in self-restraint on the counselor's part".

noted that employees' comments on the company's employee relations were almost unanimously favorable in tone. The research staff were evidently skeptical about this finding, but unable to reject it:

Of course, there is a question of whether the satisfactory reactions to these activities were spontaneous and real convictions or merely polite responses. Did the workers really think the company's employee relations were good, or were they merely registering attitudes of approval which they thought management wishes to hear and which they thought it politic to manifest? That some of the employees were doing the latter is very probable, but that most of the employees would adopt the same attitude would be curious.²⁶

The respondent presumably reacted to the real role of the interviewer as an employee-relations functionary. Accustomed as they were to self-effacement, the interviewers apparently never thought of this. Yet it seems that it happened hundreds of times.

In the Kinsey study, respondents made fewer admissions of incest than court and clinical records would lead one to expect. The researchers have chosen to interpret this as fact because of their experience with other questions to which the answers are uninhibited:

Heterosexual incest occurs more frequently in the thinking of clinicians and social workers than it does in actual performance. . . . Because the cases are so few, it would be misleading to suggest where the highest incidences lie. The most frequent incestuous contacts are between preadolescent children, but the number of such cases among adolescent or older males is very small.²⁷

This is very much like the previous case: the respondent shrinks from making shocking admissions, because to him the interviewer is still a person, no matter how great the latter's effort to be unobtrusive. This is a matter of degree. The interviewer may convince a respondent of his indifference to practices which enjoy only lim-

ited group approval, but, in the case of behavior condemned by all members of the society, there is systematic misreporting and suppression of facts.

Certain other theoretical limitations are also inherent in the interview.

If the interview is to function as a highly facilitated conversation, the respondent must perceive it as a conversation, without being much aware of the structure of the interrogation, the order of questions, or the objectives of the interviewer. The interviewer may take notes, use recording devices, or in other ways signalize the situation as an interview, but he must preserve the illusion of spontaneity and of free response on either side. The attempt to make respondents aware of the significance of questions or to employ them in the judgment and analysis of their own responses defeats inquiry.

Like any conversation, the information interview must develop from a common frame of reference so that participants will be mutually intelligible. Unlike most conversations, it involves the predefinition of this frame of reference through the device of the schedule. As an elementary precaution, interview schedules are often built up on the basis of pilot interviews, conducted for the purpose of ascertaining the language habits and pertinent viewpoints of the population. However, this process can never be perfect. The subjects pre-interviewed for the purpose of establishing a schedule are not likely to be a perfect sample of the population finally interviewed. Even if they were, every group studied will include some individuals whose reactions are highly individual and not adequately expressed in the predetermined categories. The interview does not ordinarily permit the exploratory trial-and-error exchange of viewpoints which would allow a new frame of reference to be improvised where necessary. Even the unstructured and non-directive interview always involves some forcing of categories upon the respondent. This limitation can seldom be overcome within the boundaries of a single investigation.

²⁶ Roethlisberger and Dickson, *op. cit.*, p. 249.

²⁷ Kinsey, Pomeroy, and Martin, *op. cit.*, p. 555.

ROLE-PLAYING IN SURVEY RESEARCH

HOWARD STANTON, KURT W. BACK, AND EUGENE LITWAK

ABSTRACT

Three studies demonstrate that role-playing can be used to obtain data in a regular survey. Most respondents can do it; it is easy to train interviewers to administer; it is quickly and reliably scored; and it provides valid results. The data gathered by role-playing may prove better than traditional interview procedures where the inquiry is concerned with the respondent's behavior under stress, when he is strongly affected by his perception of other roles, the others' reactions, and personality variables.

Sociologists at times feel troubled by the extent to which their discipline, which presumes to study groups, depends on verbal or written reports of individuals seen separately. Yet systematic observation of group life, whether in a natural or laboratory setting, may be for many problems either inappropriate or unduly expensive. A possible alternative in the dilemma may be role-playing in the interview, a technique which can provide samples of group behavior in relevant sequences of situations without sacrificing the advantages of survey technique.

For instance, instead of asking, "Do you get angry when a salesperson puts pressure on you?" the interviewer plays the salesperson who puts pressure on the respondent. Instead of asking, "What do you think of doctors?" the interviewer proposes that the respondent play the role of doctor while he himself acts as a variety of patients. Instead of asking, "How strongly do you feel about racial equality?" the interviewer sets up a scene and stages an appropriate impromptu drama from which he may infer the respondent's attitudes.

Role-playing, because of its history as a clinical and therapeutic technique, might be considered too esoteric to be made a standardized procedure in large surveys. Several questions would have to be answered: What about refusal rates? Do the interviewers need elaborate training? How analyze and code the complex role-playing responses? How reliable are the data? Do the respondents actually behave as they would in real life? This paper presents some answers based on the successful use of role-playing during the last three years in three surveys

conducted by the authors with widely different populations.

a) In 21 households (54 interviews) of foster-parents in Chicago,¹ parent-child relations were studied. Rapport had been established through the child-placing agency, but the role-playing was proposed unannounced. Three scenes were used to measure the respondent's autonomy under personal stress, two to measure the respondent's empathy, and three to measure the couple's creativity as a team.

b) In 83 households (116 interviews) of upper-middle-class United States families a study was made of marital adjustment. Rapport established in interviews twenty years ago made it easy to get consent for reinterviewing, but the role-playing scenes were set up unannounced as part of a regular interview.² Two scenes were used to measure the creativity of couples together.

c) In 244 households (412 interviews) with residents of slums and housing projects in Puerto Rico, a study was conducted of social-psychological factors in housing. The interview included role-playing, given in true survey fashion; the interviewer had to

¹ For a more complete report of this study see Howard R. Stanton and Eugene Litwak, "Toward the Development of a Short Form Test of Interpersonal Competence," *American Sociological Review*, XX (December, 1955), 668-74.

² A description of this study may be found in Eugene Litwak, Gloria Count, and Edward M. Haydon, "The Effects of Interpersonal Creativity on the Husband-Wife Dyad" (forthcoming). It is part of the study, "Middle Years of Marriage," directed by E. W. Burgess, and includes reinterviews of the couples originally reported on in Ernest Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* (New York: J. D. Lippincott Co., 1953).

secure his own entry.³ Three scenes were used to measure respondent's flexibility, two to determine the limits of the respondent's positive and negative feelings about public housing, and one to reveal the respondent's perception of the housing administration's role.

In the first use of role-playing, survey fashion, during the spring of 1953 we exaggerated the differences between it and the conventional procedures. The couple was interviewed by appointment at home by three interviewers using two tape recorders.⁴ By the spring of 1956 we had become somewhat more assured and used an ordinary interviewing staff armed with nothing more than a few copies of the schedule.

Many people have difficulty visualizing how the interviewer gets the respondent in and out of scenes. The following is a translated excerpt from a tape-recorded interview staged during the housing study in Puerto Rico:

INT.: . . . We're going to do something like a little game. You're going to be one person, and I'm going to be another. For example, we'll be neighbors. I live there in the house next door. I am *comadre* of yours, and right now, well, I've got company and I don't have. . . .

RES.: Listen, this is like the radio stories, right?

I.: . . . Yes. You may even come out of this a movie star. Well, . . . I have some visitors at my house, some relatives, and I find that I don't have enough rice to make an *asopao de pollo*. . . . I've come to see if I can borrow a

little from you, right? We're going to do it just as if it were happening, right? . . . [*The interviewer gets up, walks out the front door, turns, knocks, and says:*] *Hola, comay Juana*, how are things going? How are you?

R.: Well, all right, as God wills.

I.: Well, *chica*, you don't know that my family has come from Ponce, and I find that I don't have enough rice for an *asopao*. . . . You don't have a little that you could lend me?

R.: Ay, Petrita, but I don't think I've got any either.

[*The subject finds she has no rice, but she has a few pennies which she lends to her friend. The scene ends with the interviewer saying:*]

I.: Well, if I have a little plate of *asopao* left over, I'll send it over to you.

R.: Good, very good, because I don't cook that way.

I.: Well, I'm going because I left the people alone in the house.

R.: I'll expect the little plate!

I.: Um-huh.

R.: Goodbye.

I.: You see? *Ave Maria!* you are really an artist! It's a wonder that you're not acting on the radio or tel. . . .

R.: You think so? *Ave Maria!* don't make fun of me, *señorita*.

I.: What a thing to say! You can see that you did it wonderfully! Well, now we're going to do something else. We're going to pretend that I'm your grandfather. . . .

Those unfamiliar with role-playing, or familiar with it in other settings, might expect a high rate of refusals to act the scenes suggested. In fact, however, out of 2,939 scenes in the three studies, only 12 were not carried out. In each case refusal appeared caused by the content of the scene rather than by the idea of role-playing itself; in most cases it meant "I don't know what to do" more than "I won't do it." Different scenes—like different questions—produce different rates of refusals, but generally the drama stimulates the interest of the subjects.⁵

⁵ As one would expect, different interviewers get different rates of refusals. In the Puerto Rican study two interviewers had no refusals, the third had two, and the fourth seven. The fourth interviewer accepted "Don't knows" in scenes where the respondent was asked to play the roles of a social worker and of a housing administrator.

³ No report has been published as yet on this portion of the housing study. For a report of an earlier phase see Kurt Back, "Background Characteristics and Reactions to Relocation" (Social Science Research Center, University of Puerto Rico). (Mimeographed.)

⁴ Howard Stanton and Mark and Dorothy Flapan, then with the Family Study Center, University of Chicago. These first interviews were little more than a transfer of personality testing from the office to the home. The background of this work may be found in Nelson Foote and Leonard Cottrell, *Identity and Interpersonal Competence* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955), and in a manual on the measurement and change of interpersonal competence soon to be published by the Russell Sage Foundation.

The ease in training interviews depended upon the type of role to be played. Some scenes required no active participation of the interviewer, while others required him constantly to stimulate his respondents. The latter, of course, required more training, but in either case the interviewers were trained in a relatively short time during the regular training session. In none of the studies has training time exceeded six hours, although more training might have been desirable.

No general instructions were given on constructing appropriate scenes. Basically, good scene construction is no different from good question construction; both call for a well-defined problem, an ingenious solution, and thorough pretesting.

There are several areas in which the use of role-playing is especially pertinent. Sometimes it is necessary to know how people act under emotional stress, as in studies of marriage and family life. If it is difficult for an individual to recall and discuss these topics calmly with an interviewer, it may be more profitable and valid actually to *see* his behavior. Role-playing permits observation, at the same time preserving rapport, since both interviewer and interviewee can dissociate themselves from the role as soon as it is finished.⁶

The study of parent-child relations posed just this problem. To select a good foster-home, the child-placing agency needed to know how the parents would react to the inevitable, almost daily, stresses. Would they become unduly tense, rejecting, punitive, submissive, or neglectful, or would they on the whole play the "good" parent? Verbal assertion in the course of a friendly interview is a doubtful index. The solution was the staging of scenes in which the respondent was put under stress by the interviewer. In one scene, for example, the interviewer played a parent; the respondent, a married son (or daughter). The interviewer began by treating the respondent in a patronizing way, as if he still considered him a child; later he began to criticize the son's (or daughter's) spouse severely; finally, he

twisted the scene around so that the respondent was made to appear unfair and unkind to his parent.⁷

To know how the respondent will act, it is not enough to know his intention. As more recent writers on the subject have pointed out, it is necessary to know also the intensity and saliency of the responses. Moreover, it is necessary to know how other people involved with the respondent are going to act. Thus, the respondent's vote will be more accurately predicted if one knows how his family is going to vote. Another problem is the limits of attitudes; for instance, whether a person who is generally in favor of an issue has any negative feelings.

In the Puerto Rican study we were interviewing families who lived in public housing or in slums designated for redevelopment. To discover the limits of their positive and negative feelings about housing projects, we used two projective scenes. In one the respondent was to play the part of a social worker trying to convince a slum dweller (the interviewer) to move. In the second he was asked to play the role of a tenant being asked by a member of a tenant committee (the interviewer) for complaints to be taken up in a coming meeting. In both scenes the respondent was stimulated until no further new points were brought out. The saliency, intensity, and personal context of the positive and negative responses were made evident in the course of the drama. In addition, the sheer volume of feelings tapped in this way made their interrelations more evident.

It is often important in a study to know how the respondent perceives significant others. Thus, the interviewer may seek to find out how an employer views union leaders, how a voter perceives certain political leaders, what students think of their teachers, and how members of a community perceive criminals. But it may be difficult for the respondent to express himself verbally. In addition, feelings of hostility or propriety

⁶ See OSS Assessment Staff, *Assessment of Men* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1948).

⁷ See Stanton and Litwak, *op. cit.* These scenes and the scoring categories are based on the work of Oscar and Eleanor Eggers, to be reported in the Russell Sage manual on interpersonal competence referred to earlier.

may lead to one-sided answers. Yet the respondent may be able to act out the other's role in a consistent, elaborate, and revealing manner.

In the housing study, to discover how respondents conceived of the housing project administration, the interviewer played a tenant, while the respondent played an administrator who had dropped in to "see how things were going." Given such neutral instructions and a relatively neutral role-playing partner, the respondent betrayed not only his picture of the administration but also his attitude toward it.

Role-playing can also be used in surveys for personality testing. Role-playing has the virtue of generally being shorter than most pencil-and-paper tests as well as being easier to administer than most projective tests. Moreover, because it scores from actual interaction, it includes both the speed and the complexities of interaction, matters frequently ignored in pencil-and-paper tests. Thus, in interaction, a pause is a significant action.

In the marital adjustment study we were interested in the extent to which the creativity or lack of creativity of a couple could account for errors in prediction from background items, for it is often suggested that human creativity makes precise actuarial prediction impossible. Two scenes were used in the interview to measure this factor, in one of which the respondents were told that they were a husband and wife at an office party. They were assigned the task of keeping an employer who had a job to offer (the interviewer) near them and away from competitors during the party. They were told to try as many devices as they could think of to reach this goal. The couple was scored by an observer on the basis of the novelty and effectiveness of their behavior.⁸

One alleged objection to the use of role-playing as a survey procedure is that it is difficult to analyze. In the three studies four different types of role-playing were used, involving sixteen scenes. For some types the interviewer scored the answer during the

drama or during the interview—just as she would any regular question. A check list can be used or response noted according to a predetermined code or graphing done on a more or less complex diagram without, apparently, affecting the involvement of the respondent in the scene. In just one kind of scene was it necessary for the interviewer to score the scene after the interview, but this took no more than two minutes. We have also used interviewer-observer teams, but this is seldom necessary.

The reliability of role-playing responses varies in the same way as the reliability of any other technique. In the parent-child study interrater reliability was checked by scoring from eleven tape-recorded stress scenes. Rank correlations between the four raters ranged from .81 to .97, averaging .90. In the study of marital adjustment coder reliability on scenes testing the creativity of married couples was checked by comparing the over-all distributions of scores resulting from different coders. In the first scene, described earlier, Observer 1 found 50 per cent with high creativity; Observer 2 found 49 per cent. In a second scene, Observer 3 found 42 per cent high creativity; Observer 4 found 55 per cent. Tester reliability in this study was analyzed in the same way. In the first scene, Role-player 1 pushed 54 per cent of his respondents to high creativity; Role-player 2, 45 per cent. In a second scene, 39 per cent of Role-player 3's respondents showed high creativity as against 58 per cent of Role-player 4's. Tests of significance indicate it is not unlikely for such differences to occur even if reliability were perfect.

In the housing study no test of reliability was made. However, in the training sessions interviewers separately scored staged scenes and soon found close agreement with each other.

Perhaps the most important question about any survey technique is: Are the results valid? Do these fragmentary samples of prompted interaction accurately reveal whatever it is the research wants to learn about the respondents? Of course, role-playing is not uniformly valid or invalid, any more than is any other technique, but

⁸ See Litwak, *op. cit.*

our studies indicate that the results may reach high levels of validity.

Validity was tested, first, by association with another measure of the same variable. For 35 subjects in the course of the parent-child study we secured descriptions of their usual behavior from observers who knew them well. These outside reports were made on the same scoring sheet as was used to score role-playing responses. The simple sum of scores (representing "ability to maintain ideal behavior under stress") from these outside observers was compared with the same sum taken from behavior rated during role-playing. The rank correlation between the two sets of scores was .82.

Borgatta⁹ reported correlations for 125 subjects in three-man groups between their acting and their actual behavior before and after it, without their knowing they were being observed. Behavior was coded according to the Bales categories. Correlations for categories 1 through 12 and total, in order, were .43, .63, .56, .32, .60, .74, .45, .40, .04, .50, .60, .19, and .76. All but one are significant at the .05 level.

Validity was also tested by association with theoretically expected concomitants. In the parent-child study "ability to maintain ideal behavior under stress" was expected to be related to the social workers' judgments of the desirability of the foster-home from three points of view: ability to care for children, acceptance of visiting parents, and co-operation with the agency. The tetrachoric r 's between role-playing scores and workers' judgments for these three variables were .79, .97, and .59 for 19, 14, and 16 cases, respectively.

In the study of marital adjustment it was expected that in a better-integrated marriage the husband shows greater creativity in external relations than the wife. This measure of relative creativity in role-playing, when related to marital integration scores computed from a twenty-item scale given in the same survey, yielded $Q = .65$, for hus-

band's integration and $Q = .43$ for wife's integration—83 husbands, 83 wives. It was also expected that the comparison of creativity as found in the acting would explain some of the errors in the original predictions of marital adjustment made twenty years ago by Burgess and Cottrell from forms filled out during engagement. In other words, it was expected that many of the errors could be accounted for by the fact that a prediction of success had been made, when in fact the husband's creativity was lower than his wife's, or a prediction of failure when the husband's creativity was higher. For 165 predictions, 60 (36 per cent) were in error, and, of these, 41 (68 per cent) could be accounted for as expected—that is, the creativity score and marital prediction were inconsistent.

In the housing study it was expected that flexibility of the respondents would be related to certain other characteristics such as age, education, and traditionalism. Flexibility scores computed from the role-playing were found to be significantly and positively related to the following: age (under thirty); education (any schooling); changes in leisure pursuits (changes found in five or more out of a possible eight); preference that their children love rather than respect them, if both are not possible; and belief that sons need not necessarily settle in the same neighborhood as their parents.

These studies demonstrate that role-playing can be used as a tool of survey research, as a portable method for observing social behavior. Like traditional questions, its utility is based on the ingenuity of the investigator who must devise scenes tailored to the purposes of the study. However, since it gets data in a way slightly different, it provides the investigator some powerful insights in at least four areas—stress behavior, context of responses, perception of other roles, and personality variables. The decision to use scenes in preference or in addition to questions should be tested in each case by regular pretesting procedures.

⁹ Edgar F. Borgatta, "Analysis of Social Interaction: Actual, Role-playing, and Projective," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, V (November, 1955), 394-405.

THE RESPONDENT REPORTS ON THE INTERVIEW¹

CHARLES F. CANNELL AND MORRIS AXELROD

ABSTRACT

Data collected on several surveys reveal that a high proportion of respondents reacted favorably to being interviewed and were willing to be reinterviewed. A major element was pleasure in the relationship with the interviewer, which was sufficient to make even questioning on delicate subjects enjoyable.

As more and more survey interviews are being conducted with the general public and more and more people are being interviewed, their reactions take on increasing importance. If the public is annoyed or feels imposed upon by interviewers, it may eventually refuse to co-operate with agencies and social scientists who seek to collect information through personal interviews. On the other hand, if respondents enjoy participating in interviews, the door is opened to wider use of sample surveys.

However, there is a further important reason for knowing how respondents react to being interviewed. This has to do with the respondent's motivation to communicate with the interviewer; that is, whether he agrees to be interviewed in the first place and, second, whether he is disposed to give accurate responses to the questions he is asked. The relationship which the interviewer succeeds in establishing with the respondent to a large extent determines the accuracy of the information the latter will supply. Moreover, the motivation established in one interview may help in gaining a second interview with the same individual, a matter of importance, since, more and more in sample surveys, the respondents are interviewed twice or more to shed light on trends.

Of course, we already know something about the public acceptance of the survey interview; for example, that the proportion who refuse to talk with the interviewer is rarely higher than 5 per cent, even in the

most complicated surveys. We know further that respondents do communicate readily with interviewers and that much of their information is highly accurate.

But does the respondent after the interview is over consider that it was a profitable and enjoyable experience and that some good was served by his participation? Is he mildly tolerant of the interviewer, or does he wish he had never been involved in the first place? Is he concerned lest the interview in some way be used against him? Further, does the reaction of respondents to interviewers and to interviews vary from topic to topic or from survey to survey, depending upon the subject matter, the sponsorship of the study, and the purpose of the study? To learn the respondents' perceptions of interviews and attitudes to having been interviewed, we used three different methods of investigation. The first consisted of a letter thanking the respondent for the interview and inclosing a post card asking if he wished to have a copy of the survey report. The bottom of the post card was left blank and headed with the word "comments." This procedure was used on three national surveys of the Survey Research Center.

A second method was used in four other surveys. A letter was sent to the respondent after the interview, and a questionnaire of ten questions was inclosed with a "thank-you" letter, questions asking the respondent about his reactions to the interview and his notions of it and the interviewer.

The third method was a personal interview with a subsample of respondents taken from a few days to two weeks after the original interview. It covered the same kind of questions that were asked in the mail ques-

¹ The research reported here is part of a larger study of factors related to interviewer effectiveness. This study was made possible by a grant from the University of Michigan's Faculty Research Fund.

tionnaire, namely, the reaction of the respondents to the interview, their perception of what the interview was about, and so forth. This method was used in a single survey, conducted in the Detroit area, Survey C.

The three methods were used to collect data in several surveys widely differing in subject matter. One, Survey A, was the Survey of Consumer Finances conducted by the Survey Research Center. In these surveys approximately three thousand interviews are taken in a national sample of cities and counties. The study consists largely of detailed financial questions on such matters as family income, liquid assets, past purchases, debts, and so forth. The interviews average about an hour in length, the range being from one-half hour in simple cases to two hours where the financial situation is complicated. The respondents are the heads of spending units (roughly equivalent to families); about 85 per cent of them were male respondents. About three-quarters of the interviewers were women.

The second, Survey B, had to do with plans for size of family. The respondents were women between eighteen and thirty-nine years old. All the interviewers were women. The subject matter covered plans and expectations of size of family, included detailed information on each of the respondent's pregnancies, family decisions on the number of children wanted and on contraceptive practices, and so forth. This study was conducted jointly by the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems and the Survey Research Center.

Survey C was conducted in the Metropolitan Detroit area. Approximately eight hundred interviews were taken. About two-thirds of the interviews were conducted by first-year graduate students who had been trained in interviewing, the remainder by professional interviewers.² The subject was decision-making within the family and the

relationship between the family and other social units. The interviews lasted approximately an hour.

Survey D, also part of the program of the Detroit Area Study, concerned aspects of community integration.

To the questionnaire mailed after the interview the highest response rate—approximately 80 per cent—was in Survey C. In Survey D it was 75 per cent. These were sent about a week after the interview. On the family study the questionnaire was sent three or four weeks after the interview was received, which means a month after the interview. The response rate for this study was about 40 per cent. On the Survey of Consumer Finances the questionnaires were sent even longer after the interview, and the rate of response dropped to about one-third. In previous years when post cards had been sent on the Survey of Consumer Finances, it had been about 50 per cent.

The number of mail questionnaires returned and included in the following analysis are: Survey A, 621; Survey B, 656; Survey C, 578; and Survey D, 521.

In order to have the mail questionnaire sufficiently short to fit conveniently on one page, two forms were used. Some questions appeared on both forms and some only on one. This means that some of the tables are based on about one-half the number of responses as reported in the tabulation above. Tables 2, 4, and 7 are based on the entire number and the remainder on one-half the number.

One of the questions was: "How interesting did you find the interview?" Table 1, summarizing the reaction of the respondents to all four studies, shows that a high proportion found the interview either very interesting or fairly interesting. The lowest response for these two categories was 91 per cent for the Survey of Consumer Finances (Survey A). The only difference of importance in this table is in the "Very interesting" category for the four studies: from one-half on the Survey of Consumer Finances to nearly two-thirds on the 1956 Detroit Area Study.

² This study was conducted as part of the Detroit Area Study, a graduate program of training and research of the department of sociology and the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan.

Of more importance, however, is the fact that the proportion of people finding the interview interesting varies but slightly from study to study, in spite of the wide variation in subject matter and the personal nature of some of the surveys. This lack of difference is surprising, the more so because, whereas the Survey of Consumer Finances consists almost entirely of questions asking for factual information, the other three surveys had a considerable number of open questions on personal attitudes.

One might expect that the response to the first question was motivated by politeness and that a more crucial question for measuring interest might be to ascertain how the respondent would feel about being reinterviewed. This query on the mail questionnaire read: "How would you feel about being interviewed again?" (Table 2).

Here, again, combining the first two categories in the table and looking only at those people who either would like or would not mind being interviewed again reveals little difference between the four studies. In each survey about three-quarters of the respondents report that they would be willing to be interviewed again. Some validation of these figures can be found in the proportion of people who do, in fact, grant reinterviews. A few years ago in the Survey of Consumer Finances 83 per cent of those interviewed permitted a second interview. This figure is generally corroborated in the experience of the Survey Research Center. The figures are roughly comparable to the proportion of respondents who *say* they would not mind being reinterviewed.

These two tables report a generally favorable response to the interviews which, however, varied greatly in the type of subject matter and in the amount of personal information asked for.

Next information on how the respondents conceive of the interview was sought as a means of understanding favorable reactions. In the follow-up of the Survey of Consumer Finances a "thank-you" letter was sent, together with a post card asking the respondent whether he wished a copy of the report.

About 50 per cent of the respondents responded by post card, and a high proportion asked for a copy of the report. Of course, the people who requested the report may well be different from those who did not. Sixty-five per cent of the post cards contained comments in the space provided for the purpose. A high proportion mentioned either the

TABLE 1
HOW INTERESTING DID YOU FIND
THE INTERVIEW?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
Very interesting....	49	61	59	63
Fairly interesting...	42	32	34	29
Not too interesting.	6	6	4	5
Not interesting at all	3	1	3	1
Did not answer.....	*	0	0	2
	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 of 1 per cent.

TABLE 2
HOW WOULD YOU FEEL ABOUT BEING
INTERVIEWED AGAIN?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
Would like to be interviewed again...	14	14	19	20
Wouldn't mind being interviewed again.	64	62	50	52
Would rather not be interviewed again.	14	17	22	20
Wouldn't want to be interviewed again.	8	7	6	7
Did not answer.....	0	0	3	1
	100	100	100	100

interviewer or the conducting of the interview rather than the content of the survey itself:

I found your interviewer most agreeable and courteous.

The interviewer who called on us was charming, just the right kind of a person for the work.

It was a fine interview. I thought it was interesting and worthwhile.

The very few critical comments were largely focused on the interviewer:

The interviewer could have been more adept at getting the information.

The purpose of the interview was never made clear to me, and I've wondered ever since what it was all about.

To the personal follow-up interviews conducted with a sample of respondents on the survey in Detroit came, in general, the same response, namely, that the respondents think of the interviewer rather than the content of the survey. The findings point to the importance of the relationship between interviewer and respondent. Adequate train-

of rapport are covered by these tables. The first is the impression that the interviewer was interested in what the respondent had to say. In each of the surveys nearly all the respondents felt their interviewer was at least fairly friendly, and most felt that he was very friendly.

Tables 5 and 6 are designed to show if the interviewer made the surveys clear to the respondent and whether the latter felt he was pressed into giving an interview.

In all surveys letters were sent to respondents prior to the interview stating the purpose of the study. In Survey A interviewers also were provided with reports of previous studies and with letters from the Federal Reserve Board, and a special attempt was made to gain newspaper publicity. It is not surprising, then, that the purpose of this survey was clearer to respondents than were the others. In Surveys B and C the sponsorship was less clear; there was no single sponsoring organization, and the purpose was

TABLE 3
HOW FRIENDLY WAS THE INTERVIEWER?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
Very friendly.....	84	85	85	85
Fairly friendly.....	13	15	15	13
Not too friendly....	1	0	*	2
Not friendly at all..	0	0	0	0
Did not answer.....	2	0	0	*
	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 of 1 per cent.

TABLE 4
HOW INTERESTED DID THE INTERVIEWER
SEEM IN WHAT YOU HAD TO SAY?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
Very interested.....	82	75	74	76
Fairly interested....	15	22	23	20
Not too interested..	2	2	2	3
Not interested at all.	1	1	1	*
Did not answer.....	*	0	*	1
	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 of 1 per cent.

ing and selection of the interviewers so that they will make the right impression on the respondents thus is a matter of first importance.

Several questions in the mail questionnaire of the four studies focused on the interviewer and the reaction of the respondents to him. Table 3 gives the answers to the query: "How friendly was the interviewer?" while Table 4 shows the tabulation of the question, "How interested did the interviewer seem in what you had to say?"

Two apparently essential characteristics

TABLE 5
HOW WELL DID THE INTERVIEWER SUCCEED
IN MAKING CLEAR TO YOU WHAT
THE STUDY WAS ABOUT?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
Very clear.....	83	70	67	71
Fairly clear.....	14	26	28	25
Not so clear.....	1	3	3	2
Not clear at all....	2	1	2	1
Did not answer.....	0	0	0	1
	100	100	100	100

also less specific. For example, why is information needed on family size? It is difficult to explain it briefly and explicitly to a respondent. In spite of this, however, most respondents thought they had either a fairly clear or a very clear understanding of the purpose.

Table 6 attempts to show whether or not the respondents felt pressure. Prior to the interview a letter stating the general purpose of the survey and saying that an interviewer would call was mailed to each respondent. In spite of this, the interviewer had to "sell" himself and the survey at the

door. Since the interviewer is highly motivated to obtain an interview with each potential respondent, one might expect the respondent to be aware at times of some pressure to grant it. It is, therefore, surprising that a high proportion of respondents reported feeling no pressure at all.

Table 7 shows answers to the question: "Were there any questions which you thought too personal or too prying?"

Survey A, it will be remembered, sought detailed financial information; Survey B, detailed accounts of pregnancies and family limitation; Survey C, details about family relations; and Survey D, facts about community integration. A sizable proportion in

personal, as a means of maintaining the enjoyable personal connection with the interviewer. One is struck in reading the comments in the follow-up interviews by the obvious pleasure in the relationship. There appears to be something of the cathartic element so common in psychotherapeutic interviews. The interviewer, establishing a permissive atmosphere, provides the respondent an opportunity to express himself to a receptive listener. Even though the topic

TABLE 6
DID YOU FEEL THAT YOU WERE BEING
"PRESSURED" INTO GIVING
AN INTERVIEW?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
No, not at all	85	87	81	84
Yes, to some extent . . .	12	13	15	13
Yes, very much so . . .	3	0	3	3
Did not answer	*	0	1	*
	100	100	100	100

* Less than 0.5 of 1 per cent.

each of the surveys thought some questions were too personal. In the questionnaire, though, no space was left for a response; a number of people wrote in questions which they considered too personal; in most cases questions on income were specified. In Survey B it was the questions having to do with techniques of family limitation.

It seems clear, therefore, that the respondent will give information which the interviewer desires, even though acutely

TABLE 7
WERE THERE ANY QUESTIONS WHICH YOU
THOUGHT WERE TOO PERSONAL
OR TOO PRYING?

	PER CENT			
	Survey A	Survey B	Survey C	Survey D
No	75	63	76	82
Yes	24	36	22	15
Did not answer	1	1	2	3
	100	100	100	100

is neither personal nor emotional, the respondent reacts positively.

It is interesting to speculate as to whether the respondent values the relationship with the interviewer sufficiently to take care to give an accurate report, knowing that in so doing he can best help him: if the relationship is viewed as positive, the respondent will probably not want to damage it or hurt the interviewer. There may be, of course, a point beyond which the information requested is a greater threat than the relationship permits, at which time the interview must either be broken off, the specific information refused, or the situation disguised by inadequate or inaccurate answers.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A CLASSIFICATION OF BIASED QUESTIONS¹

EUGENE LITWAK

ABSTRACT

Ad hoc rules on question wording (i.e., cautions against loaded, vague, double-barreled expressions) can be systematically defined by the constructs of latent structure analysis—dimension and trace line. Bias in questions may lie in too many, too few, or inappropriate dimensions; incorrect assumptions about the trace line; or combinations of the two. Such systematic definitions give more precise criteria for the construction of questions as well as clearer objectives for research on it.

During the course of the last twenty years the survey has been used increasingly as a method of sociological research. As a consequence of this approach to research, two important aspects of questionnaire construction have received increasing attention: (a) how to do away with questions which bring about biased results and (b) how to be sure responses to a series of questions order people in a meaningful way. The former inquiry has led to the elaboration of a series of *ad hoc* rules.² The latter inquiry has led to a series of systematic statements, with frequent excursions into mathematical models. In the present paper the attempt will be made to show that these two inquiries can be related to produce a systematic classification of biased questions.

BIAS IN QUESTIONS AS A FUNCTION OF PURPOSE

It is frequently stressed that the researcher should avoid phrasing which is "loaded," "double-barreled," or "vague," as inherently biasing. But, in reality, such so-called weaknesses are in certain contexts considered a blessing and a virtue. This fact

¹ Paper given at 1954 meeting of American Sociological Society. Acknowledgments are made to Peter Blau for his helpful comments.

² Arthur Kornhauser, "Constructing Questionnaires and Interview Schedules," in *Research Methods in Social Relations*, ed. Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch, and Stuart W. Cook (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), Part II: "Selected Techniques," pp. 423-62. This discussion is one of the best presentations of question bias, but even here one can see the essential *ad hoc* character of the rules.

is usually hidden because of the practice of using different names when a given question is used in a biasing as opposed to a non-biasing manner. It is not the wording of the questions but rather the purposes of the investigator and his manner of interpretation which interject the bias. (Throughout this paper descriptive terms such as "vagueness," "ambiguous," will refer to the respondent's view of the question.)

LOADED QUESTION VERSUS EXTREME ITEM

A typical loaded question is "Don't you agree that union leaders are racketeers?" This might be considered loaded because it presents the subject with only one choice—union leaders are racketeers—without suggesting the alternative, that they are honest men. It encourages a "Yes" answer in saying "Don't you agree" rather than "Do you agree or disagree, etc." For these reasons many who answer that union leaders are racketeers may really think that some are and some are not.

To what extent is the bias due to the wording? To answer this query let us consider the investigator who wants to construct a scale of attitudes which will differentiate those strongly favorable, at one extreme, from the strongly opposed, at the other. To isolate the pro-unionist, a question is needed which only he will answer, an extreme item. The foregoing question on union leaders might be useful for this end, since only the people who are strongly favorable to unions would reject it. The extreme item, as is well known, has a valuable place in

helping the social scientist to meet criteria of measurement.³

The very question which in one instance is said to be biased and loaded is considered valuable and an extreme item in another instance, since the bias in the first case is not a function of wording alone. In the first case the investigator implicitly wanted to divide his population at some theoretically neutral point; actually, he was dividing it at an extreme point. In the second, he wanted to divide it at an extreme point and did so. The bias in the first case arose in assuming that the question was meeting one purpose when it was actually meeting another.

Instead of recognizing the major role that purpose plays in defining bias, most investigators, when the question does not meet their purpose, describe it as a loaded question but call it an extreme item when it does. The emphasis is solely on the wording of the question, and the great family resemblance between the sentence structure of loaded questions and extreme items is not recognized.

VAGUE QUESTIONS VERSUS EXPLORATORY AND PROJECTIVE QUESTIONS

Investigators are frequently cautioned to avoid *ambiguous* or *vague* questions. Yet, for certain purposes, these are considered necessary, legitimate, and unbiased. For instance, the classic question, "Why did you buy a book?" is considered a vague question, likely to lead to bias. Lazarsfeld points out to his classes that it can have many different meanings. The respondent might interpret it as meaning "Why did the respondent rather than some other person buy the book?" or "Why did the respondent buy a book rather than clothing?" or "Why did he buy a murder mystery rather than poetry?" The unsuspecting investigator is liable to get any one of a host of responses, but if he is interested in only one of the several dimensions and not the others, it is quite likely that he will not get the answer he wants. What is the biasing factor?

Let us suppose the investigator is just starting his research and is uncertain

whether he has considered all pertinent variables. If, when he asks, "Why did you buy this book?" he were to get a large variety of responses, he would not consider the question vague or leading to bias. On the contrary, he would be pleased because a proper analysis of the responses would reveal that there are several considerations which he may have overlooked and which must be incorporated into study, e.g., who actually buys the books, what other items of consumption compete with books, what type of books compete with each other, etc. This analysis would aid him in defining his problem, selecting his variables for study, and designing his research more precisely.

Again, the wording of the question is exactly the same in both cases, yet in the first case it is considered biased and in the second not biased. The purpose of the investigator defines the bias. And yet he fails to recognize the fact because he uses the terms "vague" and "ambiguous" to describe the question when it does not fit his purpose, while calling it "exploratory" when it does.

How irrelevant the concept of vagueness is for defining bias becomes most apparent when one considers projective tests, the utility of which is based on their structural vagueness.

DOUBLE-BARRELED QUESTIONS VERSUS PREFERENCE SCALES

Double-barreled questions are frequently inveighed against as being inherently bad. Yet for certain purposes they are not. Many instructors in field methods would shudder if a respondent were asked: "Do you prefer tea and milk to coffee?" They would say that the investigator would never know what the answer means: whether the respondent preferred milk to coffee, tea to coffee, both to coffee, or neither to coffee. Yet Von Neumann and Morgenstern⁴ have

³ Louis Guttman, "Problems of Reliability," in *Measurement and Prediction*, ed. Samuel A. Stouffer (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), p. 287.

⁴ John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1947), chaps. i and ii.

shown that in certain circumstances this is the best question for isolating the individual's preference for tea, milk, and coffee.

MEASUREMENT THEORY AND A CLASSIFICATION OF ERRORS

What is the consequence of applying a pragmatic theory of bias to the construction of a questionnaire? If bias is a function not only of wording but also of purpose, must we redefine "bias" every time our research is for a new purpose? Must we settle, as we now do, for an *ad hoc* set of rules on question bias? Actually, contemporary theories of measurement provide a theoretical framework for classifying errors according to the investigator's purposes.

To illustrate this point the concepts of latent structure analysis will be used.⁵ (Lazarsfeld's constructs are purely illustrative: other measurement models might also be used.) For purposes of illustration we shall turn to the concepts of dimension⁶ and trace line. The dimension defines the content area of interest, while the trace line defines the probability that a person will say "Yes" to a given question at a given point on the dimension. What are the logical ways in which the questions might conflict with the investigator's purpose?

First, there are the errors which relate to the dimension. One such error occurs when the investigator's purpose calls for fewer dimensions than the question allows for. This is the typical error assigned to ambiguous questions; e.g., if the investigator were interested only in why people bought mystery books rather than poetry, the question "Why did you buy this book?" would lead to errors of this class.

⁵ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "The Logical and Mathematical Foundation of Latent Structure Analysis," in Stouffer, *op. cit.*, pp. 362 ff. The relation between theories of measurement and question bias was suggested by this work.

⁶ Carl G. Hempel, *Fundamentals of Concept Formation in Empirical Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952), pp. 58 ff.; S. S. Stevens, "On the Theory of Scales of Measurement," *Science*, CIII (1946), 677-80. These two readings discuss the logical requirements for the concept of dimension.

A second error of the dimension occurs when the investigator's purpose calls for more dimensions than the question allows for. This most frequently happens when the respondent is presented with a check list of responses which is not exhaustive. For instance, an investigator who is interested in why people buy houses, asks "Which of these reasons most closely approaches yours for buying a house?" and offers the following choices of answers: (a) the cost of the house was low; (b) the down payment was low; (c) it was easy to clean. Here he commits the error of too few dimensions. He has not offered the respondent such possible considerations as, for example, gaining prestige or living nearer to work.

A third error of dimension occurs when the investigator has the correct number of dimensions but the question yields the wrong one. Let us assume that the investigator wants to learn attitudes toward Dulles' policy in Korea. The question is asked, "Do you approve or disapprove of Dulles' policy in Korea?" If the vast majority of people are ignorant of his policy and if all they know is that Dulles is a Republican and they answer accordingly, the respondents have answered in terms of one dimension, but it is the wrong one.

These three errors are the effect of taking two properties of the dimension: the number and the content. There may be more or fewer dimensions than are desired, and they may have the wrong content. The three errors of dimension enumerated here are the combinations of these two properties which have pragmatic meaningfulness. Other properties of the dimension are involved in errors, such as assuming erroneously that there is a zero point, that points are equidistant from one another, or that there is a ratio scale. For the most part, students of method have not explicitly examined these errors. They are very commonly involved in questions which allow for degrees of response, e.g., agree very much, agree somewhat, indifferent, disagree, disagree very much.

The error of the dimension is nearly al-

ways implied in the error of the trace line. Yet the trace-line error can exist when the dimension error does not. The trace-line error consists in the erroneous conception of shape. One such error is brought about when the purpose of the investigator demands that the population be divided at one point, but, instead, he divides it at another. As already mentioned, this is usually what is

ist, he might ask: "Sometimes union leaders are racketeers and sometimes they are not. Do you agree or disagree?" Tabulated responses to this statement might form a bell-shaped trace line: those in the middle of the dimension who are neither very pro-union nor very anti-union would agree with the statement, while the extremely opposed would disagree: they feel all union leaders are

TABLE 1
A SYSTEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF BIASED QUESTIONS

ERRORS OF THE TRACE LINE*	ERRORS OF DIMENSION*			Correct Content and Right Number of Dimensions
	Incorrect Content and Too Many Dimensions	Incorrect Content and Too Few Dimensions	Incorrect Content but Right Number of Dimensions	
Reverse ranking— assuming a mon- otonically in- creasing trace line when have non-monotonic	†	†	†	Assuming that an item like "Some- times union lead- ers are racketeers and sometimes not" will divide people into pro and con when ac- tually it puts the very pro and very con together
Errors of cutting points or errone- ously assuming that the trace line divides the population at a certain point	†	†	†	Loaded questions where one wants to divide the pop- ulation at a neu- tral point and ac- tually divides it at an extreme, and vice versa
Assume correct trace line	Such a question as "Why did you buy a book" when only interested in who buys rather than what is bought	In a structured question give a person a check list which does not cover all al- ternatives	Asking a question "Do you approve Dulles' foreign policy" and get- ting responses based solely on political affilia- tion	Unbiased question

* This classification is illustrative rather than definitive. For instance, other errors of the trace line which might be included are assuming that the trace line is continuous when actually it is discrete or assuming that it forms more or fewer discrete classes than it actually does.

† These have not been illustrated, since they are a simple combination of the errors of the trace line and dimension which are illustrated in the outer column and row.

meant by a "loaded" question: it cuts at the extreme rather than the center of the scale.

Another error is that in which the investigator's purpose calls for a ranking of the respondents (i.e., a monotonically rising trace line), yet the question actually reverses the ranking (i.e., a bell-shaped trace line). For instance, if the student wants to divide the population into those who are pro-unionist and those who are anti-union-

racketeers. People who are extremely pro-union will also disagree because they believe no union leader is a racketeer. If the investigator used this question to order people in terms of their favorableness to the union leader, he would be lumping the extremely anti-union with the extremely pro-union people.

With the present theories of measurement one may point out systematically ways

of discovering and classifying all types of biased questions. Table 1 illustrates such a classification.

Why would one introduce the ideas of purpose and systematic classification into the problem of biased questions? Perhaps one major reason is to point out that empirical research on the problem must be re-examined from a slightly different perspective. No longer do we say a given type of question is "good" or "bad." The search for the "perfect" question which is not loaded, double-barreled, or vague becomes trivial under this

new formulation. Rather we ask what kind of trace line does a question have—linear or bell-shaped? How many dimensions does it allow for, etc.? For what purposes is each of these questions useful? A systematic classification of question structure into these categories, based on empirical research, would be of great value in inquiries in social science. It is only by such empirical research that the construction of questionnaires can be turned from an art to a science.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INTERVIEWING FRENCHMEN

DANIEL LERNER

ABSTRACT

Interviewing Frenchmen poses for the American researcher special psychocultural problems. The pervasive skepticism in their "national character" is exhibited in a highly defensive personal style. Many reject role-playing questions to avoid exposing the secrets of the self to strangers. Their national traits have been institutionalized by a variety of distance-maintaining mechanisms, such as conventions of courtesy which ritualize interpersonal relationships and enable persons to keep at a distance without being rude. Ritual in their common perspectives and practices complicates the problem of initial contact in interviewing. But, thereafter, it tends to become a free-flowing conversation, and the interviewer figures as a participant personality rather than as a response-recording machine.

When a Frenchman answers the telephone, he says, "Je vous écoute." In this way he takes up a position of defense against the unknown interlocutor at the other end of the line. This is not a formula of timidity. The French are trained in verbal facility, and their discourse often has rather the character of aggression. But they want to have the adversary clearly defined before attacking. The defensive posture and the need for a clearly defined object of aggression are conjoined in their personal strategy.

Frenchmen are aware that defensiveness is a highly developed trait of the national character. To the greeting on the street, "Comment va?" one is likely to receive the ironic reply, "On se défend." In this slightly mocking fashion, with their special gift of self-conscious clarity, the French take note of a profound trait. For, while each nation shapes its own image in the world, no country has done this so effectively as France. The stereotypes spread around the world—ranging from exquisite courtesy to political degeneracy—bear the trade mark: "Made in France." No other people in modern history have talked so much and so well about their own qualities and defects. What foreigners have "discovered" about France in the past several generations often turns out to be the banalities of the Parisian workshops of world publicity.

Defensive remarks greeted me when I arrived in September, 1954, to start interviewing Frenchmen of the elite on a large scale.

What could one learn from such interviews? Besides, how could it be done? There was universal doubt about the value and the feasibility of the enterprise. The French, I was told, would never talk to a stranger with no other claim to their confidence than that of interviewer.

Now, two years later, we have in fact managed to complete over fifteen hundred prolonged interviews with Frenchmen of very high standing. We have recorded the responses short and long, candid and evasive, ironical and impassioned, which they made to an array of questions on subjects ranging from current political issues to abiding personal perspectives. To these questions have responded, in round figures, five hundred top businessmen, three hundred leading intellectuals, three hundred political leaders (including all but one of the postwar prime ministers and foreign ministers), a hundred high civil servants representing *les grands corps de l'État*, a hundred senior military men, a hundred clerical and lay spokesmen of the church, and a hundred officials of the labor and farmers' unions.

Two sectors that have remained largely, but not entirely, impenetrable are the headquarters of the Communist party and of the Catholic church. Other leading figures, our present concern, were only too willing to talk. The trick was to get them started; but, once started, how they talked! The average length of the fifteen hundred interviews was

over two hours, and a substantial number of them ran toward eight hours. (The same interview schedule in England, incidentally, averaged a bit over one hour and was fully answered.) Rather often the interviewer was requested to return two and even three times by respondents eager to have their full say. Occasionally, the interviewer was invited to come to the respondent's house after dinner and was offered coffee and liqueur, and the interview—taking rather the form of an internal dialogue uttered aloud—continued to midnight. It happened on such occasions that the interviewer was thanked for providing an opportunity to reflect on vital matters that ought to be part of one's "normal" preoccupations.

The essential is that, once engaged, the Frenchman talked volubly. But, to engage him, one had to scale the defensive wall (*franchir le mur*). French defensiveness does not mean that interviewing in France is impossible but only that it is more likely to succeed if it takes account of the special characteristics of French discourse. This involved us in more elaborate question-wording, pretesting, and sampling procedures than are usually required in other countries.

The initial skepticism had the great value of imposing prudence. Our first approaches to interviewing were modest, tentative, apologetic. Trial-and-error, hit-and-miss (what the French love to call "l'empirisme anglo-saxon"), finally produced a workable formula. To a prospective respondent the interviewer explained that his Institute had undertaken a study of attitudes of the elite. As Frenchmen do not respond readily to such demands, he continued, we were seeking the counsel of specially qualified persons: "Would you be so kind as to review with us the questionnaire we propose to use and give us the benefit of your criticisms? In responding yourself, you could explain which questions a Frenchman would be likely to resist and why, which questions would draw ambiguous or evasive responses that could not be properly interpreted, and which questions could be altered in such way as to require reflective rather than merely stereotyped answers."

RITUALIZATION: "LES FORMULES DE POLITESSE"

By casting the interviewee in the role of expert consultant, we gave him the opportunity to indulge in a favorite indoor sport—generalizing about Frenchmen.¹ This exercise suggested procedures that were, in fact, used in subsequent interviewing. More important, it provided us with a comprehensive set of French images of the French. How Frenchmen see each other—this became the starting point of our inquiry of how they see the world around them. Their comments clarified, for example, the psycho-cultural role of French conventions of courtesy. The highly elaborated set of *formules de politesse* is an elegant way of maintaining proper distance between individuals. By comparison with the American desire for quick intimacy, for promptly reaching a first-name basis, there is a general appreciation in France of the reserved person. The mark of a person *bien élevé*, raised with a proper sense of right conduct, is *la réserve*. A rule that governs personal relations in France is: "Il faut garder ses distances." It is generally believed that a person is likely to suffer if, *par manque de réserve*, he exposes himself to the will and way of others.

The distance-maintaining mechanisms tend to ritualize relationships between the individual and his environment. There is an established code of behavior in most matters of daily routine. French gastronomy is a case. *La cuisine française* is widely recognized as a high order of artistic achievement, but its ritual characteristics are less widely noted. Frenchmen tend to be rigid in all matters associated with feeding. There is practically no variation in *les heures de repas* of any region, whereas for many non-Frenchmen feeding at precisely the same hour each day is associated rather with the zoo. There is little deviation as to which wine goes with which food, and few venture from established rules in order to "try something different." Even the conception of a

¹ The largest daily newspaper, *France-Soir*, has recently launched a huge giveaway contest for the best description of how the French see themselves: "Les Français vus par eux-mêmes" (April, 1956).

well-composed meal (*repas bien composé*) is a distinctly Gallic idea with certain fixed features.

The French desire for an environment arranged in a stable fashion, with familiar routines defined by recognizable limits, manifests itself also on questions of public consequence. Typical expressions of distaste for innovation are "Pas de surprise!" and "Pas d'aventure!" People reared in a tradition which values adventure often fail to notice this systematic French distrust of whatever is new and strange. Yet it underlies a variety of otherwise inexplicable phenomena.

IMMOBILITY: "LE REFUS DE S'ENGAGER"

Take the notorious case of French politics. During the past several years the government has suffered from a sustained incapacity to act decisively. Characteristically, the French themselves first found *le mot juste* to describe this situation: *l'immobilisme*. Political immobility became pervasive when France was confronted by a new and strange set of demands. The major test was the European Defense Community, the manifest subject of our study, which asked nothing less than that Frenchmen henceforth reconceive their political identity as European. There were better reasons for hesitation than most Americans recognize. But to prolong the issue over four years before they finally rejected an idea they had themselves created was peculiarly characteristic of French politics. Perhaps its sublime expression was the declaration of M. Antoine Pinay, former prime minister and minister of foreign affairs: "Je suis autant que personne partisan du mouvement, mais j'entends qu'il ne débouche pas sur l'aventure" ("I'm as much as anyone for movement, but I don't want it to lead us into adventure").² France has become a land in which "surprise" and "adventure" are pejorative words.³

Underlying this view of political action is a more general perspective, an ontology,

² *Le Monde*, December 10, 1955.

³ See D. Lerner and R. Aron (eds.), *La Querelle de la C.E.D.* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1956).

that has been worked into the French sensibility. Frenchmen commonly perceive the environment as more detached and remote from themselves than do, say, Americans. The external world possesses for them rather definite characteristics, including a capacity for action which is independent of the will of particular human beings. Ordinary French conversation produces an array of phrases which express this idea. One speaks often, for example, of "la force des choses," a phrase rarely heard in America, where it is regarded as defeatist rather than realist. Another way of referring to the external world as possessing a reality independent of human effort is the phrase "les choses sont ce qu'elles sont." This perspective tends to disengage the individual from great public issues and events. It attenuates political life by a widespread *refus de s'engager*, which constricts the universe of affectivity and limits personal involvement with *la chose publique*. The Frenchman who maintains distance from his fellows by the *formules de politesse* also maintains distance from events by learning early how to restrict involvement of his ego. There is in France, still, a prevalence of what David Riesman calls "inner direction." The self (*le soi*) remains very profoundly a *territoire sacré*. Even in technical psychology the vocabulary for describing the self-system and its manifold operations is underdeveloped.

PRIVATE FACES IN PUBLIC PLACES

The sanctity of the ego is also evident on the sociological level. There are, for example, very few magazines devoted to scandal. The French are not devoid of interest in the private lives of others. But the rules of the game limit morbid curiosity to the mischief done by people who are dead, to yesterday's murder. One sees few periodicals such as *Confidential* which specialize in sordid details about the daily lives of living people. The few Frenchmen with an excessive taste for this sort of thing read American movie magazines. An opinion poll determined that the marriage of Prince Rainier and Grace Kelly, a focus of passionate American attention, did not interest 84 per

cent of the French public. On two subsequent questions, whether the prince was right to marry Grace and vice versa, about 50 per cent of the respondents were so indifferent as to have no opinion either way.

A further sociological consequence of the *refus de s'engager* is the relative scarcity of voluntary organizations in France as compared with the massive American proliferation of channels whereby individuals engage themselves in public enterprise. The absence of active civic participation is evident in all social classes in France: there are very few "clubs" of the sort developed by the upper social groups in Britain; among the middle class there are few parallels of Rotary, Kiwanis, and Lions. Certainly such institutions as the Parent-Teachers' Association, the League of Women Voters, and the Association of University Women have no opposite numbers among a people whose women remain firmly rooted in their primordial sexual role. Among the working class only the labor union has made any headway, but even it hardly touches the French worker in his daily life—offering him neither educational opportunities, recreational facilities, consumers' co-operatives, nor social diversions. These varieties of the participant life do not flourish because Frenchmen are repelled by "groupism." One guards his inner privacy, the mastery of his individuality (*maîtrise de soi*), by a resolute *méfiance* toward others.

THE METAPHYSICS OF PRIVATIZATION

Once the conventions of privacy have been breached, the interviewer must still deal with the special French conventions of cognition. The metaphysics which endows the external world with activist attributes of its own also creates new problems of question formulation for an American accustomed to more empirical habits of thought. In our earliest interviews I was baffled by the recurrent request from respondents to state precisely various questions that seemed to me already precise. It required much conversation and reflection before I realized that, for the French, precision has a quite different and special meaning, a literally

Cartesian meaning. What makes questions "precise" for Frenchmen is their capacity to frame the object of reference in a specific context ("bien délimité, dans un cadre qui lui est propre"). The object of reference, to be clear, must be perceived as *discrète*—with external boundaries sharply defined ("circonscrire l'objet"—in the conventional vocabulary of French philosophy).

French insistence upon a discrete, disengaged object of reference underscores their revulsion against relationships without clearly perceived boundaries. The language abounds in pejorative expressions to express this horror of inadequate distantiation—"dans le jus," "dans le sirop," "dans la soupe." These images convey vividly the sense that fluidity (*des idées flouées*) is the enemy of clarity. Other expressions of distaste for "fuzziness" are "dans le cirage," "dans le coton," and "dans la vaseline," where the soft and shapeless mass without defined margins provides the antonym of clarity and precision. Proper perception of persons and objects requires that one can "see all around them" and thereby position one's self at an appropriate distance.

Associated with this Cartesian version of objectivity is an array of traits which the French attribute to themselves. One fixed self-image is that Frenchmen are *réalistes*. This finds varied expression in the phrases used to praise one's compatriots. The French are "hardheaded" (*réfractaires*). They do not "kid themselves" (*pas d'illusions*). Or, as one of our "consultants" phrased it, "Les Français n'aiment pas se raconter des histoires." This realism is associated intimately with another self-ascribed trait—skepticism. A person who holds optimistic views on practically any subject is sure to lose his illusions (*prendre un coup dur*). In popular parlance the man who buys the Brooklyn Bridge is a "soft fruit" (*une poire*), who gets universal derision with little of the underlying sympathy of Americans for the "sucker." For the Frenchman, *une vache à lait* ("softie") is strictly *un pauvre type*, and "tant pis pour lui!" ("too bad for him!"). After all, "il faut savoir se défendre!" ("one must defend one's self!").

Another such nuance is the famous French *méfiance*. Every approach from "the outside" must be regarded with suspicion by a person in his right mind. The prudent posture, when confronted by any new and strange proposition, is defense: "On veut m'avoir" ("They're trying to do me"). The safest way to defend one's self, naturally, is a refusal to participate at all ("Je ne marche pas"), thereby avoiding the risk of *l'aventure*. And the danger of *l'aventure*, among people whose defensive shell often protects a wistful interior, is that one would be disappointed. It seems specially important to avoid deprivation ("Ne pas être déçu"). And the famous French pessimism is, at bottom, a defensive measure for avoiding future deprivation by maintaining deliberately low expectations.

CHARACTER AND QUESTIONNAIRES

The influence of such a posture upon the interview is illustrated by a respondent who served us as "consultant." Director of an important national research organization, with long experience in survey work, this man seemed perfect for our purpose. Indeed, he gave us many practical suggestions for question-wording, which helped us to avoid the vague and achieve the "precise." At five different questions scattered through our interview schedule, however, this man threw up his hands in utter contempt and despair. "You will never get any Frenchman to answer questions like these," he declared, without explaining why. These were the questions:

1. If you were *président du conseil* [prime minister], what would be the main lines of your policy?
2. If you had to live in another country, which one would you choose?
3. If you had your life to live over again, what sort of life would you want?
4. Who are the most enviable people in the world? Why?
5. What functions do you think you could fill in a Communist France?

What these questions have in common is that they ask the interviewee to imagine himself in a situation other than his real one

(i.e., role-playing questions). Such a game is regarded as frivolous, not worth the attention of Frenchmen, who are "*des gens sérieux*." In our original schedule these questions appeared at scattered points in a battery of about one hundred items, yet our consultant spontaneously reacted to each as "impossible." They were bound to provoke resistance among people who consider as their strongest traits realism, skepticism, and mistrust. And indeed they did, many interviewees regarding them as merely silly: "De la blague!" "De la fantaisie pure!"

An instructive study could be made of the diverse ways in which people of different cultures respond to empathic questions of this sort. Such questions are handled with greater facility by people habituated to ready ego-involvement with the new and strange, who are closer than the French are to other-directed personalities, and who, having a less stable or less rigid conception of themselves and their proper conduct in the world, show a more supple capacity for rearranging their self-system upon short notice.

A clear difference in the capacity to empathize emerged during an interviewing program conducted in the Middle East six years ago. There it was possible to differentiate the Traditionalists (tradition- and inner-directed respondents) by their total incapacity to answer such questions as "What would you do if you were president of Syria?" By contrast, the Moderns (other-directed respondents) seemed to experience no difficulty whatsoever when asked what they would do as editor of a newspaper or as leader of their country or if they had to live in another country. There is a vast psychic difference between the illiterate and untutored traditionalism of the Middle Eastern peasant and the traditionalism which prevails among the contemporary elite of France. The Frenchman has acquired his traditionalism as an intellectual discipline and an explicit psychic code. He is taught from childhood an articulate conception of *le bonheur* and a system of appropriate behavior designed to maximize his satisfactions. Whereas the Arab peasant usually has

no sense of possible alternatives to his traditional ways but simply "does what comes naturally," the Frenchman has a very sophisticated rationale for his conduct. He not only is quite aware of other ways of behaving but can (and usually does) tell you with the greatest clarity why his way is better than any other.

The personality associated with traditionalism takes a quite different turn, then, among the French. Theirs is the sort of individualism which flowered in the eighteenth century, that great psychohistorical epoch of inner direction. It explains why Frenchmen often accuse Americans, who think of themselves as the world's greatest individualists, of a "manque d'individualisme." For contemporary Americans, individualism implies non-conformism; expressing one's self is doing something just a little differently from the other fellow. For Frenchmen, individualism lives quite comfortably with a massive conformism. Their underlying principle is much older: not to do some things a little differently (on the contrary, most Frenchmen do most ordinary things of daily life in quite the same way) but rather not to do very many things at all. In the eyes of Frenchmen the American loses individuality by identifying himself too readily with other persons, by associating himself too intensely with public causes, and by joining too many organizations.

POLITICS AND PROCEDURES

French *méfiance* has been fortified by their recent political history. The crushing humiliation of defeat in 1940 led to a vast upheaval in traditional family life. Millions were locked into military prisoner-of-war camps, forced-labor camps, or concentration camps. Others joined the active resisters of the *maquis* or went into hiding in southern France, and still others left metropolitan France altogether. Displaced from their normal routines of home, family, work, and leisure, two common elements pervaded the conscience of Frenchmen who lived through these years: national degradation by German military might and—perhaps more pro-

found—the Vichy spectacle of Frenchmen turning against Frenchmen.

The mark left by these events was still visible in the course of our interviewing program. There was, particularly in the early months, a great distrust of unknown interviewers asking questions, even though all our interviewers were French. Several interviewees mentioned that the last time they had been approached in such a manner was under Vichy, and some told of the dire consequences which befell persons who had been indiscreet enough to answer questions truthfully.

To cope with political *méfiance* of this explicit sort, we were obliged to take reassuring measures. We constituted a *comité de patronage* composed of Frenchmen of high national reputation. Each interviewer was equipped with a personal letter signed by the president of our committee, introducing him to the interviewee and reassuring the latter that his answers to our questions would be held in the strictest confidence. The system of filing and coding our interviews was explained, so that the interviewee would suffer no anxiety as a result of having spoken candidly. On very many occasions this letter was preceded or followed by a telephone call from a member of our *comité de patronage* or from a person of high standing whose confidence we had gained.

These measures were productive. Persons who earlier had been unwilling to receive our interviewers, or reticent about answering their questions, now began to talk more freely. As our engaging of respondents gathered momentum, we resumed asking "indiscreet" questions which earlier had seemed wholly impossible; for example, "What functions could you fill in a Communist France?" Our successes were only partial. We had opened doors leading to spokesmen of those social formations which constitute the political Center and Right—businessmen, high civil servants, military leaders, even chiefs of the non-Communist trade unions. But we made little headway on the Left, a sector of the attitudinal continuum which is inadequately interpreted even in France and

which reaches far beyond the Communist party and fellow travelers.

There exists in France a pervasive political sentiment called *gauchisme* (Leftism). It is a sentiment because it entails no specific judgments on specific issues but expresses rather a diffuse general hostility to the powers that be and things as they are. One approximation of a psychological definition of this sentiment was sketched by Albert Camus in *L'Homme révolté*, with reference to "the alienated intellectual." But the special importance of *gauchisme* in France is rather its sociological diffusion; types of Frenchmen have been affected by chronic oppositionism who, in other countries, are conservative or have no clearly defined political sentiment at all (e.g., army officers, civil servants, and sons of rich businessmen). A systematic sociology of the diffusion of *gauchisme* in France would do much to explain the French incapacity to act decisively on critical public issues during the last two decades.

It was among these *gauchisants* that our inquiry encountered the most widespread suspicion and resistance. We had decided, early in the game, that complete candor on the sponsorship of our study was essential. Our interviewers had been instructed to specify that the inquiry was jointly sponsored by French and American universities and that an American professor was a member of the scientific committee directing the study. The impact of this disclosure upon French *gauchisants* was strong enough to draw caustic remarks, to limit responsiveness, and, in some cases, to elicit a complete refusal. Some *gauchisants* who responded, as it turned out, framed their remarks primarily to cause anguish to the American professor—a performance frequent among respondents who take their *gauchisme* lightly. More committed Leftists not only refused to answer at all but in some cases went further. We were reported to the weekly journal *L'Express*, a leading mouthpiece of *gauchisme*, and for most of a week were haunted by a young reporter determined to denounce and destroy our enter-

prise. Several hours of explaining carefully our interview schedule, our sampling procedure, and our modes of analysis failed to persuade her that it would be impossible for us to derive information useful to the police, French or American. It was perfectly clear to the reporter that there must be some hidden trick; once I was an American, the enterprise was necessarily a maneuver of the Right and, *ipso facto*, despicable.

The extreme *gauchisant* went even further. In two regions we were denounced to the departmental *préfet*. Our interviewers there reported that, unless we could clear matters with the *préfet*, their usefulness would be at an end. In Paris we were subjected to two visits by agents of the D.S.T. (Défense de la Sécurité du Territoire, the French FBI). These persons scrutinized very carefully our intentions and procedures but, most particularly, our affiliations in France. We were able to surmount those inquiries, as those of the regional *préfets*, only because our *comité de patronage* was composed of Frenchmen of impeccable standing.

REJECTION AND RECEPTION: ATTITUDES TOWARD INTERVIEWERS

Interviewing Frenchmen thus involves a number of special problems derived from the national character, reinforced by behavioral codes and social institutions, which became acute under current political conditions. Making initial contact is complicated by the distance-maintaining mechanisms which compose the code of courtesy. The *formules de politesse* serve as index and agent of French distrust of the strange, their identification of security with privacy. Most refusals were based squarely upon the feeling that such an interview was an unwarranted intrusion into their personal affairs. Few said simply "No!" Rather more evaded a flat refusal by having their secretaries phone to postpone the rendezvous indefinitely as a less rude rejection. But, of those who explained instead of evading their refusal, many said: "This is not my concern!" "My opinions would not interest you!" "I do not know your Institute!" "Could you have

Monsieur X [a member of our committee known to him] phone me to explain your purpose and introduce you?" To scale the defensive wall was not at all, among Frenchmen, a routine matter.

Once received, however, the interviewer figured as a person rather than a faceless machine for recording a one-way flow of short answers. Quite often, before granting a rendezvous, the interviewee specified that, if this was "a Gallup" (i.e., "Yes"—"No" contact poll), he was not interested. He would, however, be willing to discuss some of the important questions mentioned. In such discussions the interviewer figured as a respected specialist. His own opinions on the questions, and on the respondent's expressed views, were usually solicited. This was partly a gesture of courtesy but mainly an expression of the profound preference for the dialogue in French discourse.

The impact of the interviewer as person was especially dramatic among Leftists, who are perhaps more richly endowed with the manipulative inclinations of the propagandist. Quite often a Leftist who began by refusing an interview sponsored by "the Americans," and berating the interviewer for using his talents under such auspices, would be drawn into heated discussion of the specific questions. After several hours of such dialogue, which furnished some extremely rich data, he might conclude by inviting the interviewer to have a drink—over which, if a relentless ideologue, he might advise the interviewer to quit this job and take more respectable employment.

The insistence upon a highly participant interviewer—one who relieved the respondent's anxieties about "giving" by giving himself—gradually reshaped the basic format of our interview. In the early phase a particularly gifted and versatile member of the interviewing team had tried out a variety of roles, ranging, as he put it, from the *lampiste* ("poor slob") to the *gavroche* ("dead-end kid"). His experiments indicated that the preferred role was that of the competent specialist, who, maintaining a posture of self-respect, exhibited the expect-

tation that he would accord and receive respect from others. It was less effective, for example, to say, "Please answer my questions, or I will lose my job," than to say, "I am obliged to ask you a number of questions, but you are obliged to answer only those you choose." Such formulas seemed to define the relationship and distance between interviewer and interviewee in a manner liberating to respondents anxious about "engaging" themselves in this strange situation.

A WORD ON METHOD

As we moved from pretesting into the main phase of interviewing, the highly structured questionnaire with which we began became a minimally directive dialogue in the format of a free-flowing conversation. This transformation of the schedule reduced the utility of precoding and other mechanical devices for assuring uniform reporting. Instead, we used more personal procedures for testing interviewer reliability—mainly, brief daily meetings between the research director and each interviewer and a weekly three-hour meeting attended by all interviewers. At each session detailed discussion of the new interviews gradually produced clarity and consensus on the permissible range of variation in wording questions and recording responses.

The consistency developed thereby was demonstrated in the subsequent coding phase, when extremely high rates of speed and reliability were obtained by the former interviewers acting as coders. While lacking the elegant simplicity of objective procedures, the method of continuous personal confrontation had an extra educational value. In a posttesting phase, now in progress, interviewers have been permitted to develop an independent battery of questions to test the several hypotheses developed hitherto. Their results suggest that they have acquired a mastery of the entire project at least equal to that of the research director's and have jumped ahead to designing the next steps in a sequential theoretical structure.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY

INTERVIEWING NEGRO PENTECOSTALS

NICHOLAS VON HOFFMAN AND SALLY W. CASSIDY

For over a year our team of researchers busied themselves studying a Negro Pentecostal church in Chicago. Our first contact with it was accidental. We stumbled across it, learned a little something about it, and then decided to take time to learn more. So it was that at the commencement of our activities our intentions were hidden. We had come as any other potential converts might and were treated as such. At this stage of things we resembled no one so much as a detective or a spy.

We discovered, however, that we were capable of playing that game for a decidedly limited time. Far from being the completely malleable tools of the social sciences we had previously considered ourselves, we found posing as something we were not almost unbearable. The detective is perhaps fortified with social sanctions, but we found the values we espoused as sociologists did not do the same for us. As we got in deeper, the thought that we were invading other people's private domains grew so strong that we were virtually forced to uncover our identities and our true purpose. There were practical considerations, too. Even if we became church members, adopted by the inner circle, we would never be able to give tests, examine records, and do the many other things we wanted to do unless it was known that we were sociologists making a study.

When the time came to change our role and proclaim our intentions, we were very nervous. It seemed to us that we would be "unmasking" ourselves as false pretenders. But the crisis came and went uneventfully. The church people were delighted to be studied, and apparently delighted to be studied by us.

The point nicely illustrates a dilemma participant-observers may often find themselves in, for, though they understand and catch most of what is going on around them,

they may have the greatest difficulty in seeing their own place in the setting. We were filled with the thought of conducting the study, and in that frame of mind we entered the church; since we were concerned with the whole church and were looking at the whole social edifice, it was simple to assume the whole church was looking back at us. In point of fact the relationship was not reciprocal. We had simply made grazing contact with a few of the people, and none with the rest. From their point of view we had practiced no deception but had merely gotten to know a few people before coming forth with the proposal to conduct a study.

Participant-observation has been described as the business of being a professional fifth wheel, and one of the elements the observer has to struggle to control within himself is the feeling that he is a superfluous entity. If the feeling becomes too sharp, he may begin to mistake the real potentialities of his position. Detectives learned long ago to make sure at least a few people outside the police force know who they are, and as such they can be thought of as one of a class of people to whom information is given. We possess many lightning rods of information: ministers, politicians, lawyers, and newspapermen to name a few that come immediately to mind. For the observer who is perplexed over his position, this way of looking at things can be more than a comfort; it can be a base upon which to build. He will be dealing with people long accustomed to treating with individuals who are receivers of information, but the observer may consider himself too different from other receivers of information. The others have an easily apprehended purpose and a context for their information-gathering.

Looking back over our months spent in the church, it seems clear that we also had a context, although there was a long period

during which we failed to see it. To understand the part we could play in the church, it is necessary to realize how we appeared to the church people. Had we debouched from a rocket ship and announced we were tourists from the moon, our reception might have been not altogether different. There was no hiding the fact that we were white, that we were very middle-class, and that we lived in some other universe. But, by being so different, we facilitated their thinking of us as neutrals, that is, as people who could not offer any of them serious competition, who had never played a part in old factions, feuds, and social history. As such it was easy for them to treat us as judges of a sort, and in fact for many it was a temptation not to be resisted. Once it was clear we were relatively untainted by the passions which work white men so violently, we could be mute courts of appeal that never render unfavorable decisions and which entertain almost any motion.

When an observer is studying a small group, he alone is sufficient to do the job, but a large institution like our church, with its congregation of more than a thousand, its sister churches, its bishops and national hierarchy, is another undertaking. Conceivably one man working for an extended time might have covered the waterfront, but he would have had to overcome some really formidable obstacles. If he presented himself as a highly placed person, a "professor" or somebody who had sufficient status to take the bishop or the important ministers to lunch, how would he get along with the little people? There is the more perplexing question of trying to get around the tendency to reveal certain kinds of information to people of high status and other kinds to people of low status. One man attempting our study would have had the double problem of absorbing masses of material and of working himself into a position to get at it so he could absorb it. He would have had to be all things to all people.

Our team had a council of war and decided on deploying ourselves out on a diagonal line. At one end, two of us with no status would attempt to gain a position in the

group's center; in the middle would be someone with more status but not so far into the center of things, and outside would be a person with a great deal of prestige. The person at the bottom of the diagonal had made the first contact, and, as he successively introduced the other team members, he presented them as increasingly more important people. By and large the scheme seems to have worked well. Our team members of low status got on intimate terms with people all over the church up and down the social hierarchy, spent long hours in their homes, visiting and becoming really close friends and confidants. Those of us with higher status developed few close personal ties, and those were of less intensity, but they were in a position to request and cross-question sharply, to introduce tests and questionnaires, and, in general, to behave without the diffidence that circumscribes our treatment of our friends. The kind of information gathered by the people along our diagonal line differed also. The observers at the bottom got the informal information; they saw what people did as opposed to what they claimed they did. The team members at the line's apex, of course, got a lot of official information, but, in addition, they were shown the people's image as the people had idealized it.

Though our plan worked fairly well, it placed a grave strain on the research group's members. The persons doing the participant-observation were plunged into a strange, not always congenial, world for long periods of time. If for months one is part of a world he is not really part of, knowing all the time that his own "people" are a short streetcar ride away, he endures a number of mental states no observer bargains for when he begins. Then there is one's relations with fellow team members. It is all very well to agree that So-and-so shall play the role with low status, but So-and-so does not come from a social vacuum. Being low man can be irritating. The team members who play the other role also have their hands tied in some uncomfortable ways. No doubt there is some satisfaction in being heralded as "the professor," the expert, but one is also a social

scientist who presumably wishes to get closer to that pile of tempting data. In conjunction with some of the other strains our researchers were subjected to, we must admit in retrospect that the work was very arduous at times.

Naturally none of us were touched with the more obvious symptoms of racial prejudice. All of us had had Negro friends and acquaintances, and some had had considerable experience working with other racial groups, so that, when we began our work, we thought our impartiality would not be challenged. Nevertheless, after we had become immersed in our work, several of us found ourselves really irritated and annoyed at what we beheld. Our training had left its mark on us to the extent we could not indulge in damning emotional statements, but there were times when we felt very much like making them. To use the language of the novelist, we felt as though we were racists, as though we might be anti-Negro without our having done or said anything to show it.

We commenced asking each other questions about what our own feelings were toward the mass of the people we were associating with day by day. Once we had excluded from discussion the new friends we had made, we began to see that, in spite of how we wanted to feel, we could not escape feeling that many of the people were physically unattractive. In other words, we realized that, like it or not, we had been brought up with certain aesthetic ideas which, though deep and unspoken, most assuredly moved us. It availed us nothing to castigate ourselves with charges of ethnocentricity or to heap ridicule on the notion of an absolute standard of beauty. What was the case with physical beauty was so also of language, of certain mannerisms, and even of food.

In the area of their religion itself we faced the same problem. As sociologists we could pass judgment, but, besides being sociologists, we were also Christians, and as Christians it was impossible to refrain from making some kind of judgment at least to one's self. Being the kind of human beings we are, it was inevitable the religion would appear to us to be some sort of retrogression. At

services, during the period customarily given over to prayer and expressive behavior of different kinds, several of us used to join. Occasionally, it would seem we were moving toward the magic line across which the spirit was waiting to take us and conduct us who knows where; but before the act was ever consummated an even more powerful thought would rise up—that what we meditated doing was a form of treason.

Many of the problems we had to deal with in ourselves might not have presented themselves in the same light if we had been studying a group of people more removed from our own existences. The peculiar thing was that the church and its people were so much like us and so different. Time and time again we would encounter a symbol, an act, a practice, assume it had a meaning familiar to us, and find later on it did not. It can be imagined that the anthropologist studying a people so different they seem bizarre will not feel the weight of the contrary pressures we had to contend with. It is all too evident he is a different man. By being what he is, and knowing what he is, he can serenely contemplate the people of a different society.

In the end we decided we would have to cease trying to be marginal individuals and emulate the anthropologists. As all who have done it know, a considerable difference exists between saying one will accept one's self in such a fashion that what is dissimilar does not constitute a menace and affecting the intention. When one is confronted with a group of Christians worshiping through expressive behavior, it is difficult to feel totally unconcerned personally. Even assuming indifference toward religion, the observer is still in the midst of a large number of people, some of whom are his friends, who are doing things he cannot do no matter how much he would like to. The anthropologist out in the field may be less sensitive to this sort of pressure, but we were not so far removed. We could not take our ease and calmly watch the proceedings, for the people we were interested in were not only Pentecostals; they were just as much fellow citizens with whom we had very real bonds in other spheres of life.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INTERVIEWING WATER-DOWSERS

EVON Z. VOGT

In the past decade I have done field work among American Indians in the United States and Mexico and in modern communities in the United States, in the course of which I have interviewed informants in many difficult and delicate situations. The Zuni Indians were convinced that my purpose was to gather information on jealously guarded religious secrets; the Huichol Indians thought I had entered the Sierra Madre Occidental in Mexico to locate and operate a mine on their tribal property; the Norwegian-American farmers in Illinois suspected I was a Communist spy from the University of Chicago; and recently, in interviewing water-dowsers in rural American communities, I have faced equally difficult and delicate problems in role-playing.

This interviewing is part of a Laboratory of Social Relations research project I am carrying out in collaboration with Dr. Ray Hyman. Our goal is to map the distribution of dowsing in the United States and to discover why this pseudo-scientific or "magical" practice persists in a society where farming operations are otherwise rational and scientific.¹ We are exploring possible connections between water-dowsing (often called "water-witching") and various other characteristics of rural American communities, such as uncertainty about ground water, cost of drilling wells, rural occupations, education, ethnicity and religion, the psychological characteristics of dowsers, etc.

There is no consensus among Americans as to the efficacy of dowsing. In primitive societies only a few skeptics entertain doubts about what we, as scientific observers, regard as a magical technique. In our society, on

the other hand, controversy rages as to whether dowsing is a "folk science" which the geologists and other experts have simply not been bright enough to explain² or a "magical ritual" which flourishes where the geological situation is not known and the whereabouts of water uncertain.

Our interviewing problems center around this controversy. If we should give an honest opinion, the dowser becomes defensive, and the flow of information stops. If we pretend to be "believers," information continues to be provided, but we are uneasy about the ethics of our position. The best we can do is to keep neutral by reciting the many alternative theories advanced to explain the practice. But this is difficult when the dowser hands you the forked stick or the pendulum and asks you to try it.

This problem in role-playing differs from that faced by an anthropologist doing research in another culture where it is not normally expected that he take a position on a certain custom. He can usually be an interested spectator or participant-observer and can exchange stories with the informants on how things are believed to be different or are done in different ways in other cultures. The problem also differs from that of a social scientist gathering data on political opinions or religious customs in our society. Most American informants expect differences in religious and political opinions and regard variation as the normal course of events. But in dowsing we are dealing with a supposedly practical technique about which there ought to be consensus—but a technique that is surrounded by such strong emotions that defensive reactions may easily set in and interrupt the interview.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

¹ For further data on dowsing in relation to rational-technological methods see Evon Z. Vogt, *Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a 20th Century Frontier Community* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955); also "Water-Witching: An Interpretation of a Ritual Pattern in a Rural American Community," *Scientific Monthly*, Vol. LXXV, No. 3 (1952).

² See especially Kenneth Roberts, *Henry Gross and His Dowsing Rod* (New York: Doubleday, 1951), and *The Seventh Sense* (New York: Doubleday, 1953).

INTERVIEWING MEDICAL STUDENTS

HOWARD S. BECKER

The values of any social group are an ideal which actual behavior may sometimes approximate but seldom fully embodies. To deal with the tension between ideal and reality conceptually, there are two possible polar attitudes toward values. Individuals may be idealistic, accepting the values warmly and wholeheartedly, feeling that everyone can and should live up to them and that they are both "right" and "practical." Or they may be cynical, conceiving the values as impossibly impractical and incapable of being lived up to; they may feel that anyone who accepts these values wholeheartedly deceives himself and that one must compromise in meeting the exigencies of daily life. The distinction, only one among many which might be made, is useful in a discussion of certain problems of which I have become aware in studying the social-psychological development of medical students.¹

Probably most commonly, individuals feel both ways about the values of their group at the same time; or one way in some situations, the other way in others. In which of these moods are they likely to respond to the interviewer seeking sociological information? Or to turn attention to the interviewer himself: Which of these is he looking for in the people he talks to? Which kind of response is he concerned with eliciting?

Sociologists have had a penchant for the exposé since the days of muckraking. The interviewer is typically out to get "the real story" he conceives to be lying hidden beneath the platitudes of any group and is inclined to discount heavily any expressions of the "official" ideology. The search for the

informal organization of a group reflects this, and Merton's dictum that sociology's distinctive contribution lies in the discovery and analysis of latent rather than manifest functions is a theoretical statement of this position.²

The interviewer must always remember that cynicism may underlie a perfunctory idealism. In many situations, interviewees perceive him as a potentially dangerous person and, fearing lest he discover secrets better kept from the outside world, resort to the "official line" in order to keep his inquisitiveness at bay in a polite way. The interviewer may circumvent such tactics by affecting cynicism himself, so that the interviewee is lulled into believing that the former accepts his own publicly disreputable view of things,³ or by confronting him with the evidence of his own words or reported deeds which do not jibe with the views he has presented.⁴ There may, perhaps, be other ways, for this area has not been well explored.

Convinced that idealistic talk is probably not sincere but merely a cover-up for less respectable cynicism, the interviewer strives to get beneath it to the "real thing." If he is using a schedule, he may be instructed or feel it necessary to use a "probe." An interview is frequently judged successful precisely to the degree that it elicits cynical rather than idealistic attitudes. A person interviewing married couples with an eye to assessing their adjustment would probably place less credence in an interview in which both partners insisted that theirs was

² Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 68.

³ See Arnold M. Rose, "A Research Note on Interviewing," *American Journal of Sociology*, L1 (September, 1945), 143-44.

⁴ See Howard S. Becker, "A Note on Interviewing Tactics," *Human Organization*, XII (winter, 1954), 31-32.

¹ This study is sponsored by Community Studies, Inc., of Kansas City, Missouri, and is being carried out at the University of Kansas Medical Center, to whose dean and staff we are indebted for their wholehearted co-operation. Professor Everett C. Hughes of the University of Chicago is director of the project.

the perfect marriage than he would in one in which he was told that "the honeymoon is over."

Important and justified as is the interviewer's preoccupation with the problem, it creates the possibility that he will either misinterpret idealism sincerely presented to him or, by his manner of questioning, fashion a role for himself in the interview that encourages cynicism while discouraging idealism. For the interviewer's manner and role can strongly affect what the interviewee chooses to tell him, as can the situation in which the interview is conducted.

In what follows I speak largely from my current experiences in interviewing medical students.

In interviewing medical students, the difficulty does not lie in eliciting cynical attitudes; such statements are likely to be made without much help from the interviewer. The real problem is quite different—that of making sure that one does not prevent the expression of more idealistic attitudes but helps the interviewee to say such things if he has them to say. Using the semicynical approach I have elsewhere described as useful in piercing the institutional idealism of schoolteachers,⁵ in interviewing the students informally and casually in the midst of the student groups among whom I have done my participant observation, I failed to allow them much opportunity to give vent to their hidden personal idealism.

By being warm and permissive, by expressing idealistic notions one's self, and subtly encouraging their expression on the part of the student, one might well gather a set of data which would picture the student as wanting to "help humanity," uninterested in the financial rewards of medical practice, intrigued by the mysteries of science, bedeviled by doubts about his ability to make sound judgments in matters of life and death—a set of data, in short, which would draw heavily on this part of the student's repertoire of mixed emotions. If one saw students alone and was not with them as they went through their daily routine, he

⁵ *Ibid.*

would be even more likely to get such an impression. The student cannot well express such thoughts to his fellows or in front of them, for the students are almost ritualistically cynical, and, more important perhaps, their attention is focused on immediate problems of studenthood rather than on problems which will be forced into immediate awareness only when, as young doctors, they assume full medical responsibility. By playing his role properly, the interviewer can help the student express this submerged part of his medical self and become a sounding board for his repressed better half.

As I began my field work, I fell into a relationship with the students which would have inhibited their expressing idealistic sentiments to me, even had I been operating with an "idealistic" frame of reference rather than the "realistic" one I in fact used. I was with them most of the time, attending classes with them, accompanying them on teaching rounds, standing by while they assisted at operations and in delivering babies, having lunch with them, playing pool and cards with them, and so on. This meant, in the first place, that I was with them mainly in larger groups where cynicism was the dominant language and idealism would have been laughed down; this fact colored more intimate and private situations. More subtly, in being around them so much, day after day, I was likely to see the inevitable compromises and violations of lofty ideals entailed by the student role. Could a student expect me to believe his statement that the patient's welfare should be a primary consideration for him (to take a hypothetical example) when he knew that I had seen him give less than his full time to his patients because of an impending examination?

My data give a quite different picture from that arrived at by our hypothetical "idealist" researcher. I finally became aware of the way I had been systematically underestimating the idealism of the men I was studying by finding evidences of it in my own field notes. Some men made almost

continual implicit reference, in their comments about practicing physicians they had seen at work, to an extremely high and "impractical" standard of medical practice best typified by their clinical teachers. Others went to great lengths to acquire knowledge on specific topics required neither by their immediate practical interests as students nor by the more long-range material interests related to their medical futures. Particular patients seen on the hospital wards typified certain difficult dilemmas of medical idealism, and, faced with a concrete example, some students brought up their own heavily idealistic worries about what they might do if confronted with a similar dilemma when they became doctors.

Seeing this, I began deliberately encouraging the expression of such thoughts. I spent more time with students engaged in activities carried out alone, raising questions in a sympathetic fashion quite different from the manner I used in groups. I "kidded" them less, asked interestedly about topics in which they had an "impractical" interest, and so on. Not every student displayed strong "idealism"; a few, indeed, did not respond idealistically at all, no matter how hard I searched for it or what situations I attempted the search in. But I had now looked for it; if I missed it where it was in fact present, it was not because of aspects of my research role.

So, in the long run, I have both kinds of

data on my interviewees. I have been fortunate in having long enough contact with them to get by another means the idealism I missed at first and so have ended with a picture of these men which includes both aspects of their selves. The technical moral to be drawn is perhaps that one might best assume that interviewees have both varieties of feelings about the values underlying the social relationships under study and be aware of and consciously manipulate those elements of role and situation which give promise of eliciting one sentiment or the other.

As always, the technical moral forces a theoretical moral as well. We may tend to assume too readily that our interviewees will be easily classified as "attitude types" and that they will be more or less consistent in their view of things germane to our study. It is, after all, such a theoretical assumption that accounts for the exposé, with its emphasis on uncovering the "real" attitudes, as well as for the opposite "Pollyanna" attitude, with its unquestioning belief that people are as good as they say they are. It may be more useful to start with the hypothesis that people may entertain each attitude, at one time or another, and let this notion inform a more flexible interviewing style.

COMMUNITY STUDIES, INC.
AND
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INTERVIEWING HOMOSEXUALS

MAURICE LEZNOFF

Our conception of the interview as a tool to uncover certain kinds of information has obscured the fact that its very design is based upon ideas and preconceptions of the group under study. Even in those instances where the lives of respondents are far removed from personal experience, the investigator is generally able to dig into the fund of accumulated research reports or, by comparing his group with similar and known ones, to predict areas of sensitivity and concern. In interviews with over sixty homosexuals, few such guideposts were available, and I was forced continuously to make my preconceptions explicit and to evaluate them.

As a descriptive term, the word "homosexual" implies certain kinds of sexual practices as well as certain personality traits. But it is inadequate to describe the way of life of people we call "homosexuals." There are vastly divergent ideologies, degrees of commitment to the complex and intricate deviant community, and enormous differences in self-conception and self-acceptance. My first contacts with this community were with a group of thirteen homosexuals who formed a fairly cohesive clique, and they shaped my initial impressions of this deviant world. These men (whom we later called "overts") lived almost exclusively within the deviant culture, were known as homosexuals where they worked, and made little effort to conceal this fact from "normals."

The overts forced a completely new orientation upon the problems of sample selection, interview procedure, and what were thought of as areas of sensitivity. In place of the anticipated difficulty in obtaining an adequate number of respondents, they welcomed being interviewed with wild anticipation! To be interviewed became nearly a fad—a fad which, incidentally, quickly burned itself out. The impossibility of fitting too many interviews within the first few

weeks of the study resulted in the loss of respondents who were no longer interested by the time the fad had died out. While they defined these interviews as a "huge joke," in no case was a respondent anything but co-operative when his turn came.

Since homosexuals were considered vulnerable to social sanctions, I determined to avoid all questions about the activities of others which would suggest an attempt to gain information about a specific person which could not be gained by interviewing that person directly. This, I hoped, would quiet the fear that information which any respondent did not wish to reveal would be discovered from other sources, a precaution eventually found to be totally unnecessary. Overt homosexuals not only were willing to reveal intimate details about their own lives but readily betrayed the secrets of their friends and acquaintances. Personal rivalries and animosities were quickly bared, and, where feelings were particularly intense, the individual did his best to discredit the enemy of the moment. To such an extent was this true that the problem became that of remaining aloof from the quarrels and disagreements of those both inside and outside the clique. Furthermore, since these homosexuals were in constant interaction, all knew who had been interviewed and had an almost verbatim report of what had been discussed. Each respondent attempted to discredit his enemies by showing how "notoriously hypocritical" they were. This eagerness to present himself in the best possible light and to correct the interpretation of personal hostilities given by a rival helped to account for the rush to be interviewed at the beginning of the study.

These initial interviews enforced a new orientation as to how information could be elicited and presented an entirely different, though equally distorted, picture of what

the homosexual was like. The attempt to remain aloof from personal dissension had to dictate every move in the interview. This could not easily be accomplished, since a statement of the opinions and sympathies of the interviewer was often requested. At the same time, information was easy to obtain, nothing on the interview schedule was considered too private to be discussed, and there was no fear that the interviews would be used to the detriment of the subject. Moreover, the initial interviews permitted the investigator to become acquainted with the homosexual's vocabulary, a necessary preparation for other interviews.

My image of the homosexual world had to be revised when interviewing those higher on the socioeconomic ladder. Such were men with responsible positions in industry and the professions, as well as artists and white-collar workers. The higher they were on the social scale, the more difficult it was to find respondents willing to meet and talk. All interviews had to be arranged through a sponsor from within the homosexual world, from people who had already submitted to an interview and were intimate friends of those with whom interviews were desired. Furthermore, patterns of interaction and involvement which had been discovered among the overt homosexuals were found here, but the manifestations of them were, however, of a completely different order. Whereas friendship and avoidance among overt homosexuals could largely be described in terms of personal animosity and rivalry, in the higher groups these relationships were complicated by elements of concealment, personal security, and taste and class. The news that homosexuality was being investigated spread rapidly among them with some unfortunate repercussions for the study. Some wished to conceal their identity from the interviewer and feared that he would learn of them through acquaintances or rivals. While over forty of these (whom we called "coverts") agreed to interviews, they caused considerable dissension within the deviant world and many were severely criticized for their breach of the code of

secrecy. Some friendships were ruptured, and the request to grant an interview led to the dissolution of at least one homosexual "marriage."

Pressures generated by the study itself were responsible for at least eight interviews with covert homosexuals. All were friends or acquaintances of those who had already given information, and they felt their identity to be known. They informed the investigator at the conclusion of the interview that they had felt insecure about the study and had sought assurance by meeting the interviewer personally. In general, the covert homosexuals who could be located and interviewed were linked together through bonds of friendship and served as sponsors for further interviews.

Further modifications in the structure and design of interviews with covert homosexuals became crucially important. While the overt homosexual approached the "normal" with a good deal of security, the covert had developed two personalities—one in dealing with heterosexuals and the other with homosexuals. For a great many coverts the interview was one of the first experiences of discussing his homosexuality with an outsider. Should he under these conditions play the role of a homosexual or a heterosexual? And how, if he were to play the role of a heterosexual, could he describe his way of life in terms which were at best inadequate and when the very language suggested concealment? To the interviewer the vocabulary of the homosexual was still largely foreign, the *double-entendres* difficult to grasp, and his own use of terms awkward and limited. These first interviews with covert homosexuals were extremely time-consuming in the light of the amount of data elicited, meager in information as compared with the data from the overt, and marked by embarrassment of both the interviewer and the interviewee. The interviewer attributed these initial difficulties to the natural reticence of people about their private lives, especially when subject to such strong taboo. Yet it became increasingly clear that the homosexual subculture is highly sexual in

orientation, so that in conversation among themselves such communication proceeds with little hesitation or self-consciousness. A change of tactics was obviously necessary. The following procedure was therefore worked out and tested in the field: At the beginning of the interview each respondent was told that the investigator was interested in compiling a glossary of terms used by "gay" people, and the interviewee was requested to assist in expanding the interviewer's vocabulary. Thereupon a list of over forty words was examined, and the respondent was invited to define terms and contribute new ones. In this manner, the investigator was able to increase his facility with homosexual speech while at the same time breaking down natural reserve. By the time the list had been covered, interviewer and interviewee were talking the same language, and communication was greatly facilitated. The success of this technique was manifest not only in more tailored interviews but in the sentiments expressed by homosexuals toward the interview. The interviewer's willingness to talk their language gave them added confidence in describing their lives. The use of homosexual terms implied that the "gay" life was known and would not shock or surprise. Furthermore, respondents felt that conversation in their own language implied accepting them as they were, and they grew less defensive.

INTERVIEW AS INTERACTION

Nowhere is the interview more impressive as "interaction" than in the study of a deviant community. Just as the investigator was forced constantly to examine his preconceptions in the face of varied conditions and increasing familiarity with the structure of the community, so was the role of the interviewer subject to constant redefinition. It was consequently crucial to establish clearly the role of the interview and the objectives of the study from the outset. The interviewer therefore presented himself as a

sociology student working for a higher degree and interested in learning something about the organization of groups which are little understood. This attempt at interpretation was only partially successful. The degree of involvement of the homosexual in his culture would make any investigation of it a matter of vital concern. Where relatively few people are exposed to the sources of information of great concern to all, and where fairly threatening news must travel by word of mouth in bars and other public places, reports are particularly vulnerable to distortion. The investigator was shocked to learn that he was "working for Kinsey," "a homosexual gone straight," "a psychiatric student," "an Anglican minister," and "a psychologist." Fortunately, none of these definitions threatened the security of any homosexual. They may in fact have motivated some to consent to an interview out of curiosity.

A serious crisis occurred toward the end of the study. An announcement appeared in the local press to the effect that the Canadian Social Science Research Council had made a grant of funds in support of the study. At the same time, a public park which had been used by homosexuals to make "pickups" came under heavy police surveillance, and a number of arrests were made. While they did not suggest that the interviewer was responsible for these arrests, some believed that the study had drawn attention to the problem of homosexuality and increased police activity to combat it. Fortunately, the study was not affected by this occurrence, for by then most of the interviewing had been completed.

In sum, the interviewer was able to gain the confidence and support of at least those homosexuals who contributed to the study. He was, however, unable to gain the confidence of the "homosexual community" at large or to interview a saturation sample of homosexuals.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MULTILINGUAL INTERVIEWING IN ISRAEL

HAIM BLANC

Social research in Israel is facing a number of problems connected with the multilingual and multicultural character of the population. A study conducted in 1953 by the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research at the Beyt Mazmil housing project near Jerusalem, whose inhabitants are of a dozen or more ethnic origins,¹ offers an excellent opportunity for a re-examination of some underlying assumptions.

The study consisted of two parts: the first, to discover basic health habits and attitudes toward medical care, for the use of the Hadassah Health Center at Beyt Mazmil; the second, to furnish data on intergroup relations for UNESCO's Social Tensions Survey. The twofold questionnaire was translated from the original Hebrew into seven additional languages: German, Yiddish, French, English, Moroccan Arabic, Yemenite Arabic, and Iraqi Arabic. The writer attended six interviews and made himself familiar with the questionnaire, both in the original and as translated. Some results of this brief inquiry are given here.

The modern sociologist is justly proud of the advances made toward scientific precision in research. Clearly, however, some facets of human behavior, including the non-structural aspects of language (e.g., "meaning"), cannot as yet be subjected to rigorous handling. The social scientist is thus reduced to relying on common sense,

and much depends on whose. In the light of one kind of common sense, anything can be translated into any language, provided only that care is taken to translate accurately—not literally, not freely, but just "accurately." Thus if the English speaker says "How are you?" the French speaker "How do you go?" the Hebrew speaker "What is your peace?" and the Arabic speaker "How is your situation?" then all one has to do is ask someone who knows the proper equivalents to translate as desired. Were anyone to object that when he asks someone how he is, he wants to know how he is, not how he goes or what his peace is, he would be considered obtuse. As a matter of fact, the best practical definition of the "meaning" of a linguistic utterance is "the total of all the social situations with reference to which we use it." Thus if one language uses utterance X for a given situation and another language uses utterance Y for the very same situation, we say that X and Y have the same meaning. To translate "accurately," all we have to do is to replace X by Y.

But, prompted by another kind of common sense, one might ask: "What if two language communities are so unlike that the same social situations do not occur in both? And what if they occur, but people do not speak of them?" It was difficult or impossible to know in advance in which instances these conditions would occur. Yet it is no accident that translation into certain languages was relatively easy, into others rather difficult: the Hebrew original² and the German, Yiddish, French, and English translations were framed by persons and in languages belonging to a "Western" or European"

² Modern Hebrew was remolded to fit the culture patterns of a largely "Western" society by the creating of new forms and injecting of new content into old forms.

¹ The years 1948-51 witnessed an unparalleled wave of mass immigration, which doubled the country's population and greatly accentuated its multilingual character. The main areas of origin were eastern Europe, the Balkans, North Africa, and Southwest Asia. The major results of the study referred to were published in the *International Social Science Bulletin*, V, No. 1 (Paris, 1956), 75-123, by Judith T. Shuval, of the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research, under the title, "Patterns of Intergroup Tension and Affinity."

type of culture, while the translations into the three Arabic dialects involved a number of "oriental" cultures. Thus there were at least two very different situations from the start, not to mention further complications.

The questionnaire starts out with a query as to where the person interviewed has been getting "medical service" and goes on to ask whether anyone in the family has been suffering from a "chronic disease." It was found that none of the three Arabic dialects used have any equivalents for these terms. Further, the names of the diseases listed to elucidate the latter question were often puzzling to both translator and respondent. Other terms, such as "general practitioner," "specialist," "general medical examination," "social assistance," were in some cases imperfectly understood, in other cases not at all. Clearly, there can be no meaningful equivalents to these terms if the societies involved do not know the situations to which they refer. If it be claimed that difficulties arising from such examples are easily spotted and dealt with during the interview (which the writer doubts), we may turn to a different illustration.

In trying to determine how close each respondent felt toward his best friend in the housing project, he was asked whether this person is a "friend" or an "acquaintance." Even assuming that the difference is easily rendered in languages of the Western cultures (Hebrew *yedid-makar*, French *ami-connaissance*, German *Freund-Bekannte*, Yiddish *fraynd-bakanter*), can we assume that they can be as easily rendered into the Arabic dialects? The Moroccan Arabic version wisely sidesteps the issue and translates the proffered answers to this question as follows: "He is a very good friend" becomes "*Very much of a friend*," "He is a good friend" becomes "*A very good friend*," "A good acquaintance" becomes "*A good friend*," "Just an ordinary acquaintance" becomes "*Just someone I know*." This may represent an equivalent range of choices (in fact, it may represent somewhat of an improvement on the original in so far as it is more colloquial), but this might be done

systematically through some previous acquaintance with the culture rather than fortuitously, as here).

The question of scaling answers accurately is, in fact, crucial. The greatest degree of closeness to one's personal friend that the authors of the questionnaire could think of was expressed as follows: "I am as close to him as I am to a member of my family." But is this necessarily accurate, in all societies, especially when the very word "family" may not be translatable? Even assuming that extreme positive and extreme negative responses (the top and bottom of the scale) are unmistakable, no matter what the language, there are often no good equivalents for the in-between positions. The difference between such pairs as "I am not especially inclined to talk with the neighbors" and "I don't particularly like to talk with the neighbors" might have been clear in the original, but some of the translations merely fulfil directions to *word* them differently, viz., use a different phrasing for each, without necessarily rendering the difference between them. Similarly, there was often no good way of rendering intelligibly the difference between an emphatic "very many" and a plain "many." What is one to do, for example, if Arabic, like Classical Hebrew (but unlike Modern Hebrew), knows no verbal distinction between "many" and "too many," "much" and "too much."

One question reads: "In your opinion, are there individual differences between new immigrants and veteran settlers in so far as they are desirable as neighbors?" In the six interviews observed, only one reply showed that the respondent understood what was meant by "in so far as they are desirable as neighbors." The other five answered as though they had been asked "Are there any individual differences between new immigrants and veteran settlers?" and the appended qualification was either ignored or not repeated by the interviewer when the puzzled respondent muttered some equivalent of "How's that again?" The one person who understood was a Viennese woman with a high-school educa-

tion, who was interviewed by a native speaker of German in that language. Those who did not were a Pole, a Yugoslav, a Tunisian, a Moroccan, and a Yemenite, all interviewed in a language which was not their native tongue and none with more than elementary schooling. Of four interviewers consulted, one said she did not understand the question herself, one said he understood it but was unable to render it into Moroccan Arabic, and the others said they understood it but did not think many of those they interviewed had understood it. There were half-a-dozen more questions with some such qualification appended which were almost as difficult to communicate. Two facts lie back of the difficulty: some languages have no way of rendering the phrase "in so far as they are desirable as neighbors"; some have a satisfactory way of paraphrasing it, but others do not; in addition, the languages may formally permit the translating of this phrase, but it does not follow that all who "know" these tongues can understand the phrase or are in the habit of using it.

In short, the kind of common sense needed for recognizing and, where possible, coping with the question of translatability is that represented by the Arabic folk proverb: "With every language, a [different] man." Broadly interpreted, the saying recognizes that true multilingualism involves, as it were, a somewhat different personality for each language; not only does the multilingual person and hence the good translator know what is and is not to be heard or spoken in each language, but just as he cannot force foreign expressions on any given language, so he cannot force the expression of foreign culture patterns on any given culture.

For lack of a more practical alternative, to determine in which language a given person was to be interviewed, he was asked what language he spoke. If it was not one of the eight, but he said he knew one of them, he was then questioned in the language mentioned, if it was common to him

and the interviewer. If not, another interviewer was sent later. A great number of persons were thus interviewed in a language not native to them and in many cases also not native to the interviewer. Even assuming the translated questionnaire to be perfectly adequate in each case, trouble was bound to develop.

There is no reason why an American with a few years of French in college and a few months' residence in France should understand, and be understood by, a Moroccan whose French was learned on the streets of Casablanca. Just as the latter is not to blame if he fails to make out the words "Quelle est votre occupation?" both because they are read with an American accent and because he is unfamiliar with the formal term *occupation*, so the interviewer can hardly be blamed for not understanding the answer when, after the question has somehow been clarified, it seems to be something like *sumir*. The latter is the Hebrew word *šomer* ("watchman") pronounced with a Moroccan accent. But the interviewer, though familiar with Hebrew, was not prepared for a Hebrew answer or for a Moroccan pronunciation.

Nor is anyone to blame if an Iraqi girl, interviewing a Yemenite in Hebrew, was misled at the very outset when asking his name. The question was understood and answered as follows: *ḥā:yim da:r*, followed by *ḥā:yim zabará:di*. The girl then asked which of the two was the correct name, and was told: *da:r*, *ḥā:yim zabará:di*. All three were written down as his name. The man's name, of course, was actually Hayim Dar, but he had added to his first name the elucidation "That's my first name," in perfectly good Hebrew, spoken with a Yemenite pronunciation, so that the interviewer did not identify it with the common words *ze prāli*, as they are normally pronounced.

These examples heard during two interviews are but a small sample of what actually went on. In most cases, such misunderstandings can be, and were, remedied by further elucidation, but the damage to rapport and understanding can well be imag-

ined. It is not enough that the interviewer should be able to read the question aloud with a fair degree of fluency or that the person interviewed should be classified as knowing a given language merely because he says so. A Tunisian, interviewed by a Rumanian whose French was very meager, indeed, nevertheless came through with flying colors because he proved to know formal French well and could reassemble the fragments of broken French into an intelligible whole; but it is clearly not politic to count on such sophisticated respondents. A Yiddish-speaking Pole answered "Yes" to the question as to whether he understood German (most Yiddish speakers have a way of doing this), and the interview was fairly successful, though, of course, he answered in Yiddish, which the interviewer was luckily able to comprehend. However, when it came to the relatively simple question "Lernen Sie gerne neue Nachbarn kennen, die Sie im Schikun noch nicht kannten?" ("Do you like to become acquainted with new neighbors whom you had not previously known in the housing project?"), the immediate response was a blank stare. The non-colloquial turn of the sentence, its length, its word order, its vocabulary, were outside the range of the respondent's "knowledge" of German. The question was somehow rephrased and answered with considerable loss of accuracy on both sides. This question caused trouble in other languages as well, and for similar reasons.

Interviewers learn quickly, in such cases, that it is useless to reread the problematic question more slowly and more clearly, as they have been instructed. Less speed will not make it less involved (it may only make it more difficult to follow by increasing the distance between beginning and end), and, if lack of clarity is due to faulty pronunciation, slower speech will not help. They are then faced with the problem of rephrasing, which, because of their poor knowledge of the language, they cannot do ad lib. Because of inability to handle a language which is not their mother-tongue, some interviewers can say nothing to the respond-

ent that is not written on the questionnaire, which rules out the trivial but necessary amenities.

The standard languages of the modern cultures organized into nation-states ("French," "English," "German," etc.) are, by definition, the languages taught in schools and used in newspapers, literature, and administration. They have more or less replaced various local non-standard languages known as "dialects." It cannot, however, be expected a priori that all speakers are thoroughly versed in the standard language even of their own nation-state; how much more so, then, if a given standard language, say German or French, is used in their own country only as a *lingua franca*, a secondary language, for intergroup communication and not as the vehicle of the native culture. In recently formed nation-states, such as the Arab countries, there has not yet evolved a standard language for use in everyday life; a uniform language (Classical Arabic), used in all of them for the purposes of the literate culture, is shared by a minority of the population only. By the time the present study was begun, the Israel Institute of Applied Social Research had been prevailed upon to translate its questionnaires into the diverse Arabic vernaculars rather than rely on a non-existent universally understood Arabic. Still, the pressure of prevailing conditions made it unavoidable that some Arabic-speakers be questioned in, say, French or Hebrew, with unsatisfactory results. The label "French" or "Hebrew" tacked on to a questionnaire, an interviewer, and a respondent is insufficient to insure intelligibility.

It is clear that the one sure way of removing these and similar obstructions is not to translate questionnaires at all. The next best step may, in practice, prove almost as unrealistic; this would involve having questionnaires translated and interviews conducted by persons who are truly multilingual and thoroughly familiar with the social problems involved. The alternative would be to consider as many as possible

of the foregoing factors, which may be summarized as follows:

a) There is no universally valid correlation between what one wants to find out about a group and what its linguistic equipment permits it to tell about; not all questions have meaning for all.

b) Relevant information on the cultures concerned ought to be on hand before building the questionnaire; depth-interviewing or some other technique might be used for preliminary reconnoitering.

c) Overprecise phrasing may turn out to be academic, formal, or wholly untranslatable; the quest for accuracy may defeat its own end.

d) Shadings of negative and positive response vary in wording with each language and sometimes cannot be duplicated; answers involving statements of degree have to be re-examined for each translation.

e) The use of a secondary language (school language or *lingua franca*) may lead to additional misunderstanding; where possible, only the main conversational language of both parties to the interview should be used.

f) If a secondary language has to be

used, no confidence may be placed in either the interviewer's or the respondent's claim to speaking ability; some objective test should be applied.

g) Rephrasing of questions on the spot may not be desirable, but it seems virtually unavoidable; permissible alternatives could be included in the questionnaire.

The method used by the institute assumes that disturbances in the intelligibility of questions and answers are reflected in the final tabulation: if it "scales," i.e., conforms to certain patterns, disturbances were negligible; if it "does not scale," there was something wrong with the questions or the graded answers. It is therefore interesting to note that the present study produced an intermediate phenomenon, which the members of the institute refer to as a "quasi-scale." If one adds to this that a number of open-end questions, such as the question concerning a person's name, do not show up on the scale, the case for a more rigorous language policy becomes self-evident. "A translator [*traduttore*]," says the Italian proverb, "is often a traitor [*traditore*]."

HEBREW UNIVERSITY
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THE UNIDENTIFIED INTERVIEWER

HENRY W. RIECKEN

During a participant-observation study of an apocalyptic group,¹ the interviewers faced a number of difficulties in developing a suitable role for themselves. They sought to collect essential data but yet to remain ostensibly just ordinary members of the group of believers being studied. Furthermore, the observers tried to behave in such a way as to minimize the effect they might have on the members' beliefs and actions.

The group had gathered around a middle-aged housewife in a suburb of an American city. She believed that, through "automatic writing," she had received a number of messages from beings dwelling in outer space, forecasting the destruction of the earth by flood on a certain date. She made known this prediction among her acquaintances, and a number of people began calling on her regularly to be instructed in the "lessons" from outer space and to discuss the possibilities of salvation. Most "members" were adult men and women, of between about twenty to about fifty-five years of age, of middle socioeconomic status and well educated, all but two having at least attended college. About twenty-five people at one time or another showed interest in the prophet's messages. During the last month before the flood was expected the most convinced believers (about a dozen people) often met in the living room of the prophet's home in what resembled social gatherings. No formal organization was ever established.

The study of the group was undertaken in order to test a hypothesis derived from the theory of dissonance.² The hypothesis can be stated as follows: Under certain

specified conditions, when a belief or prediction is demonstrated to have been wrong, those who have held the belief not only will fail to relinquish it but will try even harder than before to convince others of its validity. Among the specified conditions are that the believers, before the predicted event, were sincerely *convinced* of the validity of their belief, and they must have taken some action, consistent with the belief, that is hard or impossible to revoke or undo (i.e., they must be *committed*). The major problem for the participant-observers in this study was to determine, for each believer, the degree of his *conviction*, the amount and kind of his *commitment*, and, of course, the extent of his *proselyting*. It was essential, of course, that the participant-observers obtain data on all three variables both before and after the crucial date.

Furthermore, it was important that the observers avoid exerting influence on the beliefs and actions of the members. We wished especially to avoid doing or saying anything that would affect the extent of proselyting; but we also wanted to avoid increasing or decreasing the conviction and the commitment of the members.

From our very first contact with the chief figures it was apparent that a study could not be conducted openly. The leaders had not yet adopted a policy of secrecy and exclusion, but they were at that time neither seeking publicity nor recruiting converts. Rather, their attitude can be best described as one of passive acceptance of individuals who came to call and seemed to be interested in the messages from outer space. Our observers were welcomed politely, and their questions were answered, for the most part, fully, but they were not proselyted vigorously.

¹ A complete account of the study will appear very shortly in a book by Leon Festinger, H. W. Riecken, and Stanley Schachter, *When Prophecy Fails* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956). The present article draws upon the "Methodological Appendix" of the forthcoming book.

² *Ibid.*, chap. i. A full presentation of the theory and a number of derivations will appear in a forthcoming book by Festinger.

ly or enlisted to spread the word. To obtain entree and maintain contact with the group, our observers posed as ordinary inquirers and, later, as ordinary members who believed in the tenets of the group as the others did.

Because they took the part of ordinary members, the observers obviously could not play the usual role of interviewers. They were effectively prevented from using any kind of formal schedule of questions, and even attempts to cover a systematic list of topics by ordinary questions were not feasible. The only interviewing possible was necessarily conversational in style and carefully casual. In gathering the data on conviction, commitment, and proselyting, the observers tried to be non-directive, sympathetic listeners—passive participants who were inquisitive and eager to learn whatever others might want to tell them. But such a role was not without its difficulties.

In the first place, the passive-member role greatly hampered inquiry. Unable to take command of the situation as an interviewer ordinarily does, the observers were forced to maintain constant alertness for relevant data that members of the group spontaneously brought forth and had to be extremely tactful and skilful in following up leads so as not to appear too inquisitive. Second, while the attitude we strove for was easy enough for an observer to take during his first few contacts, it became increasingly difficult to maintain as he began to be seen as a "regular." Non-directive inquiry about others, while revealing little about one's own feelings or actions, is appropriate enough behavior for a newcomer, but, if prolonged, it tends to cast doubt on either the intelligence or the motives of interrogator. In ordinary social intercourse it is reasonably expected that the members of a group will give as well as receive information about beliefs, opinions, and actions relevant to their common purpose. But in the role we defined privately for ourselves such expectations did not fit.

Nearly every conversation he had with a member about his conviction, commitment, or proselyting presented the observer with

an unsought opportunity to influence the other; for it is difficult, outside the interviewer's role, to inquire of an individual how he feels about a matter without having him return the question. Such reciprocal questioning was especially common in this group, because their beliefs concerned the future and the non-material world. Since the beliefs could not be validated (at least not until the cataclysm) by physical reality, the only confirmation available was from social reality—the beliefs and actions of fellows. The pressure on observers to take part in the process of mutual support and confirmation was ever present and often strong.

The alternatives for dealing with such pressures were all unattractive. Had the observers been completely truthful about their convictions, they would unquestionably have weakened the convictions of other members and would, in addition, have been in the absurd position of trying to maintain membership in a group whose beliefs they flatly denied. On the other hand, had they simulated the sincerity and depth of conviction of the regular members, they would have strongly reinforced conviction. A third choice, non-committal responses and evasive replies, soon became embarrassing and awkward, besides jeopardizing the observer's status in the group. The observers were forced, therefore, to present the appearance of agreement with the major beliefs of the group. While they avoided taking strong stands on these issues and never voluntarily or spontaneously spoke up to reinforce conviction, their general air of acceptance as well as their mere presence and interest in the affairs of the group undoubtedly had some strengthening effect on the conviction of the others. The goal of avoiding influence completely, proved unrealistic, for, in order to remain members and yet gather the necessary data, the observers had to offer some support to the members' convictions. And this, while indeed minimal, must have had some effect.

In the matter of commitment the effect of the observers is difficult to assess. Many members of the group committed them-

selves by spending appreciable amounts of money to attend meetings, by making public declarations of belief, at least among acquaintances and neighbors, by giving up friendship with skeptics, by giving away possessions, or by quitting their jobs. Until the week or two before the date of the expected flood, there was little or no pressure on observers to make or to report commitments, and, when the pressure to quit jobs grew, the observers were able to invent various reasons why they could not or should not quit their jobs. But even though they did not quit jobs, give away possessions, or make public declarations of faith, the observers must have appeared to the regular members to have committed themselves by spending both time and money to attend meetings. One observer may have seemed heavily committed, since he made a number of trips by air from a distant city to attend meetings; two others, who resided in the city where the group was located, devoted a great deal of time to its activities, not only attending all meetings but paying numerous additional calls at the home of the prophet. All the observers spent virtually full time at the prophet's home during the four days immediately preceding the date when the flood was expected.

It is hard to estimate the effect of this apparent commitment by the observers. On the one hand, it probably reinforced members' convictions and confidence that they had been right in making whatever commitments they had made; on the other hand, the observers' commitments may have made those of other members seem either more or less important. The perceived amount of the observers' commitment probably ranged from moderate to slight: there were at least two members whose commitment was less than that of any observer and at least four or five who exceeded that of any observer. For the latter, the lesser commitment of the observers probably made their own seem greater and more binding, whereas the former probably perceived their commitment to be

even slighter in contrast to the observers'. In short, for most of the group the observers' investment in group activity was supportive, but the amount of support varied.

Only in proselyting were we able to avoid exercising any influence. During the greater part of the period of our observation, the attitude of the leaders and most of the members toward proselyting was ambivalent, and there had been at least one pronouncement by the prophet that proselyting was forbidden. Although this policy was not strictly adhered to, the observers were able to fall back on it as a convenient justification for their inactivity. During the brief time when potential converts were appearing at the prophet's home and asking for information and instruction, the observers managed to stay largely in the background and to observe rather than take part. On the one or two occasions when the observers were specifically asked to talk to an inquirer, they managed either to turn the occasion into an interview with the visitor or else to repeat only information that was already public knowledge and otherwise act in so uninformed a fashion that the inquirer quickly became bored and left the house.

In summary, then, the role that was forced on us as observers prevented us from achieving the unrealistic goal of avoiding *any* influence on conviction and commitment. That we were able to avoid any observer effect on the major dependent variable—proselyting—is of the utmost importance in judging the scientific value of the research, however, and our success here should not be overlooked. But, from our experience, it seems likely that observers cannot avoid exercising *some* influence on behavior and beliefs. The conflict in roles and its attendant consequences seem to be inherent in the process of doing a study such as this, although it may be possible to devise better ways of handling the conflict and of further reducing observer effect. Such inventions would indeed be welcome.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

THE PERSONAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE INTERVIEWER¹

PETER KONG-MING NEW

This is a personal account of the process of changes in attitude experienced by me when interviewing and living in close association with several groups of osteopathic students. Gusfield² and the Schwartzes,³ discussing the interviewer as a participant-observer, stress the difficulty of compromising between subjective empathy and the degree of detachment necessary to avoid biased data. Redfield,⁴ viewing the problem as an anthropologist, states that, to understand a group of people, the investigator should know their "inside" problems. Yet he warns that the observer can know the "inside" too well, like the anthropologist who became a priest to the people he studied and henceforth ceased to communicate his findings to his colleagues.

These studies prompted me to reassess my role in the study of the osteopathic students. Since my father was an orthopedic surgeon and owned a hospital, I was raised in a medical milieu and naturally viewed physicians in a favorable light. After my father died, I continued my association with many of his colleagues, taught in a medical school for a time, and had close relations with a cousin who was at Harvard Medical School while I was at college. However, as I entered graduate work, my image of the physicians lost some of its luster. This I would like to attribute to the fact that I be-

came a bit more objective about the profession, but I think my new attitude was a swinging to the other extreme of the scale, with a good deal of disrespect for the former "father figures." It was at this time that I undertook my study of the osteopathic students. I did not, at the time, entertain any negative feelings toward them; my feeling could best be described as one of suspended judgment.

As the study progressed, I began to feel anxious. I knew that I was expected to be objective; yet these students had become close personal friends, not only informants but also friendly enemies, companions, and confidants. I experienced pangs of conscience, because I knew that eventually I would have to analyze the data, and I did not know how much I had been influenced by them during our "off hours" together.

Identification became a real problem during the two months of resident and field work in one small town of ten thousand inhabitants, most of whom were connected in one way or another with the osteopathic college and a teacher's college.⁵ I had no research colleagues with whom I could exchange views, and I resorted to spending many hours discussing various problems with a young doctor, a member of the faculty at the osteopathic college. One day he appeared distraught and said that, after he had given a lecture on the scientific aspects of osteopathy to a group of Freshmen, one of them attacked him and charged that he did not know what he was talking about. He asked me to talk with this student and "see if you can't straighten him out." Without a

¹ The material reported in this paper is made possible by a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council which the writer held during the academic year 1955-56.

² Joseph G. Gusfield, "Field Work Reciprocities in Studying a Social Movement," *Human Organization*, XIV (1955), 29-34.

³ Morris S. Schwartz and Charlotte G. Schwartz, "Problems in Participant Observation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 343-54.

⁴ Robert Redfield, *The Little Community* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955).

⁵ The field work consisted of interviewing students in four osteopathic colleges in four towns. The writer resided for two months in each town and usually had no other friends there. Hence, a good deal of time was spent with the students, their wives, and families.

second thought, I got in touch with the student and discussed the problem with him until he calmed down. Only later did I realize that this had not been a wise or proper move for a supposedly detached observer. Like Redfield's anthropologist, I was becoming a priest to my tribe. However, I had occasional contacts with other sociologists whose chiding helped me to maintain some degree of balance.

What about the bias which might have been introduced just because of the presence of the interviewer? Following Vidich's suggestion of seeking the marginal informant,⁶ I found an osteopathic student who seemed concerned about the status of osteopaths. I asked him to read a manuscript which I was preparing at that time, and, after some discussion, he put the paper down and said: "Maybe what you write is true of the osteopathic students. But have you ever thought of it this way: Before you came we were going along pretty much as usual. Now, you come along and start asking us questions. We weren't aware of these problems, and now you make us a lot more aware." This reminded me of the incident described by the Schwartzes in their study of a mental hospital: "One of the patients said, 'Since we're supposed to be crazy, let's act like it for him.'"⁷

Although this osteopathic student may not have realized it, the question which he raised is the core problem in any interview. The interviewer is supposed to be detached and to be studying a situation under "normal" conditions. Yet, his mere presence may have created a series of problems which are entirely superficial and exist only for that time in that space. When the field worker lives in the situation for some time, what may seem to be immediate problems will no longer seem so pressing. This question may be raised: Is this the case because the interviewer has gained in perception or in sensitivity to the problem at hand or because he

has acquired the values of the tribe and lost his sociological perspective and thus represses his sociological interest?

During my first interviews with the osteopathic students, I was so preoccupied with characterizing the profession as a minority, in much the same way as one would describe any ethnic minority, that I was receiving an overabundance of answers which might "fit" the case. I thought I had discovered a gold mine. At the second school, however, minority reactions were much less evident among the students. At the third school the question seldom came up, and at the fourth school there was no trace of any idea that the profession was a minority.

Two questions might be asked: (1) Does the problem of "minority" actually exist? (2) Was the interviewer instrumental in "murdering" the idea as a result of some process of acculturation? From the standpoint of the validity of the study, I would like to think that the minority problem does exist. However, it is possible that it is as a secondary issue to the extent that the minority feeling is normal with the osteopathic students and that they accept it for what it is. It took time for me to find this out, but after I became more closely associated with the students other issues arose which were equally important.

The central question of any study, then, is this: When we study a social situation, do we not influence that situation? In interviewing, more specifically: (1) Do we really achieve "rapport" with the respondent? (2) Are we really studying "a situation under normal conditions"? (3) If we do not achieve rapport and if we do not study the normal situation, then what value is there in studying a more or less "superficial" problem which may exist only for that time in that space? (4) Do we really find what we have set out to find, or are all these problems elusive to begin with, so that we just happen to stumble upon them? However, in each situation, the answers to these questions will differ.

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⁶ Arthur J. Vidich, "Participant Observation and the Collection and Interpretation of Data," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 354-60.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, p. 347.

REPEATED INTERVIEWING

MURRAY WAX AND LEOPOLD J. SHAPIRO

Much survey research is governed by the theory that the interview has a definite influence on the respondent. Because of the bias that this influence might produce, survey researchers are reluctant to reinterview respondents even where there would clearly be advantages, economic or otherwise. However, in a large-scale project recently conducted by our organization in which respondents were interviewed from two to as many as five times,¹ we found reinterviewing frequently rewarding. We present here the theoretical point at issue, an outline of the survey design, and some notes about its advantages.

A significant contrast to the interviewing approach of survey research is offered by that of "dynamic" psychology. Researchers in that field assume that the respondent is a relatively stable and complex object, difficult to influence and understand. Their interviewing procedures include repeated and intensive contacts with the respondent: frank discussion of intimate, personal experience, sometimes stimulated by drugs or hypnosis or by situations which are supposed to be threatening or disturbing. The survey interview is hit and run; its strategy is to build a superficial relationship with the respondent, gain the needed information rapidly, and leave, never to return. The interview based on dynamic psychology is like a prolonged siege: its strategy permits and encourages the building of a relationship between the interviewer and the respondent to the point where the relationship itself becomes the focus of inquiry. Devices have

been developed—projective tests—for drawing, in the colors of dynamic psychology, a quick portrait of some of the salient features of the respondent. (Largely as a consequence of the development of these tests, dynamic psychology has come to exercise a strong influence on survey research. Projective tests, of which there are now a great many, fit easily into the hit-and-run strategy of the survey interview.)

As recent discussion has helped to make clear, projective tests can supplement but not replace the stubborn basis of social research, the personal interview.² Projective tests incorporate some of the findings of dynamic psychology, but there is always a risk in separating these findings from their empirical basis, namely, case studies developed by intensive interviewing and observation of single persons.

Recently, our organization was commissioned to find the answer to a general question: "What do people get out of reading the Sunday comics?" The initial exploratory research showed that the comics were not a matter about which adults could express themselves easily and explicitly; they were not thought of as a topic of great importance, nor did they provoke self-conscious reflection. In dealing with the problem, Bogart had experimented with projective techniques and found them to be of little assistance.³ But we took this as an appropriate occasion to continue our experimental work with multiple, projective interviews

² See the recent dispute over the place of projective techniques in social research, for which a bibliography will be found in the *Clearinghouse Bulletin* (published by the Society for Applied Anthropology), Vol. III, No. 3 (1955).

³ Leo Bogart, "The Comic Strips and Their Adult Readers: A Study of Male Workers in a New York City Neighborhood" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950).

¹ For further details of the study the reader is referred to *The Sunday Comics*, a social-psychological study with implications for advertising, by Leopold J. Shapiro, Murray Wax, and George Rosenbaum (prepared for *Puck: The Comic Weekly*, by Science Research Associates), printed in a limited edition by Puck, New York, 1956.

and found that, in the course of several skillfully conducted interviews, significant information about the meaning of the comics to the respondent did emerge. Accordingly, we decided that, rather than conduct many single interviews on a superficial level with a large sample of respondents, we would conduct the same number of interviews, but more intimately with a small sample.

The first wave of interviewing followed more or less standard survey procedures: the interview was structured, and it concealed our major interest within a battery of questions about the mass media. Respondents were then classed and arrayed according to their answers, and a subsample of 120 persons was selected by objective means for intensive case study. The ideal was to minimize the loss involved in working with such a small sample by selecting the subsample so as to contain as wide a range of types of experiences with the comics and as wide a range of persons, demographically considered, as possible.

Each respondent in the subsample was now reinterviewed in an unstructured fashion but with a direct indication of the interviewer's interest in the role of the Sunday comics in his life. The respondent was encouraged to sketch his life-history and to report the changes in his habits of reading the comics. The interviewer recorded the transactions of each interview in detail, and the protocol was subjected to careful analysis by the central office team of sociologists and psychologists. Depending on the analysis, one of the following dispositions might be made: (a) the interviewer was given instructions for the conduct of another interview with the respondent; (b) a different interviewer was instructed and assigned to the respondent; or (c) the case was closed, for we had discovered as much about the meanings of the comics to this respondent as we could reasonably and economically hope for.

The following are some of the noteworthy characteristics we found in repeated interviewing:

1. The multiple-contact procedure made it possible to assign to each respondent the

kind of interviewer who would be most likely to establish the proper rapport and to elicit the information desired. On the whole, the traditional survey maxim that like should be used to interview like proved true, especially as to religion and ethnicity.

2. A second interview, like a second meeting with a new acquaintance, differed from the first. The interviewer and the respondent were no longer strangers, and the character of their communication changed. Even when the interviewer was a different person, the respondent seemed to feel more at his ease as a respondent.

Many of the respondents and their interviewers built up pleasant relationships with each other. The interviewer came to be a confidant, a person with whom the respondent could talk easily and freely about a variety of personal concerns. In return, the interviewer came to occupy a role that enabled him to ask in a rather summary and straightforward fashion about personal matters important to the survey. In a few cases, so much "transference" developed that direct inquiry became difficult, and we had to rely on other techniques.

3. As the interview protocols were analyzed, the central office force discovered new elements of value in building the case study and answering the basic question of the research. The multiple-interview technique made it possible at low cost to alter the general instructions given the interviewers and to gather the desired data.

Initially, interviewers had been instructed to orient the conversation about three themes: (a) the respondent's earliest experience with the Sunday comics; (b) the changes in his reading habits as he advanced in age; and (c) the details of his current comics-reading. What also emerged as of great value was the respondent's description of the characters and action of the cartoon strips he was, or had been, following. The flexible interviewing enabled us to obtain such descriptions easily from most of our respondents, even in instances where we had, presumably, finished interviewing them. Relationships between interviewers and re-

spondents were so good that a telephone call or a quick visit was enough to obtain the small piece of information that is often so valuable in the final stages of writing a report.

One difference between the interview of the survey researcher and of the dynamic psychologist is their handling of the respondent's awareness of his own conduct. An interview directs the respondent's attention toward some aspect of his conduct which, usually, he will not have paused to consider in detachment. Following the interview, he is likely to reflect on his conduct and to formulate descriptions and rationalizations for it in addition to those he gave during the

interview. Thus, in a subsequent interview, his answers will be different from those in the first interview.

The dynamic psychologist realizes that the interview heightens the respondent's awareness of his own conduct. His research interest is usually in that conduct which is peripheral to the respondent's own awareness, and he can explore its nature and meaning only with the co-operation of the respondent and by helping him to enlarge his self-awareness. Repeated, intimate interviews are, we found, a potent technique for this research.

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES
LEO J. SHAPIRO & ASSOCIATES

NEWS AND NOTES

Academy of Psychoanalysis.—At an organizational meeting in Chicago in April the Academy of Psychoanalysis was founded for the following purposes: to develop communication among psychoanalysts and their colleagues in other disciplines; to constitute a forum for free inquiry into individual motivation and social behavior; to encourage and support research in psychoanalysis; to foster the acceptance of psychoanalysis and its integration in universities; and to advance the interests of psychoanalysis in general.

The officers are Janet MacKenzie Rioch, M.D., New York, president; Jules Masserman, M.D., Chicago, president-elect; Frances S. Arkin, M.D., New York, secretary; and Leon Salzman, M.D., Washington, D.C., treasurer.

Physicians and others in related fields of study may apply for acceptance as scientific associates. Meetings will be held semiannually.

For information write the secretary, Frances S. Arkin, M.D., at the Academy of Psychoanalysis, 750 Park Avenue, New York 21, New York.

University of Alabama.—The department of sociology and anthropology is supplementing courses in the social sciences at Stillman College, a Presbyterian college for Negroes in Tuscaloosa, by offering on the Stillman campus courses on introductory anthropology, the peoples of Africa, minority peoples, and race relations.

Marion Pearsall has been granted a leave of absence to undertake a study of hospital social organization in Boston, sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation and Boston University and directed by Esther Lucile Brown.

Donald C. Simmons, who has just completed a dissertation at Yale on the effects of Christianity upon Nigerian peoples, has been asked to fill Dr. Pearsall's position.

Paul B. Foreman has received a university research grant for the study of social organization in acute stress, a project initiated during his staff appointment in the Operations Research Office at Johns Hopkins University.

Henry L. Andrews is continuing his study of population trends in Alabama.

Raymond L. Gold has completed a study of the effects of an intensive training program for practical nurses under Kellogg Foundation auspices.

Philip C. Sagi has accepted an assistant professorship in social statistics.

American Sociological Society.—Robin M. Williams, Jr., professor of sociology at Cornell University, has been elected president of the society for 1958 and takes office in September as president-elect at the society's annual meeting in Detroit. During 1957 the president will be Robert K. Merton. The first vice-president is Kingsley Davis, professor in the department of sociology and social institutions, University of California. August B. Hollingshead, director of the graduate program in medical sociology at Yale University, has been elected second vice-president. Others to take office at the annual meeting are: Robert E. L. Faris, Reuben Hill, Harry Alpert, and W. F. Cottrell, members of the council.

American University at Cairo.—John H. Provinse, director of the Social Research Center, visited various American universities and research organizations during the summer and will attend the International Conference on Human Relations at Berg En Dal, Netherlands, in September.

Gordon K. Hirabayashi, assistant director, participated in the meetings of the third World Congress of Sociology at Amsterdam in August.

A Surveys and Polls Laboratory was established in June as a special section of the Social Research Center for conducting public opinion and marketing surveys. Chahen Turabian has been appointed an assistant director of it.

Alphonse M. Said has been appointed research assistant.

Shakour Shaalan and Isis Istiphan, research assistants, are recipients of Ford Foundation Fellowships for a year of advanced study in the United States.

Warren Brown, visiting Fulbright professor from the City College of New York, is completing a study of *suffragis*, a servant class in Egypt.

Thomas Jones, associate professor of social work at the University of Puerto Rico, spent three months of his sabbatical leave attached to the center. He was particularly interested in the role of rural social centers in community development.

University of Bridgeport.—Julius van der Kroef, formerly of Michigan State College, has joined the department as assistant professor.

British Sociological Society.—In recent years the universities of Edinburgh and Glasgow have shown an increasing interest in sociological research and now have numerous projects in hand. The Scottish branch of the association has a membership of over fifty. A recent series of meetings on "The Study of Kinship and the Family and Its Applications" culminated in a two-day conference held in Edinburgh. The report on the proceedings of the conference, together with a summary of a lecture on "The Contributions of the 18th Century Scottish Philosophers to Sociology" is contained in the fourth issue of the branch newsheet, *Sociology in Scotland*, obtainable from the Secretary at 39 George Square, Edinburgh 8.

University of California, Berkeley.—The Ford Foundation has made a grant of \$200,000 to the university for a five-year program of comparative research on urbanization under the direction of Kingsley Davis. With these funds an International Urban Research Center is being set up, which, as part of the Institute of International Studies at the university, will collect and analyze data on urbanization, city structure, urban problems, and associated phenomena throughout the world. Professor Davis will have the advantage of a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, where he has been appointed a fellow for the year 1956-57.

Seymour M. Lipset, formerly a member of the department of sociology, Columbia University, has been appointed to the staff. During the year 1955-56, he has been a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Leo Lowenthal has been appointed full professor jointly in the department of speech and the department of sociology and social institutions, where he will lecture on mass communications, popular culture, and the sociology of

literature. Professor Lowenthal is currently a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Hanan Selvin, formerly a member of the department of sociology at Columbia University, joins the department as assistant professor in the fall. He will give courses in the field of quantitative sociology.

Wolfram Eberhard has been granted a special leave of absence for one year. Beginning this fall, Professor Eberhard will make a study of a series of villages in east and west Pakistan under a grant from the Asia Foundation.

Reinhard Bendix has been promoted to full professor. His latest book, *Work and Authority in Industry*, was published last May.

Philip Selznick has been granted a leave of absence for 1956-57 to serve as Law and Behavioral Sciences Fellow at the University of Chicago Law School.

Kenneth Bock has been promoted to associate professor. His monograph, *The Acceptance of Histories: Toward a Perspective for Social Science*, was published in the spring by the University of California Press.

Duncan MacRae, Jr., will spend the year 1956-57 in France as a Fulbright Research Fellow, conducting research into French political behavior.

Walter T. Martin, of the University of Oregon, will be a visiting associate professor during the 1956-57 academic year. He will offer classes on population during the absence of Professor Kingsley Davis.

Planning and Building for Better Living in Cities and Counties, the proceedings of the third annual University of California Conference on City and Regional Planning (1955), is now in print. Copies may be obtained from the Department of City and Regional Planning, University of California, Berkeley 4, California, for \$0.75 each.

University of Chicago.—Over 200 students—staff, alumni, and visitors—registered at the thirty-third annual institute of the Society for Social Research held on the campus in June. The subject was "The Renewed Focus on Interpersonal Relations."

William F. Ogburn, professor emeritus of sociology, will be the first occupant of a newly created chair in American History and Institutions at the University of Delhi, in the School for International Studies. He will give courses

on the history of American institutions, social trends in the United States, and American society. He and Mrs. Ogburn will leave for India in September. The appointment is for a year.

Philip M. Hauser has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology for three years, beginning October 1.

Everett C. Hughes is to be out of residence this fall, doing research at the University of Kansas Medical School. He was one of three representing the United States on a committee of fifteen social scientists called by UNESCO to discuss plans for interdisciplinary research having to do with peaceful co-operation. Other social scientists on the committee represented Russia, Poland, Hungary, Great Britain, France, Sweden, and Switzerland.

Nelson Foote has resigned to accept a position with the General Electric Company.

College of the Pacific.—Harold S. Jacoby, chairman of the department, has accepted a one-year assignment at Yamaguchi University in Japan, under the sponsorship of the Asia Foundation of San Francisco.

Raymond F. Bellamy, who retired in June from Florida State University, will join the department for the two-year period 1956–58.

Duke University.—The first university-wide Council on Gerontology in the South has been set up at the university for the purpose of developing and co-ordinating interdisciplinary research on the biological, psychological, and sociological problems of aging. The program will be carried out primarily by a steering committee and by panels of members representing the behavioral sciences and the professional schools of medicine, law, and divinity. The steering committee consists of Professors Howard E. Jensen, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, Eliot H. Rodnick, chairman of the department of psychology, and Ewald W. Busse, chairman of the department of neuropsychiatry in the medical school. Frances Jeffers, research associate in psychiatry, will serve as executive secretary of the council.

Florida State University.—R. F. Bellamy retired in June, after thirty-eight years of teaching at the Florida State College for Women and the Florida State University.

John L. Haer taught at Ramey Field, Puerto Rico, during the summer.

T. S. Dietrich has been named a consultant to the Florida Development Commission on a study of methods of estimating population growth.

Ernest Q. Campbell joined the staff in September as acting assistant professor of sociology. Formerly assistant professor at the College of Wooster, he was for the past two years a Ford Foundation Fellow at Vanderbilt University.

M. F. Nimkoff led the sixth annual Family Life Study Tour to Scandinavia and central Europe under the sponsorship of the National Council on Family Relations.

German Sociological Society ("Die Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie").—The society will meet on November 1–4, 1956, in Bad Meinberg, Lippe. The chief subject of the meeting is tradition. The following major papers have been announced: A. Bergstraesser, Freiburg, "Forms of Tradition"; C. Jantke, Hamburg, "Industrial Society and Tradition"; S. Landschut, Hamburg, and R. Nuernberger, Göttingen, "Tradition and Revolution"; A. Mitscherlich, Heidelberg, "The Problem of Tradition in Relation to the Individual Life-Cycle." There will be a paper on tradition and adolescence by an author not yet announced.

Inquiries should be addressed to the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Soziologie, Reitstallstrasse 1, Göttingen, German Federal Republic.

International Congress of Psychology.—The fifteenth congress will be held in Brussels in 1957 from July 28 to August 3, Professor Albert Michotte, of the University of Louvain, presiding.

The program will include general lectures; symposia, consisting of reports followed by discussions on given themes; colloquia (round-table conferences) limited to a restricted number of specialists; and individual papers concerning the subjects considered in the symposia.

Subjects of the symposia are methodological problems, biochemical processes and behavior, psycholinguistics, personality and motivation, religious psychology, problems of social psychology, cultural anthropology with particular reference to the black people of Africa, and animal ethology and instincts. For the colloquia the following subjects have provisionally been

chosen: the training of psychologists and psychological terminology. The official languages of the congress will be English, French, German, Italian, and Spanish.

For information apply to the secretary-general, Louis Delys, 296 Avenues des Sept-Bonniers, Forest-Bruxelles, Belgium.

Michigan State University.—The staff in social psychology is now composed of Jay W. Artis, Wilbur B. Brookover, William H. Form, Duane L. Gibson, Archie O. Haller, Jack J. Preiss, and Joel Smith.

University of North Carolina.—Reports of marriage and family research conducted in the last half-century are now being reviewed by Reuben Hill and his associates for an inventory which is to go on for several years to come. The final product is to be a marriage and family research handbook summarizing and unifying theory and research findings.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The following officers were elected at the annual meeting held in Pittsburgh in May: Edgar A. Schuler, Wayne University, president; Harold A. Gibbard, West Virginia University, vice-president; Frank R. Westie, Indiana University, secretary-treasurer; Raymond F. Sletto, Ohio State University, representative on the council of the American Sociological Society; and Robert P. Bullock, Ohio State University, editor.

The 1957 annual meeting will be held on the campus of the Ohio State University.

University of Omaha.—In September, T. Earl Sullenger will cease to be head of the sociology department, a position he has held for thirty-four years. He continues as professor of sociology.

George L. Wilber, associate professor of sociology, became acting head of the department on September 1.

Roderick B. Peck, assistant dean of the college of adult education and assistant professor of sociology, has accepted a full-time professorial appointment in the department.

Oregon State College.—Glenn A. Bakkum retired from the chairmanship of the department of sociology on July 1, after twenty-one years of service at the college. He will continue as professor of sociology.

On September 1, Hans H. Plambeck, who

has been promoted to full professorship, became chairman of the department. His major field is rural sociology.

Robert H. Dann resigned in June after twenty-nine years of service in the department. Professor and Mrs. Dann left for Honolulu in June to take charge of the American Friends Service Center.

University of Pennsylvania.—Thorsten Sellin attended the fourth International Congress on Social Defense at Milan, Italy, and was *rapporteur* for the sociological section. The governor of Pennsylvania has appointed him chairman of a Commission on Penal and Correctional Affairs.

Edward P. Hutchinson has received a Guggenheim Fellowship and will be on leave during the academic year 1956-57 doing research in Sweden. He is to finish a study of theories of the socioeconomic significance of population growth.

Dorothy S. Thomas and Everett S. Lee are serving as collaborators with Benjamin Malzberg on studies in the epidemiology of mental disease, sponsored by the Research Foundation for Mental Hygiene of the New York State Department of Mental Hygiene. In the next year they will work on New York and California data to follow up the pilot study, which was published by the Social Science Research Council under the title *Migration and Mental Disease*. They are also continuing research under university sponsorship on population redistribution and population growth. Two volumes reporting their studies are to appear as "Memoirs of the American Philosophical Society."

Otto Pollak received a summer grant from the university Committee on the Advancement of Research for a reformulation of the theory underlying practice in child guidance.

William Kephart and Marvin Bressler have completed a report on research areas in the nursing profession, financed by a grant from the American Nurses Association.

Richard D. Lambert has received Guggenheim and Fulbright awards for the academic year for research on the social structure of an industrial firm in India.

Marvin E. Wolfgang has been promoted to assistant professor. His book, "Patterns in Criminal Homicide," will be published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in the fall of 1956. He is sociological consultant to a

project pursued by the Law School, relating law and the behavioral sciences.

Robert R. Bush, of the New York School of Social Work, will be visiting associate professor during the academic year and will teach a graduate course on methods of sociological research.

Purdue University.—Harold T. Christensen, chairman of the department of sociology, has been elected editor of *Marriage and Family Living* for three years.

Gerald R. Leslie, associate professor of sociology, has been elected to the executive committee of the National Council on Family Relations and was also elected president of the Indiana Council on Family Relations.

Robert L. Eichhorn, assistant professor of sociology, has been working with the Purdue Cardiac Research Project, a five-year study to determine social and psychological factors in adjustment to cardiac impairment.

Dwight W. Culver, associate professor of sociology, has been appointed executive director of the Panel of Americans, Inc., beginning in September. He has been granted a one-year leave of absence from the university in order to help this national intergroup organization to establish an office in New York City.

Hanna H. Meissner has been advanced to the rank of assistant professor.

James Beshers has been appointed assistant professor. He will focus his work on population studies and research methodology.

Edward Dager, whose interest is in marriage and the family, has been appointed assistant professor.

Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research.—The Board of Trustees invites applications from social scientists to undertake projects included in the new program of research which covers the three Central African Federation territories. In particular, applications are urgently desired for the following posts: sociographer or field demographer, urban sociologist, industrial sociologist, sociologist to study a

European community, agricultural economist, and field anthropologist. Further posts are likely to become available for an educationalist, a human geographer, and additional field anthropologists.

Preference is given to applicants with post-graduate training, especially to those who have already carried out field work in Africa. Contracts run for up to five years according to circumstances; salaries, based on qualifications and experience, are from £950 to £1,600. First-class rail fare is provided for research worker, wife, and family from point of recruitment to place of employment. Leave at five days per month; minimum tour, thirty months.

Further particulars and forms of application may be had from the Director, Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Box 900, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

University of Southern California.—Edward C. McDanagh has been promoted to a professorship of sociology. Benjamin Tregoe, of Harvard University and RAND, will take over some of Professor McDanagh's work during the latter's absence as a Smith-Mundt visiting professor to the universities of Gothenburg and Lund, Sweden.

Georges Sabagh has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of sociology.

Vanderbilt University.—The first issue of the *Race Relations Law Reporter*, a reporting service dealing exclusively with race relations from the legal viewpoint, is now being published. It is to appear six times a year at a subscription cost of \$2.00 and is sponsored by Vanderbilt University School of Law.

Wheaton College.—Paul F. Cressey will be a visiting professor during the coming year at Silliman University, Dumaguete, Philippines, a Fulbright appointment. He will develop a program of Asian studies, with special emphasis on the cultures of the various nations of Southeast Asia. During Professor Cressey's absence, his place will be taken by Margaret M. Wood.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Language of Social Research: A Reader in the Methodology of Social Research. Edited by PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and MORRIS ROSENBERG. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+590. \$6.75.

Here is yet another "Reader"—albeit this time a "Reader" with a difference. Like all its genre, it is not quite a book but simply a presentation within hard covers of the raw materials out of which a book might have been written. The editors' recognition of the intrinsic weaknesses of the "Reader-principle" leads them only to an uneasy, apologetic, or defensive statement or two in the Introduction—a concession that *somebody* ought to write a book which in no way weakens *their* determination to edit a "Reader." So, the editors remark, "our Reader cannot take the place of a systematic presentation; it can only emphasize the need for it and is at best a first step" (pp. 4-5). Obviously, in the remarkable, new intellectual world of "Readersmanship," recognition that something quite different is required inevitably results in the production of a "Reader." Surely this is a problem in the sociology of science that calls for systematic investigation; this review, however, "can only emphasize the need for it and is at best a first step."

Nevertheless, this is a "Reader" with a difference: to begin with, it has, for once, a unified point of view. The editors completely reject the typical uncritical impartiality of all-inclusiveness. The selections they choose are neither intended to illustrate, as presumably equally valid, every possible methodological position in sociology, nor yet to depict by a kind of representative sampling the current state of thinking. Most refreshingly, the selections in this "Reader" are chosen purely and simply because they appear to the editors best to exemplify the methodological position to which they are themselves committed. In brief, the editors regard methodology as a process of logical, critical analysis of the rationale underlying specific research techniques and procedures, an analysis aimed at refining and improving the application of these methods to concrete research, through making explicit,

systematizing, and codifying the implicit processes of thought. This approach to methodology, of course, assumes a still broader methodological position, as the term is conventionally used—viz., that the general class of quantitatively oriented operations with whose improvement they are concerned does, in fact, constitute appropriate method in sociology. Since this is a premise which the editors have—if only for tactical reasons—taken for granted, they neatly avoid embroilment in the old, but perennially resurrected, epistemological disputes about the appropriateness of the quantitative method. This omission is no great loss, although the editors could, perhaps, have been more explicit about it. It means, however, that this "Reader" will be congenial only to those sociologists who (like this reviewer) share the methodological presuppositions of its editors, that is, those who deplore the tendentious disjunction of sociological theory and empirical research, who believe that sociological research must be derived from and addressed to sociological theory, and who, finally, are convinced that sociological theory must ultimately be formally verified in systematic, non-impressionistic, empirical research.

All this, indeed, makes a "Reader" with a difference. And there is still another difference: it sometimes has original and valuable things to say. The volume is at its best when Lazarsfeld himself (or associates of his obviously working closely with him) sets out directly to examine and precisely to formulate the considerations that are necessarily involved—however intuitively and unsystematically—when a competent researcher makes strategic research decisions. For Lazarsfeld is, of course, not only a highly skilled research practitioner; he is also something of a genius at logical and imaginative reconstruction of the covert thought processes by which researchers generally decide to construct an index in one way rather than another, to summarize a complex table by this set of types rather than that, or to cross-tabulate these variables rather than those—a whole host of informal, unformulated, and unexplicit choices. In these papers Lazarsfeld and

his associates are developing a conceptualization and codification of what may be thought of as the creative element in research procedure—those crucial, though usually unexamined, decisions that make the difference between flair and pedestrianism, that distinguish “a feeling for research” from mere technical proficiency. In being able to talk rationally, coherently, and with insight about the elements entering into the art of research design and analysis, Lazarsfeld is performing a unique service, saying what other researchers may have felt but could not articulate sufficiently to communicate to their students and, sometimes, giving even the most experienced researchers a new realization of what they are about, which must surely increase their command of their skills.

Typically, the selections are reprints of research papers which presumably exemplify, even though they do not directly discuss, the research operations being analyzed. In these exemplary articles, the latent methodological intent of the editors is not always so clearly discernible: despite brief orienting notes to each section in which the general relevance of the selections is discussed, it is never easy to override the distracting quality of a variety of papers, written originally for other purposes, with their diverse manifest contents and, sometimes, their equally manifest lapses from standards of technical competence. Given this basic handicap, there is still a good deal of variation among these papers in the ease with which their imputed methodological significance can be discerned. To nobody's great surprise, the papers that seem best adapted to illustrate the methodological principles of the *Reader* turn out to be largely those written by Lazarsfeld and associates, whose total frame of reference for research articulates with the present methodological discussion more fully than is possible for the papers selected from other, independent contexts.

It is exactly these non-random variations in the quality and serviceability of its constituent papers that make the choice of the “Reader” format more than usually inexplicable in this instance. In preparing it, Lazarsfeld and Rosenberg found that, adequately to represent their own methodological views, they had quite justifiably to rely heavily on the work of their own Columbia Bureau of Applied Social Research team, even to the extent of writing or having written special papers to cover essential points where nothing so far published would

serve. If this procedure had been carried just one or two steps further, Lazarsfeld or the Lazarsfeld team might have produced an integrated, systematic, and unique book. It is ironical that Lazarsfeld, with his rare talent for organizing the more intangible elements of research procedure, should choose to present them in the diffuse “Readersmanship” way. Until somebody does write that book, however, here, at least, is a “Reader” with a difference. *Vive la différence!*

SHIRLEY A. STAR

University of Chicago

Interviewing in Social Research. By HERBERT HYMAN *et al.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xvi+415. \$8.00.

The social sciences lag behind the natural sciences less because of the complexity of the variables under study than because of the intimate and intricate involvement of the social scientist with what he is studying. In many areas of research, for example, we must rely upon not a neutral measuring stick but another human being, the interviewer. This volume, written primarily to report the National Opinion Research Center's program of research sponsored by the National Research Council and the Social Science Research Council, also constitutes the most comprehensive account of the methodology of interviewing now available. The material is presented within a broad theoretical framework and in terms of conceptualizations which will make for additional cumulative research.

After two excellent introductory chapters which analyze the interviewing situation and its context, the bulk of the research is reported as it relates to the various sources of error and bias. Bias traceable to the interviewer arises mainly in his expectations. Respondent reaction is considered in relation to disparities in group membership between interviewer and respondent and the effects of personal interaction. Situational factors, such as the procedures established for the interview, its sponsorship, its physical setting, the mode of recording, etc., are systematically examined. The two last chapters discuss the net effects of interviewing under normal operating conditions and methods for reducing error. The original studies reported are well designed and include an analysis of

interviewing operations, research integrated into surveys in progress, and a series of experiments—in all, an impressive program whether viewed from the standpoint of the resources furnished or of previous accomplishments in the field.

Hyman and his co-workers give broadened perspective to a field where conflicting dogmas rule. They explode the naïve view that the questioning interviewer can somehow be a neutral, non-reacting agent, outside the process of social interaction. It is common to think that the more passive the interviewer and the more emasculated his questions, the more valid will be the responses. But the permissive atmosphere that creates a warm, sympathetic relationship can lead to the expression of attitudes in a political survey which are meaningless as political opinions; they simply mean that the respondent likes the interviewing relationship and seeks to maintain it. It is even possible that on occasions the bullying technique sometimes attributed to Kinsey can yield valid information. The implication is that we cannot infer that the responses obtained in a specific type of situation are a function of the individual alone. We can only generalize the individual's reactions to other situations if we can specify the variables to which he is responding and demonstrate their generality. This is the role which theory and research must play in the development of the field. The authors do not always carry through this point of view in all its implications, partly because their phenomenological theory in itself does not point adequately to the interpersonal variables.

The phenomenological approach serves them in good stead, on the other hand, in showing the role of expectations on interviewer error. Previous research and theory had emphasized the importance of a motivational bias in the direction of the interviewer's own ideology. The authors show that this operates in minimal fashion with well-trained interviewers, whereas cognitive expectations are a more likely source of error.

It is to be hoped that the pioneering contribution of the authors will excite their colleagues to increased effort toward the development of a methodology of data collection. The great strides which have been taken toward the statistical analysis of data through the growth of factor analysis, non-parametric methods, and scaling enable us to maximize the value of our data. However, no statistical manipulation of data can make them yield

validity not originally there. The standardization of data collection remains as great a problem as the standardization of procedures of analysis. We have been too content to criticize the uncontrolled methods of the anthropologist and to turn to the development of refined techniques of statistical manipulation.

On at least one other count this volume deserves special commendation. It is almost the ideal type of research reporting. It presents the results of an original program of research in an integrated framework which permits a systematic discussion of previous research and the development of theory.

DANIEL KATZ

University of Michigan

Methods in Personality Assessment: Human Behavior in Complex Situations. By GEORGE G. STERN, MORRIS L. STEIN, and BENJAMIN S. BLOOM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 271. \$6.00.

Three psychologists report here a new approach to the old psychological problem of assessing an individual's potential performance in a new situation. The "something new" is of interest to sociologists, being an explicit recognition and use of the social situation in which the individual will perform as a variable. In the older methods the assessor set up an essentially unanalyzed criterion based either on the judgment of those for whom the assessment program was being developed or on his own a priori notions and attempted to find tests which correlated highly with performance. The lack of success of such procedures led Stern, Stein, and Bloom to reconsider the whole problem of the criterion. They make the important point that what was ordinarily predicted was not really individual performance but rather the evaluation of it by superiors. So they concern themselves not so much with finding the kind of personality that will perform the job well as with finding the kind that will meet with the approval of superiors. This brings them to begin their assessment studies with an analysis of the expectations of superiors (implicit as well as explicit) and then to construct a model of the personality type which will best meet them. They then search for tests which will sort out people along the dimensions thus discovered and make their assessments on this basis.

The authors report several such studies and several modifications of the procedure which make it less expensive and time-consuming. Sociologists whose work uses a logic similar to that of psychological assessment—parole predictors, for instance—will get most from this book. The reported studies are mainly concerned with graduate students in education, theology, and physics, and there are some interesting fragments on the personalities of the successful students which contribute to the sociology of work.

HOWARD S. BECKER

Community Studies, Inc.
and
University of Chicago

Sexual Behavior in American Society: An Appraisal of the First Two Kinsey Reports.
Edited by JEROME HIMELHOCH and SYLVIA FAVA. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. xvii+446. \$5.00.

This is the second volume of readings issued under the auspices of the Society for the Study of Social Problems, an affiliate of the American Sociological Society. In thirty-eight papers by as many authors some searching appraisals of the first two Kinsey reports on sexual behavior in males and in females are offered.

Ten papers are reprinted from the April, 1954, issue of *Social Problems*, the official journal of the sponsoring society. Three papers, together with a bibliography of some three hundred titles pertaining to the Kinsey reports, are prepared especially for this volume. The remainder consists of reprints and excerpts from various sources, including Seward Hiltner's well-known book, *Sex Ethics and the Kinsey Reports* (New York: Association Press, 1953).

The volume has three major parts. Part I is concerned with theoretical orientations and methodological considerations in the study of human sexuality. Several social scientists point up the reductionist fallacy in Kinsey's biological view of human sexual behavior and offer frames of references more in harmony with the findings of current social science as alternatives. Methodological limitations inherent in the Kinsey reports are pointed out in five articles, including suggestions for further research in sexual behavior and sexual attitudes.

Part II is concerned with relationships between sexual patterns and social institutions. Twenty-one papers are organized around the subjects of marriage and the family, the American class structure, religion and ethics, the law, psychoanalytic reactions to the Kinsey findings, stability and change in sexual patterns, and sexual behavior in other societies as depicted by anthropologists and other social scientists in Europe. A little more than half the volume is devoted to the implications of Kinsey's findings for these several fields.

Part III contains six papers on the impact of the Kinsey reports upon social attitudes and behavior. One set of papers deals with the reactions of public opinion and mass media. Another set of reprints contains appraisals of the effects of these studies on the sexual attitudes and behavior of college students.

The volume closes with a selected bibliography dealing with the first two Kinsey reports and with a fairly well-prepared index.

Two papers in the volume are of special importance. One is an article by Manford H. Kuhn on "Kinsey's View of Human Behavior" (pp. 29-38). The other is an excerpt from a report by Cochran, Mosteller, and Tukey on "Statistical Problems of the Kinsey Report." This is a forty-page summary excerpted from an original report of a committee appointed by the American Statistical Association to review the first Kinsey report. Kuhn points to what he calls the "fallacy of reductionism" involved in the neobehaviorist learning theory implicit in Kinsey's frame of reference. He suggests a social-psychological theory as an alternative. This involves a symbolic interaction theory and its derivatives, including reference-group theory, role theory, and self-theory. The statistical critique by the committee of the American Statistical Association should be read by anyone who wishes to judge the reliability and validity of the findings on sexual behavior in the human male.

On the whole, the articles included seem well selected and organized to form a fairly well-integrated body of materials. The book might have been better integrated if the editors had written their own introductions to each of the parts and sections of the volume, together with a unifying summary chapter.

A. R. MANGUS

Ohio State University

Language in Culture: Conference on the Interrelations of Language and Other Aspects of Culture. Edited by HARRY HOIJER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. ix+286. \$4.50.

Sociologists and social psychologists are familiar with those aspects of the work of Dewey, Mead, DeLaguna, Cassirer, Langer, and Lindesmith and Strauss that stress the inextricable and reflexive relations between language and human behavior. On the whole, however, these discussions are explicit and concrete only when dealing with the use of isolated words to label or name and consequently to transmute experience and thus to reorganize behavior.

The contribution of Benjamin Lee Whorf to this literature lies in his forceful expression of the implications of the old saw that Greek philosophy would not have been likely to take the form it did if the Greek language had lacked the subject-predicate form. Whorf held not only that the isolated words or vocabulary of a language direct the attention of its speakers into particular channels but that the *grammar*, also, gives direction to the speakers in the thinking and organizing of their thoughts, e.g., in terms of successive discrete events in time rather than in terms of a process of becoming.

Thus a conference organized to explore the apprehending and organizing of the reality typical of a culture through the content and structure of a language inevitably revolved around Whorf's formulation. The volume reviewed here includes revised versions of the papers read at the conference and the edited transcriptions of discussions. The participants were primarily linguists and anthropologists, with one or two historians, psychologists, and philosophers.

Of the seven papers in the volume, two are likely to be of immediate interest and intelligibility to the non-linguist. Fearing presents a useful summary and evaluation of the scattered literature on concept-formation, modes of thinking, and the like and attempts to link it to Whorf's assertions, while Hoijer presents a lucid, though overdefensive, summary of Whorf's theory, as well as a sketch of current research in which it is being tested. Greenberg, and to some extent Hockett and Newman, can also be understood with but little effort, and they present valuable insight into the methodological and substantive problems not

only of Whorf's theory but of structural linguistics itself. In the discussion sessions, the disagreements and difficulties hinted at in the papers were brought out into the open. The philosophers were particularly valuable gadflies.

One gathers that Whorf's statements have had to be so hedged as to lose at least their drama, if not all their significance. In the relation between language and culture we have the same methodological tautology, the same contamination of "independent" predictions of one from the other as we find in the relation between personality and culture. Whorf's type of analysis seems to be merely one angle from which a culture may be described, not a key to understanding culture. The angle is useful and stimulating if pursued with discretion, and this volume is a praiseworthy exploration.

ELIOT FREIDSON

City College of New York

The Two Major Works of Charles H. Cooley: "Social Organization" and "Human Nature and the Social Order." By CHARLES H. COOLEY. With an Introduction by ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. xvii+460. \$7.50.

American sociologists of today hardly need to be told of the influence upon the development of our discipline of the writings of Charles Horton Cooley. Some of them know, too, the significant role played in American social science by men who in their formative years were graduate students of Cooley's at the University of Michigan. Scarcely a textbook prepared in recent years for the "general introductory course" in sociology lacks allusions to—and usually quotations from—what Cooley wrote on the primary group and the looking-glass self. Indeed, these concepts, modified somewhat in the brilliant writings of George Mead and Ellsworth Faris, are today features of the generally accepted sociological frame of reference.

I suspect, however, that many of the younger sociologists of today and promising graduate students, facing today's massive sociological literature, have never paid much attention to Cooley's original texts. That the original editions of *Social Organization* and *Social Process* and the 1922 revision of *Human Nature and the Social Order* have been allowed to go out

of print is evidence that they have not been in very great demand in recent years.

Nevertheless, I am strongly persuaded that practically all those whose primary intellectual interest is in sociology and many others, as well, would find the reading of the major works of Cooley both stimulating and enjoyable. Re-reading them has renewed strongly my own impression of the continuing value of a great deal that Cooley first wrote so long ago. The fact that he expressed himself in a quite different style from that used by any contemporary sociological writer rather enhances the provocativeness of his writings.

One value that may accrue from the reading of works written some time ago is that one may in this way have his attention drawn to significant ideas which were rather well expressed in an earlier period but which may have been somewhat neglected in more recent years—a benefit that may result from renewed attention to the work of Cooley. Thus, in a passage running through pages 41–45 in the present printing of *Human Nature and the Social Order* there is a very suggestive treatment of other contrasts which might well be substituted, in various contexts, for the time-worn contrasts of the social with the individual. And, in chapter xxx of *Social Organization*—a chapter entitled “Formalism and Disorganization”—Cooley set forth a treatment of social disorganization that would still be helpful to anyone looking for a workable general frame of reference for the investigation of social pathology.

The Introduction which Robert Cooley Angell has written for the present edition, consisting essentially of a brief appreciative biography of Cooley, is a worth-while addition. Why the earlier work, *Human Nature and the Social Order*, was printed after the later work, *Social Organization*, is not clear. However, I have profited more, through the years, from rereading *Human Nature and the Social Order* than from *Social Organization*, though both have been helpful.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

This book enriches sociological literature in English by the translation of two chapters from Simmel's *Soziologie*—“Conflict” and “The Web of Group Affiliations”—which are not included in Wolff's volume, *The Sociology of Georg Simmel* (1950).

American sociology was influenced by Simmel long ago through Albion W. Small's translations and later through Park and Burgess' remarkable *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Indeed, Simmel inspired the interactionist school of sociology. It is not only Simmel's conception of the nature and dynamics of the group and the types of interaction that influenced early American sociology, especially the Chicago school, but also his analysis of urbanism: as Park and Burgess point out, “Georg Simmel has made the outstanding contribution to a sociology, or, perhaps better, a social philosophy of the city in his paper, ‘The Great City and Cultural Life.’” When they say that Simmel's interpretation of interaction through the senses illuminates the subtle, unconscious, profound way in which personal attitudes are formed, one is reminded of Cooley's *Human Nature and the Social Order*. In recent years students of small groups and group dynamics have rediscovered Simmel and Cooley and have introduced objective techniques for testing their observations.

Conflict describes a variety of social situations and conditions in which human beings are attracted and repelled in the ever changing forms of the group's unstable existence. *The Web of Group Affiliations* shows the individual personality as taking its character from a pattern of group relations which is always unique. The individual belonging to several groups may have a variety of orientations toward them which are determined by his unique manner of participation.

The reader of this book will be amply rewarded not only by the rich insights and brilliance of Simmel's erudite and civilized mind but also by the suggestive historical analogies.

SAMUEL M. STRONG

Carleton College

Conflict (translated by KURT H. WOLFF) and *The Web of Group-Affiliations* (translated by REINHARD BENDIX). By GEORG SIMMEL with a Foreword by EVERETT C. HUGHES. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 195. \$3.50.

After Divorce. By WILLIAM J. GOODE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. xv + 381. \$6.00.

This monograph is in both the Waller tradition, emphasizing insight, and the Burgess tradition, emphasizing quantification, and the

result is a contribution of the first order. It is based on 425 valid interviews with mothers between twenty and thirty-eight at time of divorce, who got divorces in the 15 days immediately before and after September 15, 1946, September 15, 1947, March 15, 1948, and September 15, 1948. The object was to study their adjustment at intervals of two, eight, fourteen, and twenty-six months after the divorce. Despite the fact that everything possible was done to insure a random sample, the refusals were disproportionately likely to be Catholic and also of somewhat higher economic status—a genuine, although unavoidable, defect. Since Goode does, however, analyze his findings in terms of both these variables, we know what kind of corrections to make for the sample as a whole. And, even with this defect, his sample is so much less class-biased than all previous studies that it marks a great advance.

Goode sees divorce as a “point of strain” in our society, a point “where values, norms, and role obligations come into conflict with one another . . . , where we have moral options or choices” (p. 6). Our kinship system offers no clear-cut roles to guide people in their relationships with divorcees or to guide the divorcees themselves, and individuals must work things out for themselves without institutional imperatives. The divorcee is a genuine anomaly. There is not and, almost by the nature of things, cannot be a positive, functional role for the divorcee. Adjustment consists, then, almost wholly in ceasing to be or to be thought of as an ex-wife and becoming a co-worker, date, or bride. When the accepted and assigned roles permit ignoring the divorce, the woman is adjusted (p. 19). “The most frequent solution” to the anomalous situation, “and the one that is institutionally clearest, is to marry again” (p. 211). Thus Goode’s study included the second marriage also.

The chief contributions of this study are that it introduces some illuminating and useful concepts, such, for example, as “role apprenticeship,” and “divorce strategy” (as illuminating in its way as Waller’s intersexual bargaining), and that it evaluates the relevant data with respect to “economic” factors and spells out exactly what “socio” in the adjective “socio-economic” really means in marriage (chaps. iv–vi). This particular chore will not have to be done again for a long time (except for undergraduates), and we can now simply refer to Goode’s analysis.

Goode is a subtle and ingenious research worker, imaginative and technically resourceful. One cannot help admiring the skill with which he has taken what must have been an enormous mountain of original data and processed them into simple, clear-cut tables. A possible criticism is that, inasmuch as divorce and post-divorce adjustment seem to be quite different phenomena in different classes, a design for analysis which took this into account might have been more useful than his. Could he not have added a chapter of statistically derived vignettes (he scrupulously avoids the use of case materials) to help the reader see details in context? For illustrations, four “ideal types” suggest themselves: educationally homogamous: low education; educationally homogamous: high education; hypergamous educationally; hypogamous educationally.

Most of Goode’s interpretations are convincing. One exception: is it true that men can be more obnoxious to women than women to men within the conventional bounds of their respective roles (p. 146)?

Since there is no adequate control group for many of Goode’s analyses, his study does not highlight the fact that divorce is often the “mature” way to handle a marital situation. In my own study of *Remarriage* reference is made to cases where, despite the fact that the husbands had actually attempted to kill their wives, the women refused to seek divorce, and to other cases where the women were too dependent to seek divorce, although legally recognizable grounds were present. We should compare divorcees not only with the general population but also with women who remain married even when they have the same provocation, the women on whom the husband’s divorce strategy is not successful. For the present, the location, let alone the interviewing, of such a population is not feasible. Its theoretical relevance should not, however, be ignored.

JESSIE BERNARD

Pennsylvania State University

Strategic Intelligence and National Decisions. By ROGER HILSMAN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 183. \$4.00.

Unlike previous monographs in this field, such as those by George S. Pettee and Sherman Kent, this book is not based on participant

observations in the performance of intelligence functions but on interviews with officials in the State Department, the Executive Office of the President, and the Central Intelligence Agency. In addition, the author included in his book a review of a few academic studies on intelligence and of some selected writings by top "administrators" of intelligence agencies.

Hilsman found that most "operators" think of intelligence as an operation that is to gather facts for backing up a decision or for bringing them to bear, in a somewhat obscure way, on decisions to be taken. These officials reject subtle reasoning in favor of common sense and, under the pressure of their daily tasks, are impatient with lengthy analyses of alternatives. In the high value they place on the "know-how" to be gained from "firsthand experience" the author detects "a distrust of intellectualism itself and a tendency to reject its every manifestation."

Many officials in the intelligence agencies share these attitudes. They often think of their work as a jigsaw puzzle in which bits and pieces must be fitted together. Frustrated by uncertainties about the practical value of their labor, they long for a more active role, but most of them accept the current doctrine that intelligence must stay out of policy. The author makes the interesting suggestion that intelligence officials "as a group tend to regard the future as predetermined," since they do not conceive of their work as the discovery of factors through which the United States might influence the future.

In the last part of his book Hilsman goes to considerable length to develop a "working model" of an ideally rational relationship between action and knowledge, but the very elaboration of this model, which is based on Max Weber's theory, casts doubt on the practicality of his own notion as to how the intelligence function ought to be performed. This reviewer would have preferred an extension of the empirical part of the study to this discussion: the subject has received an inordinate amount of attention in contemporary social theory as it is. For example, Hilsman might have supplemented his study by examining the communications aspects of his problem more fully. The influence of research upon decision-makers is a function not only of the nature of the research but also of the way research is presented to them—orally and in written form—and of the personal relations

among the people involved. Nor are the gradations of anti-intellectualism among government officials on different levels of responsibility fully explored. The anti-intellectualism that he found is less pervasive than it appears to him. There are many foreign-service officers with keen intellectual interests, just as there are officials in the intelligence agencies who appreciate the relationships between knowledge and action without the help of a working model. It is a pity that Hilsman could not resist the temptation to teach them a lesson.

Despite its limitations, which arose in part from the difficulty of gaining access to relevant data, Mr. Hilsman's book contains a useful and valuable contribution to the empirical study of attitudes toward foreign policy and intelligence in the federal government.

HANS SPEIER

The RAND Corporation

Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry. By W. LLOYD WARNER and JAMES C. ABEGGLEN. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955. Pp. xxi+315. \$5.50.

Big Business Leaders in America. By W. LLOYD WARNER and JAMES C. ABEGGLEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. 243. \$3.75.

The public's preoccupation with the generals of business and industry may be giving way to engrossment with the idols of consumption. But the former have by no means disappeared as folk heroes or villains; nor, for the social analyst, has the successful businessman lost his fascination. Interest in these matters is as pronounced today as it was a half-century ago, but the moral tone has been largely replaced, in the writings of both social scientists and novelists like Marquand and Hawley, on the one hand, by a clinical concern to understand the business leader and, on the other, by emphasis upon the strategy and tactics of success in the big bureaucracies of business. Both problems are faced, though not pursued at length, by Warner and Abegglen in the companion volumes under review. Their work, however, is focused upon the popular and important theme of mobility and permanency in the business elite. These studies, together with the strikingly contrasting portrayal, *The Power Elite*, by C. Wright Mills, are the richest

current sources of information and ideas on the subject, as well as a highly provocative discussion of several closely related sociological and psychological questions.

The principal objectives, methods, and findings of the investigation are a sequel to the renowned research of F. W. Taussig and C. S. Joslyn, published in 1932, to determine by questionnaires submitted in 1928 from what classes business leaders are recruited, the proportionate contribution of each class, and the relative importance of heredity and environment in occupational success and succession. (The last aim has been properly recast by Warner and Abegglen.) The present study, consisting of over eight thousand questionnaires (47.6 per cent of the mailing; the returns of the shorter schedule of Taussig and Joslyn with 48.8 per cent), provides data about the fathers and paternal grandfathers of respondents. *Occupational Mobility in American Business and Industry* presents detailed findings on changes in class recruitment of business leaders, their educational and family backgrounds, the social origins of their wives and the latter's diverse roles as mates, and their geographical mobility and its relation to occupational movement, as well as a brief account of the important shifts in the business system itself that have occurred during recent decades. This volume, designed for professionals, also contains a meticulous report of research techniques, a discussion of methodological problems and limitations, and a short review and critique of other major studies—from Sorokin to Natalie Rogoff. Here Warner guards against the charge sometimes leveled at his earlier work on stratification, namely, that he proceeds as a "loner," ignoring accomplishments and criticisms of fellow social scientists. *Big Business Leaders in America* may appear open to this charge, for, being addressed to a more general audience, it accents substantive findings and their wider social implications, which are presented with journalistic skill (and occasional editorial carelessness, e.g., the misplaced chart on p. 20), while foregoing details needed for professional evaluation. But the latter volume includes additional materials on the personalities of businessmen—"the 'inside' story of success"—drawn from interviews of both leaders and their wives and from an unannounced number of T.A.T.'s.

These two studies add to a mounting fund of confirmed knowledge about social mobility in the United States; they bring into question

some generally accepted views; they provide hypotheses for further empirical research.

On the first count, the central data show no growing rigidity (as Taussig and Joslyn had predicted) of the occupational structure, a finding consistent with the conclusions of Rogoff and Stuart Adams. Nor do the data, when examined for long-range trends, suggest a more accessible business top rung in the past, a position supported by the historical explorations of William Miller and others. Warner and Abegglen find that, as compared with 1928, "occupational succession (within the limits of this study) is more fluid, and more vertical mobility has taken place." A number of career advantages and handicaps are examined, for example, the positive role of certain occupations of the father; of higher education, family and friendly influence, big-city background, and origins in Middle Atlantic, New England, and Pacific Coast states. No sons of farm laborers or Negroes appear in the 1952 sample. Nevertheless, 5 per cent of the sample are foreign-born (as compared with 10 per cent of the population). Moreover, sons of lower-class immigrants are somewhat more heavily represented than sons of native fathers of similar status: the disadvantages of foreign birth disappear in a single generation. This finding illustrates the contribution of Warner and Abegglen, challenging a widely held view and even suggesting re-examination of the role of immigration. The authors encourage such study, noting that disengagement from local roots and from the past—a desideratum of long-range upward movement in general—especially marks the lives of the sons of immigrants, who "are *par excellence* men on the move, whether they will it or not."

Some readers may also be surprised to learn that smaller and more slowly expanding businesses are less hospitable to executives without college training and of lowly social origins than are the burgeoning giants. The former are the main centers of traditionalism, family influence, and Ivy Leaguism, while the huge corporations (except in the socially exclusive brokerage and investment firms) more frequently succumb to the pressures of bureaucratic rationality by opening their top ranks to demonstrated business talent.

These volumes, finally, are a workable mine of hypotheses for the social and psychological sciences. Thus *Big Business Leaders in America*, in which the interview and T.A.T. materials

form the basis of several chapters, probes for answers to questions about the personalities and motivations, especially of the mobile elite. The materials are sketchy and inconclusive but suggestive. Mobile men are portrayed as energetic persons, with their eyes on the main goal, and in need of demonstrating their adequacy and independence, the latter point reminiscent of Erich Fromm's theory of sex and character. David Riesman should be intrigued by the numerous references to "self-directing" men (and women), on the one hand, and to the many signs of radar-orientation, on the other. And the strategic role of a firm break from the family of orientation in occupational achievement may gain the attention of Talcott Parsons and his associates.

CHARLES H. PAGE

Smith College

The Power Elite. By C. WRIGHT MILLS.
London: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp.
423. \$6.00.

The Power Elite has received much more attention in the press and literary journals than is usual for a product of our trade. Its popular appeal rests mostly on its treatment of a "big" problem—the "power elite," those who make the crucial decisions in contemporary America. In his often flamboyant, but always readable, style, Mills has offered an explanation of the movement of American society in today's complicated world.

Power to Mills is the ability to make decisions affecting strongly the fate of a society. Because ours is a corporate economy with some degree of governmental control in a period when international relations are the dominant problem, power therefore resides in control over the large corporations, the military and naval forces, and the executive branch of our national government. Decisions made by those in control of these organizations affect the life-chances of the whole population. In an era of cold wars and possibly hot ones, the crucial political decisions are in the hands of the executive branch of the government. Military technology has advanced so rapidly that the top military leaders are drawn inevitably into the policy-making circles.

The top executives in the large corporations, the top levels of the executive branch, and the top brass of the military machines are a "power

elite," a group more or less integrated, which collectively controls American society. They constitute an elite for several reasons: First, they share common values and attitudes through similarity in class and ethnic origins, in education and training, and in their executive roles. Second, because modern warfare and diplomacy require the close co-ordination of policy, economy, and military machinery, the heads of these three institutional structures are brought into close contact with each other and form bonds of fellowship and understanding. Third, they share common institutional interests, growing out of their mutual dependency. Finally, they constitute an elite because of the interpenetration of personnel from one sphere into another. Political offices are held by corporation executives; retired generals serve on the boards of big corporations; and so on.

There is little doubt that the bare facts upon which Mills has built his thesis are correct. However, around them he weaves a web of implications for which little evidence is given. Mills sees the top levels of the three major institutions ruling America without restraint and making decisions of a crucial nature without being held accountable to the people.

The power elite constitutes the only free individuals in our society. There are no checks on their activities. The countervailing power of other institutional structures—Congress, the press, even the electorate—are negligible or too weak to act as a brake upon their strength.

Mills implies that the decisions made collectively by the power elite differ radically from what would result from another pattern of rule. The decisions are more a function of the character and institutional positions of the elite than dependent on objective diplomatic, economic, and military situations. A corporation executive is always a corporation executive whether he acts in the capacity of the chairman of the board or as a member of the president's cabinet. The individuals in the power elite are largely stereotypes, moving in response to social pressures, engaged in the pursuit of economic or power interests, acting in modes set down by their backgrounds and training.

There is a good deal of indignation in *The Power Elite*, and, while values may often supply the motive power for scholarly work, in Mills's case it has supplied the author with too simple an explanatory scheme.

PETER H. ROSSI

University of Chicago

The Industrial Mobility of Labor as a Probability Process. By ISADORE BLUMEN, MARVIN KOGAN, and PHILIP J. MCCARTHY. Ithaca, N.Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1955. Pp. xii+163. \$4.00.

The purpose of this study was to find, through empirical research, a probability model for describing the movement of workers in various classes of industry. Cognizant that many socioeconomic problems arise from the manner in which individuals and organizations change, the authors also consider general probability models which may be applicable to a variety of similar socioeconomic processes.

After careful evaluation of empirical data from the 1947-49 records of the Bureau of Old-Age and Survivors Insurance, the authors suggest a modified Markov chain model, which divides workers into two groups: (1) stayers, who are assumed to remain in the same class of industry throughout the period, and (2) movers, whose industrial movements can be described by a simple Markov process which assumes that quarterly movements remain constant throughout the period. A procedure is provided for estimating the proportion of stayers in each class of industry, and the one-quarter "transition" probabilities for movers, since these cannot be observed directly from the empirical data. Actual observations of net industrial movements for 4, 8, and 11-quarter intervals within the 3-year period are then compared, with expected results based on the model. (In a report, Leo Goodman, of the University of Chicago, has suggested a more refined estimating procedure on the ground that one approximation used by the authors is subject to appreciable error.)

The analysis of data and description of the stayer-mover model and some of its implications are clearly and concisely presented. However, further clarification of its purpose and accomplishments would be desirable. As a predictive device, it has not been tested adequately, since comparison of observed with expected results was within the period of observation. Any model which assumes that short-term industrial movements remain constant will be subject to large errors for purposes of long-run predictions: Demographers have experienced this difficulty with similar models implicit in the concepts of the net reproduction rate and the stable population. However, as a formal analytical

device for analyzing the implications of the indefinite operation of particular patterns of mobility, the probability model here discussed may provide very useful tools.

EVELYN M. KITAGAWA

University of Chicago

Soviet Professional Manpower: Its Education, Training, and Supply. By NICHOLAS DEWITT. Washington, D.C.: National Science Foundation, 1955. Pp. xxviii+400. \$1.25.

This book, primarily a critical survey of the Soviet educational institutions, contains valuable information about such vital problems as the relationship of professional manpower to the country's labor force and population in general, the functional differentiation between professional and semiprofessional groups, and the technical role of scientists. Comparative analyses of various aspects of American and Soviet educational systems, traditions, and philosophies are also presented.

For methodological reasons the author keeps separate but parallel accounts of the quantitative and qualitative dimensions of Soviet education, the former referring to institutionally significant statistical data, and the latter to such matters as educational facilities, curricular problems, student-teacher ratios, and the close ties between education and ideological indoctrination. The book covers in minute detail not only the complex network of regular schools but also alternative training centers, such as the military and police schools, the party schools, the numerous types of managerial training centers, the institutions of adult education, and the extension programs.

According to the author, in the United States "training designed for the realization of the full capabilities of an individual remains the fundamental guiding aim," while in the Soviet Union "it is not the individual around whom the educational system is built, but the state, which . . . attempts the ruthless subordination of the individual . . . to its own needs." This orientation is a natural outgrowth of the state's monopoly over all educational processes, as is the overburdening of school curriculums with ideological demands.

The author shows that higher education is more accessible in the United States than in the U.S.S.R. but that in certain fields of applied

science (engineering, agriculture, and medicine) the number of Soviet professionals with completed higher education is equal to, or somewhat larger than, that in the United States. The Soviet professionals trained in business, law, commerce, the humanities, and various social sciences are fewer than their American counterparts. The miraculous growth of Soviet professional manpower has been facilitated by the extensive professional training of women, who form 50 per cent of all professionals, and by the preferential treatment of specialists.

Although broad in compass and rich in significant detail, this book does not do justice to the role of education in stratification or in the development of bureaucracy as a "transmission belt" in the monolithic structure of Soviet power and a motive force in occupational dynamics. However, as a general and critical survey of the complex institutional network of Soviet education, it is a welcome addition to a growing literature.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH

San Jose State College

Midwest and Its Children: The Psychological Ecology of an American Town. By ROGER G. BARKER and HERBERT F. WRIGHT. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1955. Pp. vii+532. \$7.50.

This book attempts to state the general problem and methods of psychological ecology, whatever that is, as supported by the analysis of various recorded observations of child and adult behavior in a small midwestern town of 721 persons, of whom 119 are children under twelve and 27 are Negroes. It purports also to be a description of the "psychological living conditions" and behavior of these children and of some others who have physical handicaps and are attending a special school outside the town. This was done to test the field methods upon a psychologically varying group of children and to understand better the psychological problems of the physically handicapped.

At the outset, we learn that psychological ecology is an attempt to break away from experimental psychology and to discover how the variables of psychological laws are distributed among different cultures and conditions of life. The investigators deplore the lack of complete detailed daily records of human behavior, comparable to geological daily records

of volcanic behavior. To remedy this gap in our psychological knowledge, they set up the Midwest Field Station—with funds mainly from the National Institute of Mental Health—in order to make studies in psychological ecology via a purely psychological approach. The next step is to introduce the reader to a variety of new terms for old ideas. Thus there are the "ecological units" which include "behavior episodes," "behavior settings," and "behavior objects." A behavior episode, for example, is an easily discriminated part of the stream of behavior and situation with three basic attributes: constant direction, within the normal behavior perspective, and equal potency throughout its course.

Perhaps a few quotes will give the flavor of this work generally and of standard behavior patterns specifically.

First, it was obvious that most of the standard behavior patterns are attached to particular places, things and times, i.e. to parts of the non-behavioral context of the town. We have called the place-thing-time constellation to which a standing pattern of behavior is attached the non-psychological milieu or simply the milieu. . . . Second, the total constellation of standing behavior pattern and synomorphic milieu we have called a behavior-milieu-synomorph.

Third, there are often abrupt changes in the behavior of a person as he leaves one of these synomorphs and enters another.

Fourth, behavior-milieu-synomorphs are ubiquitous; very little behavior in Midwest occurs outside their limits [pp. 8-9].

The methods of psychological ecology consist primarily of direct observations, recorded in detail, of behavior and situation. The specimen record, the behavior setting survey, and the behavior object inventory are the main tools.

Chapters iii-xii contain the findings, conjectures, and hypotheses presented in a dazzling array of charts, graphs, maps, and tables, along with correlation coefficients, elaborately constructed index numbers, rates, percentages, scores, and rating scales, in the attempt to sift the wealth of detailed observations about the standing behavior settings and the behavior episodes of children and adults.

Some findings are portrayed on maps with proportionally drawn circles representing the various behavior settings and those entered by each age group in the population. Age, sex, class, and race segregation are depicted for the behavior settings.

Such conclusions as the following occur in the final chapter: "The levels of accomplishment of Midwest children were usually lower than those of which they are capable." "The children of Midwest occupied positions of power and prestige"; "children were alert in Midwest" (pp. 460-61). "The three children transacted behavior with many objects. Mary, Raymond, and Bobby in the course of a day used, respectively 571, 671, and 749 different objects involving 1,882, 2,282, and 2,490 separate behavior transactions" (p. 463).

Barker and Wright, two well-established professional psychologists, have seen fit to bypass the entire field of social psychology as developed up to now and provide an entire range of new—often poorly stated—terms for old ideas that are central to much of social psychology. For example, one hypothesis that they are "driven to" is: "standing patterns of behavior involve forces which in some way coerce individual behavior" (p. 9). Shades of Durkheim!

One is left in doubt as to just what is being attempted: a description of behavior of Midwest children, an isolation of behavior pattern settings, daily specimen records of children, a comparison of Midwest children with physically handicapped children, or a development of a theory of psychological ecology. These investigators display no awareness of the significance of a host of community studies from *Middletown* to *Elmtown* that have told a little about human behavior within social structures. These investigators are indeed fearless pioneers charting their own psychological cul-de-sacs.

They have certainly made extremely detailed daily observations on twelve children. Recording every time a person stops, stretches, coughs, sings, smiles, speaks, scowls, yells, belches, and scratches himself—including movements, gestures, and words used and people and things contacted—may prove eventually to have some use. But if the purpose is to obtain some insight into the matter of the person and his relations with others, a life-history or a psychoanalytic account would certainly be better. The questions that the investigators raise at both the beginning and the end can be answered neither within the confines of a purely psychological approach nor by the methods employed.

The scientific interest to make more explicit the relationship between thinking, feeling, and acting and the interpersonal relations existing in a specific culture is an old concern. If this

is the aim of this book, the attempt has brought more chaos than order to an old problem in social psychology.

H. WARREN DUNHAM

Wayne University

Two Studies in Soviet Controls: "Communism and the Russian Peasant" and "Moscow in Crisis." By HERBERT S. DINERSTEIN and LEON GOURE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xiv+254. \$4.50.

The volume under review consists of two separate studies: "Communism and the Russian Peasant," by Herbert S. Dinerstein and, "Moscow in Crisis," by Leon Goure and Herbert S. Dinerstein. The first deals with the operation of control over the peasantry. The second discusses the reaction of the leaders and the population at large in October, 1941, when the very center of Soviet power was on the verge of falling before the German armies.

In examining how the Soviet control apparatus has endeavored to modify the behavior of the Russian peasant, the author assumes that the understanding of the traditional relationships between government and peasantry should illuminate the present structure of authority on the collective farm. This is warranted, since the Soviet officials deal with a peasant "who by now has been in kolkhoz for over twenty years, but whose attitudes toward work and authority still reflects old habits" (p. 20). However, it is difficult to relate the peasants' generalized traditional attitudes to the present. A systematic account of the present behavior of the Russian peasant is needed, but, since only fragmentary information is disclosed by the Soviets, any attempt to reconstruct the range of attitudes must remain highly conjectural. Dinerstein's study is, in fact, based upon a selective survey of Soviet literature.

Another of the author's interpretations is also open to question. "Although it seems clear," writes Dinerstein, "that there is sharp increase in the differential privileges of the various classes, social mobility is not inhibited thereby and seems as important as it has ever been" (p. 26). But how are the Soviets able to neutralize the increasing differential in privileges and thereby render vertical mobility as effective as it was, for example, in the early thirties? Inasmuch as education is an important pre-

requisite for successful vertical mobility, the child of a poor collective farmer who will leave school after the completion of four to six grades of primary school and be drafted into work at the age of ten or twelve, can only dream of rising in the world.

The most valuable part of the study deals with the kolkhoz organization and with the controls outside it. The author refers the continuous verification and multiple control to organizational inadequacies, e.g., of labor. But surveillance fails: "Confusion of the lines of authority leads to difficulties in fixing responsibility. . . . Escape from the vicious circle is rare" (p. 71). The interference of agencies outside the kolkhoz contributes greatly to the "planned confusion."

The second study is the more interesting. It brings together and critically evaluates for the first time the available material on the Moscow crisis in 1941. The authors conclude that the majority was not actively hostile to the regime, nor was there any attempt to rebel against the rulers. At that time, however, the only segment that could have rebelled (after all, the able-bodied men were mobilized) consisted of women, children, and the old people. The situation might have been different, had Moscow been filled with demoralized soldiers as St. Petersburg was in 1917.

V. C. NAHIRNY

Chicago

Ritual of Liquidation: The Case of the Moscow Trials. By NATHAN LEITES and ELSA BERNAUT. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. xi+515. \$6.50.

The authors ought to be congratulated on having performed an important and difficult task, knowing that it would be a thankless one to boot. For if we could fully understand what seems to us the very strange behavior of prosecutors and defendants in the trials of the old Bolsheviks during the late thirties (1936-38), then we would be able to grasp the inner working of their minds. We would also better comprehend the inner motives of the present Russian leaders, who had parallel life-experiences, and whose minds were shaped by the very same events which probably underlay the behavior of the defendants. This is why the authors, through their careful, perceptive, and critical

analysis of these trials, are able not only to contribute to historical knowledge but also to draw inferences for an understanding of present-day Russian affairs.

Hardly ever was a fabric so intricately woven out of truth, half-truth, and empty lies as was that of these trials. To confound matters further, we cannot be sure that the available records, to the study of which this book is devoted, actually render a fair picture of what took place in court, since admittedly they are not complete. Now, if this study were concerned with analyzing why those in power wished the world to believe that what the defendants claimed to have done and thought was actually true, the author's research would rest on firm grounds. But, rather than use the records to find out why the Russian leaders wished the world to believe in the treasonable activities of the old Bolsheviks, the authors wish to understand the motives of the defendants. Therefore, they cannot accept at face value what the records say about the defendants' depositions but must try to fathom their underlying meaning on the basis of the defendants' motives, past histories, and outlook on life. The method is that of speculation, based in part on reasoning by analogy and in part on the application of certain psychoanalytic theories of human motivation.

The latter method would be feasible only if we could be certain that the defendants behaved at their trials as they are reported to have behaved. Yet even if the transcripts of the court proceedings were not falsified, there are certain other difficulties which stand in the way of applying psychoanalytic principles to the understanding of the motives that underlay the behavior of the accused. We are on firm ground in analyzing a person's behavior if he freely reveals himself because he trusts us, as in psychoanalysis, but this certainly was not the attitude of these defendants toward their prosecutors. A psychoanalytic interpretation of behavior is also possible in terms of reactions to situations, questions, stimuli, which are specially selected for the purpose of eliciting responses that reveal unconscious motivations, such as the responses to projective tests or psychiatric interviews. Other data fruitful for psychoanalytic speculation are slips and observations of, for example, contradictions between verbal statements and emotions, as revealed through tone of voice, facial expressions, etc. But no such data were available. Judging from the many quotations given in the book, it would be most difficult to

decide what parts of the transcripts of the trials represent crucial material for a psychoanalytic interpretation of the defendants' unconscious motives. When was it, for example, that these helpless victims tried to temporize or to gain favor? At what moments did they labor to maintain their self-respect or to convey secret meanings to informed and politically astute persons? These questions are not raised to cast doubts on the validity of the conclusions at which Leites and Bernaut arrive, which seem convincing, but rather to indicate the difficulties that the authors encountered in their study and to suggest that their psychoanalytic interpretations, even though convincing, rest, scientifically speaking, on rather thin foundations.

Equally complex are the problems presented by the second method brought to bear on the problem—that of trying to understand the defendants' motives on the basis of attitudes revealed in the utterances of the old Bolsheviks and of such pre-revolutionary Russian writers as Dostoevski, Chekhov, and Tolstoi, to name only a few of the many quoted. Leites and Bernaut, aware of the problems presented by this method, say that, while “in many cases it is only from pre-Bolshevik Russian literature that we can obtain a clear and vivid statement of the feelings which they combatted by, or perpetuated in, Bolshevik beliefs,” nevertheless “we do not imply that contrasting themes are not to be found in Russian literature. . . . We quote Russian literature . . . merely to clarify some of the unexpressed content of Bolshevism.” But such quotations are not very reliable, since the authors do not select their passages randomly or on the basis of a content analysis of Russian literature. On the contrary, they quote only passages from the literature which support their interpretation of the defendants' motives and neglect those which may contradict it. Thus their selections are made on the basis of a priori assumptions about what these “feelings combatted by, or perpetuated in, Bolshevik beliefs” are. With such prolific and imaginative authors as Dostoevski and Tolstoi, one can find passages which might be used to support almost any kind of assumptions. This again is not to imply disagreement with the authors' assumptions and findings but to stress the degree to which the authors had to rely on speculative methods despite the mass and variety of material they present.

They deserve credit for having undertaken a thankless task. If we embark on speculation, if

we have to rely on our imagination to build our thesis rather than on incontrovertible evidence, then the imaginative novelist has all the advantage over the social scientist. This, too, the authors recognize clearly. They refer—and their judgment is certainly to be commended—to Tarasov-Rodionov's *Chocolate*, Plisnier's *Igor*, Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, and Serge's *The Affair of Comrade Tulayev*. In addition, they recognize the thorough investigation of the charges and admissions reported by the Dewey Commission of 1937.

Since the motives of the defendants, who admitted to deeds they never did, are evaluated by Leites and Bernaut in a way that is similar to the well-known interpretations made by these novelists, it is unnecessary to summarize their conclusions. Nevertheless, the authors' results are no mere second thoughts. They have made a real contribution, although not a very exciting one, by showing that the imagination of these novelists had led them to interpretations which are in line with conclusions drawn only after painstaking scientific investigation. While the book thus does not materially add to our knowledge of the defendants' main motives, a careful study of it will nevertheless be rewarding. It is particularly interesting to see how the defendants used veiled language and other devices to convey covertly, but quite clearly to those who knew how to read between the lines, the knowledge that their confessions were contrary to fact.

The most recent developments in Russia raise some very interesting questions, given the authors' assumption that the defendants felt themselves to be in the wrong, not because of anything they did, but mainly because they had erred in the forecasting of events. If the corollary of this assumption, that since Stalin was successful his was the only correct party line, was an attitude characteristic of all old Bolsheviks (as the authors seem to think), then one must wonder how some of these old Bolsheviks who now rule Russia can afford to believe that Stalin was actually wrong. It is to be hoped that the authors' insight into Russian attitudes will permit them to elucidate this sudden shift from the conviction that history never makes mistakes to a belief that history can err and that the party can be wrong even though its rules enable it to maintain its power.

BRUNO BETTELHEIM

University of Chicago

Industrial Society: The Emergence of the Human Problems of Automation. By GEORGES FRIEDMANN. Edited and with an Introduction by HAROLD L. SHEPPARD. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 436. \$6.00.

This is the slightly revised second volume in a trilogy on the machine and humanism—a survey of studies of men at work in large-scale manufacturing industry, with special attention to the problems created by work simplification. It was first published in France in 1947.

The villains of this piece are the Thinking Department, where mechanization is planned, and the Instruction Card, on which the manual worker's simplified job is spelled out. Add the "present conditions of capitalism" and Friedmann's portrait of industrial society is almost complete. Almost, because the author does not always let his pessimism and his penchant for brittle Marxist slogans block a careful assessment of studies and cases. Thus, in the review of evidence on monotony, we find the cautious statement: "The effects of variety and uniformity depend on the nature of the work involved, on the worker's individuality, and also on the frequency and location of the changes" (p. 149). We learn, too, that a "high" proportion of workers "adapt" to assembly-line work (p. 166).

But despite assertions that the "second industrial revolution" (using new forms of energy like electricity and new forms of organization like the assembly line) deserves neither wholesale denunciation nor defense, we get no clear hypotheses as to how specific features of the technological environment affect variously located workers of varied social backgrounds, work histories, and mobility stance. Instead we get re-echoes of the old humanist complaints: mechanization leads to "a sort of stunned condition . . . even in leisure time" (p. 276) and to the "agonizing problems of the dehumanization of labor" (p. 51). The book dwells on the dilution and obsolescence of skills that have long accompanied that form of mechanization involving work simplification. The proportion of workers who find joy in work is declining, he says; skill degradation, despiritualization, is victorious. It is a "scientific illusion" that further mechanization will eliminate drudgery and will increase machine-minding tasks which demand intelligence. These are "technicians' abstractions which the actual evolution of capitalist societies . . . has cruelly contradicted" (pp. 380, 384).

The author has a hard time adjusting to the

emerging reality of advanced industrialism, though he faces it briefly in the chapter on automation. Here, we learn that already in France, despite the legendary lack of enterprise, "there is no large-scale production in which automation has not already absorbed at least several important operations" (p. 184). In contradiction to the rest of the book, we learn, too, that in every sphere of work and leisure "man is ceasing to be an actor and is becoming increasingly a sort of demiurge who conceives, initiates and supervises" (p. 186). The new technology will eliminate much semiskilled labor, he says, and may lead to the humanization of work, but then, slipping into the dominant mood of the book, he warns this is "only a theoretical conclusion" (p. 187), for under present conditions there will be technological unemployment for millions.

Manual workers whose jobs are repetitive, routine, and low-skilled (Friedmann's main preoccupation) are probably a decreasing proportion of industrial society. But no one would argue that their plight should therefore be ignored. And the author offers many practical suggestions which if adopted would surely make work in a factory more pleasant: devote some of the ingenuity that made the bicycle and auto more comfortable to the redesign of machinery; eliminate awkward and irregular gestures; segregate noisy from quiet jobs; slow the pace of work; rotate or systematically change jobs; let the worker have a say on speed and division of work and technological change; let him see his place in the total work process; take account of individual differences in training and selection; provide a broader, more humanistic training, etc.

American readers will find the treatment of the Hawthorne studies and the somewhat repetitive analysis of scientific management old stuff. One wishes the author had taken more space to describe the European cases (e.g., Bat'a, a paternalistic Czech firm which apparently integrated a peasantry into industry quickly and effectively, the "success stories" from French profit-sharing companies, etc.). These, with the very extensive European bibliography, reflecting a refreshing cosmopolitanism, constitute the book's main value for the American reader.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Michigan

Morale in War Work: An Experiment in the Management of Men. By T. T. PATERSON. London: Max Parrish, 1955. Pp. 256, 18s.

This is a readable report, despite neologisms, of the author's difficult assignment during World War II to find the cause of flying accidents in the English airfield which had the worst record on that unsinkable aircraft carrier, the British Isles. The causes were social-psychological, not physical, and Dr. Paterson's solution was ingenious. After spending two-thirds of the book describing and analyzing the relations between groups and those between persons in the key group, the pilots, he devotes too few pages to presenting his "treatment and results"—which were miraculous.

Interlaced with his report on the symbolic conflict, the natural leaders and changes among these pilots, are occasional "industrial parallels" (e.g., mining accidents), but too little space is devoted to these to warrant the inclusion of "work" in the book's title. (Paterson is a lecturer in industrial relations at Glasgow University.) Moreover, the applied social scientists' ability to obtain permission from the top echelon to manipulate the situation might be greater in a military setting than in an industrial setting, a possibility which raises some serious questions.

Oversimplifying the treatment he applied while officially in the role of operations room controller, the author presents the steps involved. To begin with, because the pilots were frustrated by the fact that their flights never brought them into contact with the enemy, which weakened their service drive, the weather, by clever informal psychotherapy, was made into the enemy that had to be conquered. Moreover, through the pilots' natural leaders, the author brought about a change in the pilots' unfavorable stereotypes of various others in the airfield whose work was indispensable to safe flying and landing. He also used group decision to incorporate other groups on the field into the total picture of operations in the minds of the pilots and to create a reciprocal appreciation of each group's function.

If Paterson had stopped at the end of his presentation of the results of his experiment, the book would have performed its function well enough, but for some strange reason he felt compelled to contribute a final chapter on "The Meaning of Work," and thus he plunges into a sermon on the need for a feeling of "social purpose" and belongingness as conditions underlying problems, for example, of productivity and absenteeism. Shades of Mayoism creep in as, finally, he expresses the urgent need for "a team

with spirit and morale . . . a cohesive and powerful group . . . as a guide for the nation in its present condition" (p. 225), as well as a complaint that "we seek security in leisure away from labour"—at a time when, according to Dubin and others, work is no longer a central life-interest for a vast majority of workers and when automation is shortening the work week. If one seeks a "democratic pluralism," it is easier and better to apply Paterson's techniques to concrete, small-group problems as they arise rather than to create the "monolithic" society that he seems to idealize.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

Wayne University

Education and Anthropology. Edited and with a Foreword by GEORGE D. SPINDLER. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955. Pp. xviii+302. \$5.50.

This is a collection of the papers and discussions of a conference jointly sponsored by Stanford University's school of education, its department of sociology and anthropology, and the American Anthropological Association, held in California in June, 1954. The conference participants were about evenly divided between eminent anthropologists and leading educationalists.

The topics of the ten sections, each of which consisted of a presented paper followed by discussion, range from the straight anthropological ("Contrasts between Prepubertal and Postpubertal Education," C. W. M. Hart), through educational-anthropological ("Some Notions on Learning Intercultural Understanding," Cora DuBois), to the more thoroughly educational ("The Supreme Court Decision on Segregation: Educational Consequences," Solon T. Kimball).

Throughout there is a spirit of compromise between two points of view. On the one hand, education is a subject matter for anthropologists (i.e., in our society it is a major social institution of child-rearing and cultural transmission); on the other hand, anthropology is a subject matter of education—it can be taught to students at all levels and may provide information which can make education more effective within the culture and community.

The anthropologist's function is to study society and its institutions and culture with such questions in mind as: What are these people like? How do they get that way? Of education

the anthropologist asks what happens, how is it done, and what seem to be its goals? The educator has a culturally defined job to do. He can at best state what he does, how he does it, and what his goals are, but his statement is necessarily limited by his commitment to a social and cultural system and a current, historically established social institution. He might not have doubts about the goals of education; but basically society, not an anthropologist, tells him what, where, and how. For anthropologists, educators are informants; for educators, anthropologists are informers.

This conflict of role underlies much of the discussion presented in this most interesting symposium. It underlies many another conference and symposium too where the social scientist tries to be an expert on both product and process and where the practitioner wants to defend his practice as being "scientific." In this instance where there is a manageable number of intelligent, experienced, well-trained people dedicating themselves to an important topic, there is also a large proportion of brilliant insights and stimulating new ideals.

MARTIN B. LOEB

Kansas City, Missouri

Modern Homesteaders: The Life of a Twentieth Century Frontier Community. By EVON Z. VOGT. Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. xi+232. \$4.25.

In seeking to understand the recently settled village of Homestead, New Mexico, Evon Z. Vogt, a participant in Harvard's large-scale Comparative Study of Values in Five Cultures, was no empiricist. He began with a culturological theory: values are the central variable in social change. He was particularly interested in situations involving crisis or conflict, such as religious factionalism or the building of a new house during a severe drought. In these situations individuals and groups are confronted with alternative actions, and they make decisions in terms of their value commitments.

The book is a well-written story of contemporary ex-Texan and ex-Oklahoman pioneers seeking independence as family farmers. Rural sociologists and community planners will find in it a well-documented case history of what can happen without good planning. The villagers

are "atomistic," a polite term for their lack of a strong sense of identification with the community or anyone in it except their own immediate families. Symbolic of the communal self-centeredness is the partially completed gymnasium of ten thousand disintegrating adobe bricks. A Homesteader who desires to leave the community often "up and sells out to a big rancher," with little feeling of loyalty to his fellow townsmen who might be willing to pay the same price. The idea of co-operative ownership of heavy machinery is rejected, although it would be advantageous economically. As former tenants and sharecroppers, being one's own boss is more important than monetary advantages.

People continue to express an optimistic belief in the future, despite increasing evidence that the climate promises only three good farming years in each decade. Rugged individualism motivated them to become pioneers, but it is a shaky basis for attempting to conquer the semi-desert in the face of inadequate rainfall, a marginal climate, and low prices for agricultural products. Their efforts, begun in the 1930's, to build a prosperous "pinto bean capital of the world" seem doomed to failure. Fortunately for them, their strong beliefs in rugged individualism, mastery over and exploitation of natural environment, and an optimistic faith in future progress help them to ignore possible failure. They stick tenaciously to their marginal Homestead, even if their children do not: only five out of fifty high-school graduates have remained in the village.

Vogt and his family lived in the community for eighteen months, collecting evidence particularly in areas thought to be relevant to testing his theory. He sometimes oversimplified the impact of values in his enthusiasm to build the study around a coherent and well-integrated theoretical model. He did not attempt to explore whether alternate theories could also help the reader understand Homestead. His is also a somewhat "provincial" approach to theory; it ignores much of the literature about social values written by persons who were not at Harvard or not in anthropology, even when as relevant as Ogburn's concept of cultural lag and criticisms of it. But he made a strong case for the theory that there is a high degree of value determinism. *Modern Homesteaders* will not be reviewed favorably in *Proveda*.

Busy readers are warned against skipping the appendix. It is of great methodological significance and demonstrates how Vogt checked his

clinical generalizations about social values with a sample of twenty informants.

JOSEPH W. EATON

Wayne University

Suicide and Homicide. By ANDREW F. HENRY and JAMES F. SHORT, JR. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 214. \$4.00.

Although more than a half-century old, the classic treatment of suicide by Émile Durkheim still stands as a model of empirical research. Its popularity as a model stems from the way in which Durkheim related a large number of empirical data on the distribution of suicide rates at various times and among different populations to a small set of propositions concerning variations in social structure. Henry and Short carry on the best of his tradition and add to his work by linking it to homicide, regarding both as expressions of aggression. Furthermore, the authors thereby have added the psychological dimension long felt to be a gap in Durkheim's work.

Henry and Short account for the temporal fluctuations in both suicide and homicide through the way in which the business cycle affects the level of frustration in the upper and lower status strata. In times of prosperity homicide rises as the lower classes feel deprived relative to those above them. In depressions suicide increases as the middle and upper classes feel the drop in status.

The differentials in suicide and homicide rates among subgroups in the population are accounted for by variations in the strength of "relational systems" and in "external restraints." Thus the married have a lower suicide rate than the unmarried because they participate in a stronger relational system. Where the external restraints on an individual are strong, owing to his lower status, homicide is more likely to be his reaction to frustration than suicide. Thus Negroes of low status have a higher homicide rate than whites of higher status.

With but few exceptions, the suicide and homicide rates bear out the expectations derived from their theory. The crucial gaps in their data are sensitively recognized by the authors; for example, the inferential character of external restraints as a variable. Suggestions are made for direct research on the patterning of aggression under laboratory conditions.

Ordinarily, the theory which enters into sociological research is merely disguised "common sense." It is a welcome relief to encounter in *Suicide and Homicide* a work which draws upon significant theory to encompass a large number of empirical uniformities.

PETER H. ROSSI

University of Chicago

Truants from Life. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xvi+511. \$6.00.

The rationale and techniques of the Sonia Shankman Orthogenic School are illustrated in this book by the developmental histories of four psychotic children. In this school therapy inheres in the social relations between the staff, and the central purpose is to produce an environment "within which the children might begin to develop a new life." They are helped to resolve their conflicts by the attitudes and relationships of the staff; some members of the staff feel fulfilled by the children's improvement. The children's behavior is considered symptomatic of conscious and unconscious conflicts, and correction is based upon appropriate relationships. The goals of improvement are: developing the child's capacity to relate more effectively to others, raising his self-esteem, and strengthening his tolerance for frustration and the restraint of his hostile impulses.

The school by its social organization is oriented toward constructive personality change. Apparently this approach to basic personality structure challenges the position of some clinicians and social scientists, who maintain that personality is formed early and is irreversible. The question is, of course: How early? This study shows that certain aberrant attitudes formed relatively early in life can be altered slowly in time. Its approach extends the psychoanalytic views and techniques of Aichorn and of Redl and is used with a somewhat different orientation from that of Healy and Bronner. The school's techniques imply a theory of personality which seemingly combines the depth-motivation and character-structure components of psychoanalysis with the theories of symbolic interaction developed by the social psychologists. The weakest phase of the theory concerns the references to erogenous zones which seems to label rather than to explain behavior.

The design of this presentation is clinical and practical. First, children are selected whose diversity best represents the therapeutic program, including one who attempted homicide and suicide, another who was very withdrawn, a third who had psychosomatic afflictions, and a fourth who was delinquent. It would have been pertinent to include a case of a child whose personality resisted treatment so that one could estimate the tentative limits of personality change. Second, a variety of disciplines are utilized to understand and to change the single person. The staff improvise or plan their strategies to redirect the behavior of a particular child in a particular context at a given time in his development.

The following conclusions and implications can be drawn from this illuminating book. First, it indicates the potentials of social relations as levers for personality change. Second, it demonstrates that schizophrenic children and "acting-out" children can be improved by appropriate social relations. Third, it points out that aberrant features of the basic personality may be revised if treated early and persistently enough. Fourth, since the school represents an exceptional private treatment center, it accentuates the differences in opportunities for treatment for disturbed persons in diverse social classes. In the best private treatment centers of the well-to-do, techniques are predominantly social-psychological; in the large public mental hospitals, predominantly pharmaceutical and biological. One significant question is whether the knowledge and techniques gained in exceptional private treatment centers such as this one can be applied successfully to large public mental hospitals.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

Professionalizer, Traditionalizer, Utilizer: An Interpretive Study of the Work of the General Duty Nurse in Non-Metropolitan Central Missouri General Hospitals. By ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN and EDWIN A. CHRIST. Columbia, Mo.: University of Missouri, 1955. Pp. x+164. \$2.00.

Among the current sociological investigations of the nursing profession this monograph is one of the more sophisticated. The authors begin with an ambitious and comprehensive statement of standards for studies of occupa-

tions. Yet, despite—or because of—this setting, they hew closely to their clearly stated limitations: an exploratory, interpretive study of the nurse in certain types of non-metropolitan hospitals.

The description of the planning of the study, of the research techniques and how they fared in practice, and the careful discussion of concepts throughout the study recommend it to the student of work and, as a casebook, to the teacher of occupational sociology and field work. The same general value can be attributed to the chapters on the variations in institutions and their effect on the formulation of the work and work role of the nurse. Of special interest is a brief but suggestive discussion of the importance of the "sociology of physical facilities" and its effect on relationships, division of labor, and morale.

The three types of nurses' roles which give the volume its name are "constructed sociological types," not necessarily corresponding to real people but appearing as extreme ideal-type-like formulations of role conceptions and work attitudes. The "Professionalizer," "Hell bent on professionalization," concerned with scientific principles, education and status, is set apart from the "Traditionalizer," the nurse devoted to bedside care and the "old-time" virtues and sometimes suspicious of new-fangled educational and organizational ideas as detracting from patient care. In these two types the authors have caught the dilemma of the profession. Between the two comes the "Utilizer"—the woman who has a job. She is not, as occasionally implied, a poor nurse. She may do her job well; but she does it feeling little involvement or concern about "being" a nurse.

These conceptions of the role of the nurse develop in an institution characterized by continuity and contiguity of tasks performed by highly discontinuous and segregated occupational groups and subgroups. In the patterning of routine and "extra" tasks and in the breadth of relationships and the formation of in-groups, the most significant distinctions emerge between the nurses studied in fifty-one non-metropolitan hospitals and those in large urban medical institutions.

The scope of the monograph is impressive. It ranges from the effect of institutional factors and group relationship on the role of the nurse to a broad summary of data on various socioeconomic factors. Habenstein and Christ have produced a sound piece of research and com-

municated it well. Besides the light shed on the specific group studied, they have contributed significantly to the understanding of the role of the nurse in general and added suggestive concepts to the sociologist's study of the drama of work.

HANS O. MAUKSCH

St. Luke's Hospital, Chicago

With Perspective on Human Relations: A Study of Peer Group Dynamics in an Eighth Grade.
By HILDA TABA. Washington, D.C.: American Council on Education, 1955. Pp. xiii+155. \$1.75.

This monograph presents an account of an "action research" program pursued by the Center for Intergroup Education. The objectives were to improve personal relationships among the pupils and thereby to increase their general social sensitivity, on the assumption that group structure is an important determinant of what is absorbed from the formal curriculum and that the school can become an important agent in promoting social sensitivity and reducing ethnocentrism.

The classroom selected for the year-long experiment was in an eastern industrial city and consisted of twenty-five children predominantly of the lower-middle and the upper-lower class as measured by the Warner ISC. The I.Q. range was from 75 to 121, with a median at 105, measured by the Otis Group Test. These characteristics are of interest because the author seeks to demonstrate that it is not only upper-middle-class children of superior intelligence who can profit from the kind of program advanced here. In order to assess the out-of-school climate in which the children lived, time-sample diaries were obtained, analysis of which led to the conclusions that the contacts of parents with their children were meager and the distance between generations was unusually great. The search "for companionship on any and all occasions is the major preoccupation of this group and creates the major topic of conversation." This provides the school with the opportunity to make use of peer relations to develop "cosmopolitan" loyalties and values.

A series of six sociometric tests administered throughout the school year guided the teacher and provided data to the researcher. To promote inclusiveness and belonging, students were combined and recombined in committees and

study groups, so as to preserve existing networks while extending them gradually and so as to combine skills and achievement levels. The class showed great mobility of sociometric choice, to some degree attributed to the conscious experimentation. The school program contributed to the "value climate" which encouraged tolerance of differences and experimentation with a variety of relationships.

The other principal tool for effecting change was a set of stories illustrating human relationships, classroom discussions of which were recorded for analysis. Comparison of the discussions of the second half-year with those of the first half showed an increase in cause-and-effect interpretations of behavior and a decrease in self-references and in moralistic judgments.

The study has methodological flaws, of which the author is largely aware. There are additional shortcomings: for example, her claim that the capacities developed in English class carry over to other contexts is not supported by any evidence. But the significance of the work lies in the strong case made for the view that the school can make up for serious deficiencies in the home and can alter the nature and basis of interpersonal attachments. This point is relevant to theories of child development and has important personal, social, and political implications.

GERALD HANDEL

University of Chicago

What Makes an Executive? Report of a Round Table on Executive Potential and Performance.
Edited by ELI GINZBERG. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xii+179. \$3.50.

The primary concern of this book is the individual characteristics of executives and the organizational patterns of American corporations, which, in combination, facilitate or impede the development of high-ranking administrators. Viewed sociologically, it contributes to the burgeoning literature on socialization and the arrangement of social roles in modern bureaucracies. It differs from other recent studies such as those of Whyte, Newcomer, and Warner in approach more than in focus.

A group of seventeen men, drawn largely from business and public life, joined with economists and a psychiatrist at Columbia University's School of Business to explore their collec-

tive experiences bearing on executive potentials. Conferences such as theirs reported here for the exchange of knowledge and for the evaluation of what additional knowledge is needed for policy-making serve as a means for establishing communication between research workers and policy-makers, for they form a new medium for the diffusion of research findings and are a way of delineating fields for investigations of mutual interest.

An initial statement by the chairman of the conference that "the paramount need is to develop key questions which, when answered, lead to new knowledge" was taken as a serious mandate. At the same time, members of the group were aware that they offered not exact knowledge but judgments.

The following topics, which they picked as salient, were examined in some detail: social background and temperament which shape behavior as an executive; the connection between formal education and career prospects; methods for the identification of promising men; the kinds of work experience which enhance individual capacity; norms for the assessment of performance; and, finally, the relevance of the foregoing for policy and research. Their discussion is notably free of platitudes, reflects the shrewd thinking of sophisticated men who are not afraid to challenge prevailing beliefs among management, and clearly discloses hypotheses around which research might be designed. The discussion also reveals their unawareness of sociological concepts which might suggest significant questions and cultural dimensions—the result, perhaps, of having no sociologically oriented member in their midst.

To mention a few items of direct sociological relevance: First, and probably most obvious, the participants were acutely conscious of the importance of distinguishing various types of populations which fall within the rubric of "executive." There is no single basic personality type among administrators, whether classified by motives, levels of aspiration, social skills, or values. They note the easy tendency to stereotype organizational patterns and executives and to overgeneralize about the behavior of the latter.

Second, they attach more weight to informal training than to formal, in-service training programs, although the latter are not entirely discounted. A study in which I am currently engaged corroborates their view of the importance to the learning process of the superior as a sig-

nificant other—as both a positive and a negative model. Most of their generalizations about the place of informal relations within large-scale organizations coincides with sociological theorizing and also reaffirms the need for further study of the socialization of the adult in his organization. Of incidental interest is the appearance of a new marginal man, that is, the person with talent but without academic degrees; earnest interest is manifested in how such a man might be given fair opportunities.

For those who have speculated about the social premium being put on the "other-directed" self in present-day America, there is a short but provocative appraisal. In essence, the group is not enthusiastic over the tendency of those who pick new staff to find men who are "easy fits" and who conform smoothly to dominant norms. Perhaps they mean that for rising to the top of the hierarchy the most promising prospects are those with some ability to be "inner-directed" and that characteristics in demand at the lower ranks of administration are not necessarily those required at the upper. If so, we are presented with a neat sociological problem of role-taking and social mobility.

For such suggestive ideas this book can be read with profit.

JOHN USEEM

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The New American Right. Edited by DANIEL BELL. New York: Criterion Books, 1955. Pp. xii+239. \$4.00.

Three sociologists—David Riesman, Talcott Parsons, and Seymour M. Lipset—two historians—Richard Hofstadter and Peter Viereck—and two publicists—Daniel Bell and Nathan Glazer—here attempt to account for new rightist tendencies in American politics. They discuss the new social strata which entered the political arena after the New Deal and note that older strata with traditional claims seem largely to have lost their grip on political power.

This is a curious book: it contains sociological analysis of a high order but also a special kind of neo-conservative political pleading. It partakes of the characteristics of a tract for the times and of a contribution to political sociology. The editor's introductory essay argues rather heatedly for a politics of moderation. Daniel Bell, labor editor of *Fortune*, contends that "the

tendency to convert issues into ideologies, to invest them with moral color and high emotional charge, invites conflict which can only damage society.... The saving glory of the United States is that politics has always been a pragmatic give-and-take rather than a series of wars-to-the-death. One ultimately comes to admire the 'practical politics' of a Theodore Roosevelt and his scorn for the intransigents.... Neither Bell nor some other authors of the volume who echo him seem fully aware that their attempted de-ideologizing of politics is itself an ideological enterprise.

When Bell proposes Theodore Roosevelt, Calhoun, and Madison as the new political heroes for the age, he is not less "ideological" than those whose heroes may be Eugene Debs or Robert La Follette, Sr. And when some of the contributors to this volume engage in the now fashionable game of Populist-baiting, they ought to be aware that the latent function of such a strategy is to discredit the radical impulse which has so profoundly marked the American political tradition. Intellectuals who discredit ideology may be in danger of contributing to that transformation of the intellectual into the expert which is already so far advanced in some parts of the world.

Let us now turn to the analytical parts of the book. The main concept that the authors use toward understanding the sources of the "radical right," they term "status politics." As distinct from class politics, which refers to political divisions focusing upon the distribution of income, status politics, writes Professor Lipset, "refers to political movements whose appeal is to the not uncommon resentments of individuals or groups who desire to maintain or improve their status." Class politics predominate in times of depression, status politics in times of prosperity, when groups which have risen economically but are not as yet accorded status commensurate with their income are likely to feel frustrated. But groups possessing traditional status and feeling a threat to their claims are also likely to suffer in the same way. Texas oil millionaires who are snubbed by Harvard-educated eastern socialites, members of traditional social elites no longer recognized in the seats of national power, members of ethnic groups who have risen economically and moved to the suburbs but are not yet granted the social recognition for which they strive—such groups, the various authors contend, are peculiarly apt to express

their accumulated frustrations by supporting rightist demagogues. McCarthyism appears to these writers as a symptom which unites in a strange alliance members of falling older elites with rising members of new groups in a common assault against traditional values. These "pseudo-conservatives" are prone to press for conformity in a wide variety of spheres of life. "Conformity," argues Professor Hofstadter, "is a way of guaranteeing and manifesting respectability among those who are not sure that they are respectable enough."

The concept of status frustration yields insights into the conflicts and strains of our recent political history which class analysis would not have permitted. Yet, as happens so often, the claims for the new type of analysis seem to be somewhat excessive. When upward mobility, downward mobility, and lack of mobility are all said to lead to status insecurity and contribute to the rightist movement, we may indeed wonder why McCarthyism did not sweep the country. If a concept can be so flexibly employed as to lend itself to the explanation of almost any set of data, it loses some of its usefulness. Which data will contradict it? If these cannot be specified, then we deal only with a pseudo-theory that can be made to be compatible with any set of data.

These strictures are not meant to distract attention from the merits of the detailed analyses but only to say that these pioneers of political sociology are a bit overconfident

LEWIS A. COSER

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Standard Oil Company (Indiana): Oil Pioneer of the Middle West. By PAUL H. GIDDENS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. Pp. xviii+741. \$7.50.

The Empire of Oil. By HARVEY O'CONNOR. New York: Monthly Review Press, 1955. Pp. xii+372. \$5.00.

On the one hand, the Standard Oil of Indiana is a ship of state. Something close to poetry commands the story. Wrestled into existence out of the muck of a boisterously expanding Middle West, this company has powered its way to azure seas. Giddens finds that it has pioneered vigorously in oil, thrown enormous resources into research, expanded a huge network of facilities for serving the consumer,

enjoyed the enthusiastic good will of its employees, helped small business to stay alive, encouraged the independent distributor, contributed to countless worth-while community activities, subsidized colleges, and otherwise compiled an "impressive record" to be well deserved in the annals of these times.

On the other hand, the oil industry is a nest of vipers. O'Connor finds that the great major oil companies are virtually, one and all, founders, or would-be founders, of vast private empires. Their strategies are wrapped in the utmost secrecy. They are directed from chilly heights by small, closely knit bureaucratic and co-operatively recruited cliques. They bargain on equal terms with states and governments, big and small. They have proceeded from the beginning in utter disregard for the interests of the public in conservation. They have bilked the consumer through artificially inflated prices and fought labor organization on every possible front. They seek—and in some cases with notable success—to free themselves from control by stockholders. They have made petty serfs of their distributors. They are gutting the oil resources of oil-rich, but otherwise poor, lands like Venezuela and the Arabian countries of the Near East, and they are either making the minimum concessions to local political, labor, and similar interests, or they are corrupting governments and bolstering up tottering, violently antidemocratic regimes with the gift of personal riches that make all previous Midases look as poor as the humblest Dives.

Which is closer to that elusive thing called "truth"? For the one we have another instance of a growing need of secular sanction for use of the term "apologetics." Painstaking, orderly, unquestionably honest, and keenly exegetical writing around doctrine which is held a priori to be unimpeachably true loses no stature as pleading through being paid for, as in the case of Glidden's book, by the object of adulatory defense. Exegesis here admits a great deal of tarnish by way of detail. Such is mortal life. But in the great crises the blemishes become institutional beauty marks. The dissolution of the Standard trust in 1911 gets short shrift. Not that Standard was on trial, but the sweep of the Sherman law. In the even more notorious case of the Fall-Doheny scandals of the middle 1920's, Standard of Indiana comes off spotless, while Colonel Stewart, though ousted by the Rockefeller family following government inquiry, appears as a strong man, an upholder

of the American way, who was brought down by spite, bigotry, and misunderstanding. One wonders.

From reading this book one would suppose that Standard of Indiana never had, or could have had, any labor problems. At one time it did hire a few private detectives, but the sleuths turned up practically nothing at all. Labor, it seems, has been paid well; it remains throughout contented and loyal to the company; there is no need to speak of unions. And while profits of Indiana have been high—sometimes, as on the occasion of the struggle over the ouster of Stewart, almost fantastically high—there is still no intimation that the consuming public did not fully and at all times get its money's worth. This is history written in the spirit of what Virgil Jordan, long president of the National Industrial Conference Board, once termed in a biting satire as faithful and devoted "lettering of the lives of the industrial saints."

As for O'Connor, clearly nobody subsidized his book. Nor will many buy and read it. It is written in the genre of the muckraker books such as *The Shame of the Cities*, *The Jungle*, and *The Robber Barons*. It is published by a frankly Socialist press. It appears in the midst of rousing prosperity. It is presented to a public which does not distinguish between Socialists, Communists, and parricides. Is this public to believe or care that the oil industry has wasted trillions of cubic feet of gas in the past, when the driver can say "fill 'er up" at the first service station? Is the "red-blooded" American to be worried because the man who cleans his windshield, although an "independent" operator at law, is yet so tied by exclusive contracts to the majors that he is deprived of freedom of contract, price determination, and the independent operation of his business? After McCarthy, is the citizen to be roused to indignation because the oil industry, as O'Connor finds, runs the Department of the Interior and makes the decisions in the boiling Arabian Middle East which the State Department will then set itself to back up?

But are the facts straight and the interpretations justified? Take some of the allegations. Since the memorable foregathering at the medieval spot of Achnacarry, has a world oil cartel existed with all the potency O'Connor suggests? What of the claimed "ease with which officials of our State Department, the Department of Commerce and other agencies are

interchangeable with officials of the importing companies," as a cited critic of the oil industry put it? Is it really impossible, as the oil industry is said to insist, to tell what it costs to market a gallon of gasoline? Or to find a meaningful and non-extortionate price for oil blended from supplies which are partly domestic, partly Venezuelan, and partly Arabian? How indeterminate are costs in the oil industry anyway? Does the vast web of interlocking corporate alliances between and among the oil companies, domestic and foreign alike, and between them and General Motors, DuPont, I.G. Farbenindustrie, and many others mean the massing of irresponsible, collusive, private power or merely changed practices on a more competitive market place? What is the meaning of competition when prices for the leading oil products move up and down as though in response to decree?

"Business," an oil executive once commented, "must never assume . . . that our economic system is understood and admired by the majority of the American people." The "*Fortune* patented public relations simonizing," as a wit has called it, of the sort employed by Mr. Gliddens will not allay much skepticism. It is zealous, convinced, but too overdone. Contrariwise, the issues raised by O'Connor, etched with acid though they be and with benefit of reverse exegetical fervor, are yet of momentous importance. If even a fifth of the story is valid as presented—which is not to imply that it may not all be true—then the facts cited and interpretations given deserve a host of painstaking studies by economists, political theorists, sociologists, and historians. But so to proceed would require lines of interest and qualities of courage which in most research circles are now as dead as the Dodo. *Allegans contraria non est audiendus!*

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Middle-Class Democracy and the Revolution in Massachusetts, 1691-1780. By ROBERT E. BROWN. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1955. Pp. ix+458. \$6.00.

There was once a time when American historians were greatly intrigued with the notion that the American Revolution represented far

more than mere political rebellion against England: that it was also a major "social" upheaval in which the "lower orders" were supposed to have wrested any number of advantages from their betters. This idea, first advanced by J. Franklin Jameson and promoted in various ways by Beard, Parrington, J. Allen Smith, and Merrill Jensen, has come to be viewed with more and more skepticism in recent years, and the present book by Robert Brown might very well mark its final collapse.

What Brown shows is that the social mobility, egalitarianism, and democratic political life which so impressed Tocqueville in the America of the Jackson era were characteristic features of Colonial Massachusetts long before the Revolution—in fact, as early as the 1690's. The evidence, laboriously gathered at two centuries' distance, is chiefly that the population of Colonial Massachusetts was largely modest property-owners; property requirements for voting were so low and the necessary property so easy to acquire that, for practical purposes, suffrage was all but universal; and political leadership rested firmly in the hands of independent farmers drawn from every section of the Colony.

For the non-historian, the most interesting feature of the book will probably be the technique by which Brown collects and arranges his bits and pieces of evidence to give reality to his thesis. Take, for example, the limitation of the franchise by property qualifications. Earlier authorities estimated that only one in five or six adult males could vote; Brown concludes that the true figure lies closer to four out of five and reaches it by a series of approximations. He first culls a number of quotations from contemporary sources which indicate, often indirectly, that sufficient property to qualify for the vote was easily acquired and that a substantial portion of the population voted. These quotations are then supported by "case studies," such as that of "David Chapman, a Northampton blacksmith, [who] paid neither poll or estate tax in 1771, paid a poll tax only in 1772, was rated one poll and £9.8.0 estate in 1773, and eleven years later, 1784, had a house, seven acres of improved land, twenty-two acres unimproved, and a family of thirteen." There are enough such cases to warrant a presumption of widespread mobility.

For corroboration, Brown then considers the meaning of the voting qualification of property

worth £40 or bringing 40s. in annual income. A house, barn, and a small farm of five acres would easily qualify as a £40 freehold, and 40s. income was much less than the annual rental of a single room in Boston and barely equal to the price of a rather poor cow or a month's pay of a militiaman on active duty.

Finally, to clinch his argument, Brown makes use of the only voting statistics available for the period, those of disputed town elections in which the General Court was forced to intervene. These, our only record of the actual vote in a town election, are then compared with the total number of local adult males, ingeniously estimated. The results, that between 85 and 95 per cent of the adult male population voted in these elections, point clearly in the direction of a broad suffrage.

Evidence so fragmentary and so old hampers the investigator with special obstacles, though even today's social scientist, working with contemporary data, will recognize them as not totally unlike those which he himself continually faces. It often happens that the fascination of the chase obscures the possibility that one's conceptual framework may itself be restrictive and misleading. Brown, for instance, overreacting to the "mass-against-class" picture of Beard's and Jameson's day, feels that, in order to show Massachusetts society as "democratic," he must also democratize its wealth, and therefore its energy and enterprise. What he fails to locate is the focus of Massachusetts' dynamism: an aggressive and enterprising merchant elite whose ranks (whether they liked it or not) were constantly being augmented by new blood and new money. This may not have been an egalitarian utopia, but it was nothing if not "democratic." The "purity" of classic Athenian democracy at its height was made possible by an almost identical situation.

STANLEY M. ELKINS

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The Clash of Cultures in Israel: A Problem for Education. By ABRAHAM SHUMSKY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1955. Pp. xi+170. \$3.75.

While primarily concerned with the role that the Israeli school ought to play in the integration of the masses of new oriental immigrants, this

book puts to use much of what has been written on the subject of culture contact in Israel. Thus the Israeli "pressure cooker" is rather popularly, unevenly, but sometimes insightfully depicted by references to this literature, only a small proportion of which is systematic research.

The author divides the Jewish population into the oriental and the Ashkenazi of central and eastern Europe, assuming that these are two groups (though many different nationalities are represented by each) and two cultures. The scientific merit of the classification, of course, is to be judged only in terms of its usefulness. From this point of view, one suspects that more pointed concern for the differences in social structure, motivation for coming to Israel, and so on, which hide beneath these labels, would be a greater aid in finding the variables associated with, say, successful adjustment to the new country. But, apart from objective classification, the study of intergroup relations also calls for an examination of how people classify themselves and one another. Here it should be noted that the author's own classification is that of the dominant Ashkenazi group rather than that of the newcomers.

The book wrestles throughout with a basic dilemma. On one page the author reveals an instance of segregation (e.g., the *de facto* segregation created by school zoning), while on the next page he finds that "the way to mutual assimilation is through activating and strengthening the social life of the Oriental ethnic communities." If segregation is evil, how can cultural pluralism be good? The author senses this fundamental dilemma and instinctively attempts the difficult task of steering a middle course.

But whatever social planning is attempted along the lines of "activating and strengthening" the oriental communities must reckon with the desire of the oriental Jew to become, as fast as possible, like his European brother. Social scientists, sometimes, are sentimental about helping people to preserve their culture even when that is not what the people themselves want. Perhaps it might be "better" for the people if they desired otherwise, but it should nonetheless be realized that urging resistance to change poses the same moral problem for the social planner and applied scientist as does the problem of urging unwanted change.

The desire to be like the dominant group and unlike one's parents parallels the experience of many groups of American immigrants, and

the author rightly presumes that there is much to be learned from the latter. Similarly, the problem of achieving change by working through established leaders is compared with the British policy of "indirect rule" in colonial administration. If agencies of change approach established leaders, they may be regarded as reactionary; if they by-pass them, they may undermine the social structure. If they re-educate them, the leaders may not want to go back to their people.

The author finds a long list of similarities between the classroom behavior of American middle-class and lower-class children and those of Ashkenazi and oriental children, respectively. And while it is true that the Ashkenazi tend to be the middle class in Israel and the oriental immigrant constitutes the lower class, the mere substitution of a class label for an ethnic one is hardly an explanation of the differences in behavior. If there are genuine parallels between American lower-class children and oriental Jewish children in Israeli schools, it must be because of some more fundamental variables.

A number of hidden bases of segregation are revealed by the author as unintended consequences of one or another policy or spontaneous pattern of settlement. These deserve the attention of social scientists and planners both here and in Israel.

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Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: A Study in Educational Sociology.

By OLIVE BANKS. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955; New York: Grove Press, 1955. Pp. vii+262. \$6.00.

This study constitutes another contribution to the growing sociological literature concerned with the ramifications of the English social structure and, more particularly, with its system of stratification. It traces the influence that an occupational hierarchy has exerted upon the organization and form of English secondary education and is concerned only in passing with the obverse relationship. The author has skillfully pictured what she conceives of as the basic dilemma: that differential prestige is attached by society to the various elements of the school system, depending on the level on the occupational ladder for which they prepare their students, although the desire for "parity" of

educational prestige inheres in a democratic system of values.

Development of the main types of public (in the American sense) secondary education is carefully sketched from the higher-grade schools of the 1890's to modern forms of tripartitism and multilateralism. Today, the English secondary system consists, with some overlapping, of three major types of schools: grammar (closest to college-preparatory); technical (roughly, business and industrial); and modern (vocational).

Government policy, particularly as expressed by the various reviewing committees, has advocated the retention of this threefold division. Each type of school, with its own distinctive character and aims, will, it is hoped, enjoy a parity of conditions and eventually of esteem. The author's merit is to show that the social structure renders the latter outcome unlikely. Governmental policy has been seriously challenged, especially at the local community level and among the rank and file of the Labour party.

Opponents of the principle of tripartitism advocated, at first, simple multilateral schools, each consisting of grammar, technical, and modern divisions, each division to retain its distinctive character. Soon after, however, came the heightened drive for social equality, and after 1948 the Labour party, with a glance at the American high school and the Scottish omnibus school, pressed for "comprehensive" schools, organized about a central core of common subjects. The function of these comprehensive schools was to soften class antagonisms rather than to dissolve class barriers.

The entire issue became the subject of a furious struggle when the new Labour government took office shortly after the war. Miss Ellen Wilkinson, the Labour minister of education, and other leading members of the government rejected multilateralism, and the author has indicated probable factors behind this apparent reversal. Nevertheless, some local authorities have remained in favor of this principle, and in a few areas school systems were planned on this basis. A crucial issue, not yet resolved, is whether academic standards are endangered by the comprehensive school.

This eminently readable and well-organized historical study represents a welcome addition to educational sociology.

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CAREERS, PERSONALITY, AND ADULT SOCIALIZATION¹

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ABSTRACT

Adult identity is largely a function of career movements within occupations and work organizations. Mannheim's model of the bureaucratic career is too simple to apply to most occupations. Recruitment for positions exhibits typical, but not necessarily obvious, regularities. Positions offer characteristic opportunities for training for mobility or impediments to it, among which loyalty is important. The timing of change raises problems for organization and personnel. The psychological stress attendant upon mobility varies by type of career.

In contradistinction to other disciplines, the sociological approach to the study of personality and personality change views the person as a member of a social structure. Usually the emphasis is upon some cross-section in his life: on the way he fills his status, on the consequent conflicts in role and his dilemmas. When the focus is more developmental, then concepts like career carry the import of movement through structures. Much writing on career, of course, pertains more to patterned sequences of passage than to the persons. A fairly comprehensive statement about careers as related both to institutions and to persons would be useful in furthering research. We shall restrict our discussion to careers in work organizations and occupations, for purposes of economy.

¹ Everett C. Hughes, of the University of Chicago, has undoubtedly done more than any other sociologist in this country to focus attention and research on occupational careers. Several of our illustrations will be drawn from work done under his direction, and our own thinking owes much to his writing and conversation.

CAREER FLOW

Organizations built around some particular kind of work or situation at work tend to be characterized by recurring patterns of tension and of problems. Thus in occupations whose central feature is performance of a service for outside clients, one chronic source of tension is the effort of members to control their work life themselves while in contact with outsiders. In production organizations somewhat similar tensions arise from the workers' efforts to maintain relative autonomy over job conditions.

Whatever the typical problems of an occupation, the pattern of associated problems will vary with one's position. Some positions will be easier, some more difficult; some will afford more prestige, some less; some will pay better than others. In general, the personnel move from less to more desirable positions, and the flow is usually, but not necessarily, related to age. The pure case is the bureaucracy as described by Mannheim, in which seniority and an age-related increase in skill and responsibility

automatically push men in the desired direction and within a single organization.²

An ideally simple model of flow up through an organization is something like the following: recruits enter at the bottom in positions of least prestige and move up through the ranks as they gain in age, skill, and experience. Allowing for some attrition due to death, sickness, and dismissal or resignation, all remain in the organization until retirement. Most would advance to top ranks. A few reach the summit of administration. Yet even in bureaucracies, which perhaps come closest to this model, the very highest posts often go not to those who have come up through the ranks but to "irregulars"—people with certain kinds of experiences or qualifications not necessarily acquired by long years of official service. In other ways, too, the model is oversimple: posts at any rank may be filled from the outside; people get "frozen" at various levels and do not rise. Moreover, career movements may be not only up but down or sideways, as in moving from one department to another at approximately the same rank.

The flow of personnel through an organization should be seen, also, as a number of streams; that is, there may be several routes to the posts of high prestige and responsibility. These may be thought of as escalators. An institution invests time, money, and energy in the training of its recruits and members which it cannot afford to let go to waste. Hence just being on the spot often means that one is bound to advance. In some careers, even a small gain in experience gives one a great advantage over the beginner. The mere fact of advancing age or of having been through certain kinds of situations or training saves many an employee from languishing in lower positions. This is what the phrase "seasoning" refers to—the acquiring of requisite knowledge and skills, skills that cannot always be clearly specified even by those who have

them. However, the escalator will carry one from opportunities as well as to them. After a certain amount of time and money have been spent upon one's education for the job, it is not always easy to get off one escalator and on another. Immediate superiors will block transfer. Sponsors will reproach one for disloyalty. Sometimes a man's special training and experience will be thought to have spoiled him for a particular post.

RECRUITMENT AND REPLACEMENT

Recruitment is typically regarded as occurring only at the beginning of a career, where the occupationally uncommitted are bid for, or as something which happens only when there is deliberate effort to get people to commit themselves. But establishments must recruit for all positions; whenever personnel are needed, they must be found and often trained. Many higher positions, as in bureaucracies, appear to recruit automatically from aspirants at next lower levels. This is only appearance: the recruitment mechanisms are standardized and work well. Professors, for example, are drawn regularly from lower ranks, and the system works passably in most academic fields. But in schools of engineering young instructors are likely to be drained off into industry and not be on hand for promotion. Recruitment is never really automatic but depends upon developing in the recruit certain occupational or organizational commitments which correspond to regularized career routes.

Positions in organizations are being vacated continually through death and retirement, promotion and demotion. Replacements may be drawn from the outside ("an outside man") or from within the organization. Most often positions are filled by someone promoted from below or shifted from another department without gaining in prestige. When career routes are well laid out, higher positions are routinely filled from aspirants at the next lower level. However, in most organizations many career routes are not so rigidly laid out: a man may jump from one career over to another to

² Karl Mannheim, *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. Paul Kecskemeti (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953), pp. 247-49.

fill the organization's need. When this happens, the "insider-outsider" may be envied by those who have come up by the more orthodox routes; and his associates on his original route may regard him as a turncoat. This may be true even if he is not the first to have made the change, as in the jump from scholar to dean or doctor to hospital administrator. Even when replacement from outside the organization is routine for certain positions, friction may result if the newcomer has come up by an irregular route—as when a college president is chosen from outside the usual circle of feeding occupations. A candidate whose background is too irregular is likely to be eliminated unless just this irregularity makes him particularly valuable. The advantage of "new blood" versus "inbreeding" may be the justification. A good sponsor can widen the limits within which the new kind of candidate is judged, by asking that certain of his qualities be weighed against others; as Hall says, "the question is not whether the applicant possesses a specific trait . . . but whether these traits can be assimilated by the specific institutions."³

Even when fairly regular routes are followed, the speed of advancement may not be rigidly prescribed. Irregularity may be due in part to unexpected needs for replacement because a number of older men retire in quick succession or because an older man leaves and a younger one happens to be conveniently present. On the other hand, in some career lines there may be room for a certain amount of manipulation of "the system." One such method is to remain physically mobile, especially early in the career, thus taking advantage of several institutions' vacancies.

THE LIMITS OF REPLACEMENT AND RECRUITMENT

Not all positions within an organization recruit from an equally wide range. Aside from the fact that different occupations may

be represented in one establishment, some positions require training so specific that recruits can be drawn only from particular schools or firms. Certain positions are merely way stations and recruit only from aspirants directly below. Some may draw only from the outside, and the orbit is always relevant to both careers and organization. One important question, then, about any organization is the limits within which positions recruit incumbents. Another is the limits of the recruitment in relation to certain variables—age of the organization, its relations with clients, type of generalized work functions, and the like.

One can also identify crucial contingencies for careers in preoccupational life by noting the general or probable limits within which recruiting is carried on and the forces by which they are maintained. For example, it is clear that a position can be filled, at least at first, only from among those who know of it. Thus physiologists cannot be recruited during high school, for scarcely any youngster then knows what a physiologist is or does. By the same token, however, there are at least generally formulated notions of the "artist," so that recruitment into the world of art often begins in high school.⁴ This is paradoxical, since the steps and paths later in the artist's career are less definite than in the physiologist's. The range and diffusion of a public stereotype are crucial in determining the number and variety of young people from whom a particular occupation can recruit, and the unequal distribution of information about careers limits occupations possibilities.

There are problems attending the systematic restriction of recruiting. Some kinds of persons, for occupationally irrelevant reasons (formally, anyway), may not be considered for some positions at all. Medical schools restrict recruiting in this way: openly, on grounds of "personality assessments,"

³ Oswald Hall, "The Stages in a Medical Career," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (March, 1948), 332.

⁴ Cf. Strauss's unpublished studies of careers in art and Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Development of Identification with an Occupation," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (January, 1956), 289-98.

and covertly on ethnicity. Italians, Jews, and Negroes who do become doctors face differential recruitment into the formal and informal hierarchies of influence, power, and prestige in the medical world. Similar mechanisms operate at the top and bottom of industrial organizations.⁵

Another problem is that of "waste." Some recruits in institutions which recruit pretty widely do not remain. Public caseworkers in cities are recruited from holders of Bachelor's degrees, but most do not remain caseworkers. From the welfare agency's point of view this is waste. From other perspectives this is not waste, for they may exploit the job and its opportunities for private ends. Many who attend school while supposedly visiting clients may be able to transfer to new escalators because of the acquisition, for instance, of a Master's degree. Others actually build up small businesses during this "free time." The only permanent recruits, those who do not constitute waste, are those who fail at such endeavors.⁶ Unless an organization actually finds useful a constant turnover of some sector of its personnel, it is faced with the problem of creating organizational loyalties and—at higher levels anyhow—satisfactory careers or the illusion of them, within the organization.

TRAINING AND SCHOOLS

Schooling occurs most conspicuously during the early stages of a career and is an essential part of getting people committed to careers and prepared to fill positions. Both processes may, or may not, be going

⁵ Cf. Hall, *op. cit.*; David Solomon, "Career Contingencies of Chicago Physicians" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1952); Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943), pp. 52-53; Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (March, 1951), 407-15; and Orvis Collins, "Ethnic Behavior in Industry: Sponsorship and Rejection in a New England Factory," *American Journal of Sociology*, LI (January, 1946), 293-98.

⁶ Cf. unpublished M.A. report of Earl Bogdanoff and Arnold Glass, "The Sociology of the Public Case Worker in an Urban Area" (University of Chicago, 1954).

on simultaneously. However, movement from one kind of job or position or another virtually always necessitates some sort of learning—sometimes before and sometimes on the job, sometimes through informal channels and sometimes at school. This means that schools may exist within the framework of an organization. In-service training is not only for jobs on lower levels but also for higher positions. Universities and special schools are attended by students who are not merely preparing for careers but getting degrees or taking special courses in order to move faster and higher. In some routes there is virtual blockage of mobility because the top of the ladder is not very high; in order to rise higher, one must return to school to prepare for ascending by another route. Thus the registered nurse may have to return to school to become a nursing educator, administrator, or even supervisor. Sometimes the aspirant may study on his own, and this may be effective unless he must present a diploma to prove he deserves promotion.

The more subtle connections are between promotion and informal training. Certain positions preclude the acquiring of certain skills or information, but others foster it. It is possible to freeze a man at given levels or to move him faster, unbeknownst to him. Thus a sponsor, anticipating a need for certain requirements in his candidate, may arrange for critical experiences to come his way. Medical students are aware that if they obtain internships in certain kinds of hospitals they will be exposed to certain kinds of learning: the proper internship is crucial to many kinds of medical careers. But learning may depend upon circumstances which the candidate cannot control and of which he may not even be aware. Thus Goldstein has pointed out that nurses learn more from doctors at hospitals not attached to a medical school; elsewhere the medical students become the beneficiaries of the doctors' teaching.⁷ Quite often who

⁷ Rhoda Goldstein, "The Professional Nurse in the Hospital Bureaucracy" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Chicago, 1954).

teaches whom and what is connected with matters of convenience as well as with prestige. It is said, for instance, that registered nurses are jealous of their prerogatives and will not transmit certain skills to practical nurses. Nevertheless, the nurse is often happy to allow her aides to relieve her of certain other jobs and will pass along the necessary skills; and the doctor in his turn may do the same with his nurses.

The connection between informal learning and group allegiance should not be minimized. Until a newcomer has been accepted, he will not be taught crucial trade secrets. Conversely, such learning may block mobility, since to be mobile is to abandon standards, violate friendships, and even injure one's self-regard. Within some training institutions students are exposed to different and sometimes antithetical work ideologies—as with commercial and fine artists—which results in sharp and sometimes lasting internal conflicts of loyalty.

Roy's work on industrial organization furnishes a subtle instance of secrecy and loyalty in training.⁸ The workers in Roy's machine shop refused to enlighten him concerning ways of making money on difficult piecework jobs until given evidence that he could be trusted in undercover skirmishes with management. Such systematic withholding of training may mean that an individual can qualify for promotion by performance only by shifting group loyalties, and that disqualifies him in some other sense. Training hinders as well as helps. It may incapacitate one for certain duties as well as train him for them. Roy's discussion of the managerial "logic of efficiency" makes this clear: workers, not trained in this logic, tend to see short cuts to higher production more quickly than managers, who think in terms of sentimental dogmas of efficiency.⁹

Certain transmittable skills, information, and qualities facilitate movement, and it behooves the candidate to discover and distinguish what is genuinely relevant in his

training. The student of careers must also be sensitized to discover what training is essential or highly important to the passage from one status to another.

RECRUITING FOR UNDESIRABLE POSITIONS

A most difficult kind of recruiting is for positions which no one wants. Ordinary incentives do not work, for these are positions without prestige, without future, without financial reward. Yet they are filled. How, and by whom? Most obviously, they are filled by failures (the crews of gandy dancers who repair railroad tracks are made up of skid-row bums), to whom they are almost the only means of survival. Most positions filled by failures are not openly regarded as such; special rhetorics deal with misfortune and make their ignominious fate more palatable for the failures themselves and those around them.¹⁰

Of course, failure is a matter of perspective. Many positions represent failure to some but not to others. For the middle-class white, becoming a caseworker in a public welfare agency may mean failure; but for the Negro from the lower-middle class the job may be a real prize. The permanent positions in such agencies tend to be occupied by whites who have failed to reach anything better and, in larger numbers, by Negroes who have succeeded in arriving this far.¹¹ Likewise, some recruitment into generally undesirable jobs is from the ranks of the disaffected who care little for generally accepted values. The jazz musicians who play in Chicago's Clark Street dives make little money, endure bad working conditions, but desire the freedom to play as they could not in better-paying places.¹²

⁸ Donald Roy, "Efficiency and the 'Fix': Informal Intergroup Relations in a Piecework Machine Shop," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (November, 1954), 255-66.

¹⁰ Cf. Erving Goffman, "On Cooling the Mark Out: Some Aspects of Adaptation to Failure," *Psychiatry*, XV (November, 1952), 451-63.

¹¹ Bogdanoff and Glass, *op. cit.*

⁹ Donald Roy, "Quota Restriction and Gold-bricking in a Machine Shop," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 427-42.

¹² Howard S. Becker, "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (September, 1951), 136-44.

Recruits to undesirable positions also come from the ranks of the transients, who, because they feel that they are on their way to something different and better, can afford temporarily to do something *infra dig*. Many organizations rely primarily on transients—such as the taxi companies and some of the mail-order houses. Among the permanent incumbents of undesirable positions are those, also, who came in temporarily but whose brighter prospects did not materialize, they thus fall into the “failure” group.

Still another group is typified by the taxi dancer, whose career Cressey has described. The taxi dancer starts at the top, from which the only movement possible is down or out. She enters the profession young and goodlooking and draws the best customers in the house, but, as age and hard work take their toll, she ends with the worst clients or becomes a streetwalker.¹³ Here the worst positions are filled by individuals who start high and so are committed to a career that ends badly—a more common pattern of life, probably, than is generally recognized.

Within business and industrial organizations, not everyone who attempts to move upward succeeds. Men are assigned to positions prematurely, sponsors drop protégés, and miscalculations are made about the abilities of promising persons. Problems for the organization arise from those contingencies. Incompetent persons must be moved into positions where they cannot do serious damage, others of limited ability can still be useful if wisely placed. Aside from outright firing, various methods of “cooling out” the failures can be adopted, among them honorific promotion, banishment “to the sticks,” shunting to other departments, frank demotion, bribing out of the organization, and down-grading through departmental mergers. The use of particular methods is related to the structure of the

organization; and these, in turn, have consequences both for the failure and for the organization.¹⁴

ATTACHMENT AND SEVERANCE

Leaders of organizations sometimes complain that their personnel will not take responsibility or that some men (the wrong ones) are too ambitious. This complaint reflects a dual problem which confronts every organization. Since all positions must be filled, some men must be properly motivated to take certain positions and stay in them for a period, while others must be motivated to move onward and generally upward. The American emphasis on mobility should not lead us to assume that everyone wants to rise to the highest levels or to rise quickly. Aside from this, both formal mechanisms and informal influences bind incumbents, at least temporarily, to certain positions. Even the ambitious may be willing to remain in a given post, provided that it offers important contacts or the chance to learn certain skills and undergo certain experiences. Part of the bargain in staying in given positions is the promise that they lead somewhere. When career lines are fairly regularly laid out, positions lead definitely somewhere and at a regulated pace. One of the less obvious functions of the sponsor is to alert his favorites to the sequence and its timing, rendering them more ready to accept undesirable assignments and to refrain from champing at the bit when it might be awkward for the organization.

To certain jobs, in the course of time, come such honor and glory that the incumbents will be satisfied to remain there permanently, giving up aspirations to move upward. This is particularly true when allegiance to colleagues, built on informal relations and conflict with other ranks, is intense and runs counter to allegiance to the institution. But individuals are also attached to positions by virtue of having

¹³ Paul G. Cressey, *The Taxi-Dance Hall* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1932), pp. 84-106.

¹⁴ Norman Martin and Anselm Strauss, “Patterns of Mobility within Industrial Organizations,” *Journal of Business*, XXIX (April, 1956), 101-10.

done particularly well at them; they often take great satisfaction in their competence at certain techniques and develop self-conceptions around them.

All this makes the world of organizations go around, but it also poses certain problems, both institutional and personal. The stability of institutions is predicated upon the proper preparation of aspirants for the next steps and upon institutional aid in transmuting motives and allegiances. While it is convenient to have some personnel relatively immobile, others must be induced to cut previous ties, to balance rewards in favor of moving, and even to take risks for long-run gains. If we do not treat mobility as normal, and thus regard attachment to a position as abnormal, we are then free to ask how individuals are induced to move along. It is done by devices such as sponsorship, by planned sequences of positions and skills, sometimes tied to age; by rewards, monetary and otherwise, and, negatively, by ridicule and the denial of responsibility to the lower ranks. There is, of course, many a slip in the inducing of mobility. Chicago public school teachers illustrate this point. They move from schools in the slums to middle-class neighborhoods. The few who prefer to remain in the tougher slum schools have settled in too snugly to feel capable of facing the risks of moving to "better" schools.¹⁵ Their deviant course illuminates the more usual patterns of the Chicago teacher's career.

TIMING IN STATUS PASSAGE

Even when paths in a career are regular and smooth, there always arise problems of pacing and timing. While, ideally, successors and predecessors should move in and out of offices at equal speeds, they do not and cannot. Those asked to move on or along or upward may be willing but must make actual and symbolic preparations; meanwhile, the successor waits impatiently. Transition periods are a necessity, for a man

often invests heavily of himself in a position, comes to possess it as it possesses him, and suffers in leaving it. If the full ritual of leavetaking is not allowed, the man may not pass fully into his new status. On the other hand, the institution has devices to make him forget, to plunge him into the new office, to woo and win him with the new gratifications, and, at the same time, to force him to abandon the old. When each status is conceived as the logical and temporal extension of the one previous, then severance is not so disturbing. Nevertheless, if a man must face his old associates in unaccustomed roles, problems of loyalty arise. Hence a period of tolerance after formal admission to the new status is almost a necessity. It is rationalized in phrases like "it takes time" and "we all make mistakes when starting, until . . ."

But, on the other hand, those new to office may be too zealous. They often commit the indelicate error of taking too literally their formal promotion or certification, when actually intervening steps must be traversed before the attainment of full prerogatives. The passage may involve trials and tests of loyalty, as well as the simple accumulation of information and skill. The overeager are kept in line by various controlling devices: a new assistant professor discovers that it will be "just a little while" before the curriculum can be rearranged so that he can teach his favorite courses. Even a new superior has to face the resentment or the cautiousness of established personnel and may, if sensitive, pace his "moving in on them" until he has passed unspoken tests.

When subordinates are raised to the ranks of their superiors, an especially delicate situation is created. Equality is neither created by that official act, nor, even if it were, can it come about without a certain awkwardness. Patterns of response must be rearranged by both parties, and strong self-control must be exerted so that acts are appropriate. Slips are inevitable, for, although the new status may be fully granted, the proper identities may at times be forgotten, to everyone's embarrassment. Even-

¹⁵ Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public Schoolteacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 470-77.

tually, the former subordinate may come to command or take precedence over someone to whom he once looked for advice and guidance. When colleagues who were formerly sponsors and sponsored disagree over some important issue, recrimination may become overt and betrayal explicit. It is understandable why those who have been promoted often prefer, or are advised, to take office in another organization, however much they may wish to remain at home.

MULTIPLE ROUTES AND SWITCHING

Theoretically, a man may leave one escalator and board another, instead of following the regular route. Such switching is most visible during the schooling, or pre-occupational, phases of careers. Frequently students change their line of endeavor but remain roughly within the same field; this is one way for less desirable and less well-known specialties to obtain recruits. Certain kinds of training, such as the legal, provide bases for moving early and easily into a wide variety of careers. In all careers, there doubtless are some points at which switching to another career is relatively easy. In general, while commitment to a given career automatically closes paths, the skills and information thereby acquired open up other routes and new goals. One may not, of course, perceive the alternatives or may dismiss them as risky or otherwise undesirable.

When a number of persons have changed escalators at about the same stage in their careers, then there is the beginning of a new career. This is one way by which career lines become instituted. Sometimes the innovation occurs at the top ranks of older careers; when all honors are exhausted, the incumbent himself may look for new worlds to conquer. Or he may seem like a good risk to an organization looking for personnel with interestingly different qualifications. Such new phases of career are much more than honorific and may indeed be an essential inducement to what becomes pioneering.

Excitement and dangers are intimately tied up with switching careers. For example, some careers are fairly specific in goal but

diffuse in operational means: the "fine artist" may be committed to artistic ideals but seize upon whatever jobs are at hand to help him toward creative goals. When he takes a job in order to live, he thereby risks committing himself to an alternative occupational career; and artists and writers do, indeed, get weaned away from the exercise of their art in just this way. Some people never set foot on a work escalator but move from low job to low job. Often they seek better conditions of work or a little more money rather than chances to climb institutional or occupational ladders. Many offers of opportunities to rise are spurned by part-time or slightly committed recruits, often because the latter are engaged in pursuing alternative routes while holding the job, perhaps a full-time one providing means of livelihood. This has important and, no doubt, subtle effects upon institutional functioning. When careers are in danger of being brought to an abrupt end—as with airplane pilots—then, before retirement, other kinds of careers may be prepared for or entered. This precaution is very necessary. When generalized mobility is an aim, specific routes may be chosen for convenience' sake. One is careful not to develop the usual motivation and allegiances. This enables one to get off an escalator and to move over to another with a minimum of psychological strain.

Considerable switching takes place within a single institution or a single occupational world and is rationalized in institutional and occupational terms, both by the candidates and by their colleagues. A significant consequence of this, undoubtedly, is subtle psychological strain, since the new positions and those preceding are both somewhat alike and different.

CLIMACTIC PERIODS

Even well-worn routes have stretches of maximum opportunity and danger. The critical passage in some careers lies near the beginning. This is especially so when the occupation or institution strongly controls recruitment; once chosen, prestige and def-

erence automatically accrue. In another kind of career the critical time comes at the end and sometimes very abruptly. In occupations which depend upon great physical skill, the later phases of a career are especially hazardous. It is also requisite in some careers that one choose the proper successor to carry on, lest one's own work be partly in vain. The symbolic last step of moving out may be quite as important as any that preceded it.

Appropriate or strategic timing is called for, to meet opportunity and danger, but the timing becomes vital at different periods in different kinds of careers. A few, such as the careers of virtuoso musical performers, begin so early in life that the opportunity to engage in music may have passed long before they learn of it. Some of the more subtle judgments of timing are required when a person wishes to shift from one escalator to another. Richard Wohl, of the University of Chicago, in an unpublished paper has suggested that modeling is a step which women may take in preparation for upward mobility through marriage; but models may marry before they know the ropes, and so marry too low; or they may marry too long after their prime, and so marry less well than they might. Doubtless organizations and occupations profit from mistakes of strategic timing, both to recruit and then to retain their members.

During the most crucial periods of any career, a man suffers greater psychological stress than during other periods. This is perhaps less so if he is not aware of his opportunities and dangers—for then the contingencies are over before they can be grasped or coped with: but probably it is more usual to be aware, or to be made so by colleagues and seniors, of the nature of imminent or current crises. Fortunately, together with such definitions there exist rationales to guide action. The character of the critical junctures and the ways in which they are handled may irrevocably decide a man's fate.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF CAREERS

Institutions, at any given moment, contain people at different stages in their careers. Some have already "arrived," others are still on their way up, still others just entering. Movements and changes at each level are in various ways dependent on those occurring at other levels.

Such interdependence is to be found in the phenomenon of sponsorship, where individuals move up in a work organization through the activities of older and more-well-established men. Hall¹⁶ has given a classic description of sponsorship in medicine. The younger doctor of the proper class and acceptable ethnic origin is absorbed, on the recommendation of a member, into the informal "inner fraternity" which controls hospital appointments and which is influential in the formation and maintenance of a clientele. The perpetuation of this coterie depends on a steady flow of suitable recruits. As the members age, retire, or die off, those who remain face a problem of recruiting younger men to do the less honorific and remunerative work, such as clinical work, that their group performs. Otherwise they themselves must do work inappropriate to their position or give place to others who covet their power and influence.

To the individual in the inner fraternity, a protégé eases the transition into retirement. The younger man gradually assumes the load which the sponsor can no longer comfortably carry, allowing the older man to retire gracefully, without that sudden cutting-down of work which frightens away patients, who leap to the conclusion that he is too old to perform capably.

In general, this is the problem of retiring with honor, of leaving a life's work with a sense that one will be missed. The demand may arise that a great man's work be carried on, although it may no longer be considered important or desirable by his successors. If the old man's prestige is great enough, the men below may have to orient themselves

¹⁶ Hall, *op. cit.*

and their work as he suggests, for fear of offending him or of profaning his heritage. The identities of the younger man are thus shaped by the older man's passage from the pinnacle to retirement.

This interdependence of career may cross occupational lines within organizations, as in the case of the young physician who receives a significant part of his training from the older and more experienced nurses in the hospital; and those at the same level in an institution are equally involved in one another's identities. Sometimes budding careers within work worlds are interdependent in quite unsuspected ways. Consider the young painter or craftsman who must make his initial successes in enterprises founded by equally young art dealers, who, because they run their galleries on a shoestring, can afford the frivolity of exhibiting the works of an unknown. The very ability to take such risk provides the dealer a possible opportunity to discover a genius.

One way of uncovering the interdependence of careers is to ask: Who are the important *others* at various stages of the career, the persons significantly involved in the formation of one's own identity? These will vary with stages; at one point one's agetates are crucial, perhaps as competitors, while at another the actions of superiors are the most important. The interlocking of careers results in influential images of similarity and contrariety. In so far as the significant others shift and vary by the phases of a career, identities change in patterned and not altogether unpredictable ways.

THE CHANGING WORK WORLD

The occupations and organizations within which careers are made change in structure and direction of activity, expand or contract, transform purposes. Old functions and positions disappear, and new ones arise. These constitute potential locations for a new and sometimes wide range of people, for they are not incrustated with traditions and customs concerning their incumbents. They open up new kinds of careers to

persons making their work lives within the institution and thus the possibility of variation in long-established types of career. An individual once clearly destined for a particular position suddenly finds himself confronted with an option; what was once a settled matter has split into a set of alternatives between which he must now choose. Different identities emerge as people in the organization take cognizance of this novel set of facts. The positions turn into recognized social entities, and some persons begin to reorient their ambitions. The gradual emergence of a new speciality typically creates this kind of situation within occupations.

Such occupational and institutional changes, of course, present opportunity for both success and failure. The enterprising grasp eagerly at new openings, making the most of them or attempting to; while others sit tight as long as they can. During such times the complexities of one's career are further compounded by what is happening to others with whom he is significantly involved. The ordinary lines of sponsorship in institutions are weakened or broken because those in positions to sponsor are occupied with matters more immediately germane to their own careers. Lower ranks feel the consequences of unusual pressures generated in the ranks above. People become peculiarly vulnerable to unaccustomed demands for loyalty and alliance which spring from the unforeseen changes in the organization. Paths to mobility become indistinct and less fixed, which has an effect on personal commitments and identities. Less able to tie themselves tightly to any one career, because such careers do not present themselves as clearly, men become more experimental and open-minded or more worried and apprehensive.

CAREERS AND PERSONAL IDENTITY

A frame of reference for studying careers is, at the same time, a frame for studying personal identities. Freudian and other psychiatric formulations of personality development probably overstress childhood experi-

ences. Their systematic accounts end more or less with adolescence, later events being regarded as the elaboration of, or variations on, earlier occurrences. Yet central to any account of adult identity is the relation of change in identity to change in social position; for it is characteristic of adult life to afford and force frequent and momentous passages from status to status. Hence members of structures that change, riders on escalators that carry them up, along, and down, to unexpected places and to novel experiences even when in some sense foreseen, must gain, maintain, and regain a sense of personal identity. Identity "is never gained nor maintained once and for all."¹⁷ Stabilities in the organization of be-

havior and of self-regard are inextricably dependent upon stabilities of social structure. Likewise, change ("development") is shaped by those patterned transactions which accompany career movement. The crises and turning points of life are not entirely institutionalized, but their occurrence and the terms which define and help to solve them are illuminated when seen in the context of career lines. In so far as some populations do not have careers in the sense that professional and business people have them, then the focus of attention ought still to be positional passage, but with domestic, age, and other escalators to the forefront. This done, it may turn out that the model sketched here must undergo revision.

¹⁷ Erik H. Erikson, *Childhood and Society* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1950), p. 57.

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EMBARRASSMENT AND SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

ERVING GOFFMAN

ABSTRACT

Embarrassment, a possibility in every face-to-face encounter, demonstrates some generic properties of interaction. It occurs whenever an individual is felt to have projected incompatible definitions of himself before those present. These projections do not occur at random or for psychological reasons but at certain places in a social establishment where incompatible principles of social organization prevail. In the forestalling of conflict between these principles, embarrassment has its social function.

An individual may recognize extreme embarrassment in others and even in himself by the objective signs of emotional disturbance: blushing, fumbling, stuttering, an unusually low- or high-pitched voice, quavering speech or breaking of the voice, sweating, blanching, blinking, tremor of the hand, hesitating or vacillating movement, absent-mindedness, and malapropisms. As Mark Baldwin remarked about shyness, there may be "a lowering of the eyes, bowing of the head, putting of hands behind the back, nervous fingering of the clothing or twisting of the fingers together, and stammering, with some incoherence of idea as expressed in speech."¹ There are also symptoms of a subjective kind: constriction of the diaphragm, a feeling of wobbliness, consciousness of strained and unnatural gestures, a dazed sensation, dryness of the mouth, and tenseness of the muscles. In cases of mild discomfort these visible and invisible flusterings occur but in less perceptible form.

In the popular view it is only natural to be at ease during interaction, embarrassment being a regrettable deviation from the normal state. The individual, in fact, might say he felt "natural" or "unnatural" in the situation, meaning that he felt comfortable in the interaction or embarrassed in it. He who frequently becomes embarrassed in the presence of others is regarded as suffering from a foolish unjustified sense of inferiority and in need of therapy.²

¹ James Mark Baldwin, *Social and Ethical Interpretations in Mental Development* (London, 1902), p. 212.

To utilize the flustering syndrome in analyzing embarrassment, the two kinds of circumstance in which it occurs must first be distinguished. First, the individual may become flustered while engaged in a task of no particular value to him in itself, except that his long-range interests require him to perform it with safety, competence, or dispatch, and he fears he is inadequate to the task. Discomfort will be felt *in* the situation but in a sense not *for* it; in fact, often the individual will not be able to cope with it just because he is so anxiously taken up with the eventualities lying beyond it. Significantly, the individual may become "rattled" although no others are present.

This paper will not be concerned with these occasions of instrumental chagrin but rather with the kind that occurs in clear-cut relation to the real or imagined presence of others. Whatever else, embarrassment has to do with the figure the individual cuts be-

² A sophisticated version is the psychoanalytical view that uneasiness in social interaction is a result of impossible expectations of attention based on unresolved expectations regarding parental support. Presumably an object of therapy is to bring the individual to see his symptoms in their true psychodynamic light, on the assumption that thereafter perhaps he will not need them (see Paul Schilder, "The Social Neurosis," *Psycho-Analytical Review*, XXV [1938], 1-19; Gerhart Piers and Milton Singer, *Shame and Guilt: A Psychoanalytical and a Cultural Study* [Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1953], esp. p. 26; Leo Rangell, "The Psychology of Poise," *International Journal of Psychoanalysis*, XXXV [1954], 313-32; Sándor Ferenczi "Embarrassed Hands," in *Further Contributions to the Theory and Technique of Psychoanalysis* [London: Hogarth Press, 1950], pp. 315-16).

fore others felt to be there at the time.³ The crucial concern is the impression one makes on others in the present—whatever the long-range or unconscious basis of this concern may be. This fluctuating configuration of those present is a most important reference group.

VOCABULARY OF EMBARRASSMENT

A social encounter is an occasion of face-to-face interaction, beginning when individuals recognize that they have moved into one another's immediate presence and ending by an appreciated withdrawal from mutual participation. Encounters differ markedly from one another in purpose, social function, kind and number of personnel, setting, etc., and, while only conversational encounters will be considered here, obviously there are those in which no word is spoken. And yet, in our Anglo-American society at least, there seems to be no social encounter which cannot become embarrassing to one or more of its participants, giving rise to what is sometimes called an incident or false note. By listening for this dissonance, the sociologist can generalize about the ways in which interaction can go awry and, by implication, the conditions necessary for interaction to be right. At the same time he is given good evidence that all encounters are members of a single natural class, amenable to a single framework of analysis.

By whom is the embarrassing incident caused? To whom is it embarrassing? For whom is this embarrassment felt? It is not always an individual for whose plight participants feel embarrassment; it may be for pairs of participants who are together having difficulties and even for an encounter as a whole. Further, if the individual for whom embarrassment is felt happens to be perceived as a responsible representative of

some faction or subgroup (as is very often the case in three-or-more-person interaction), then the members of this faction are likely to feel embarrassed and to feel it for themselves. But, while a *gaffe* or *faux pas* can mean that a single individual is at one and the same time the cause of an incident, the one who feels embarrassed by it, and the one for whom he feels embarrassment, this is not, perhaps, the typical case, for in these matters ego boundaries seem especially weak. When an individual finds himself in a situation which ought to make him blush, others present usually will blush with and for him, though he may not have sufficient sense of shame or appreciation of the circumstances to blush on his own account.

The words "embarrassment," "discomfiture," and "uneasiness" are used here in a continuum of meanings. Some occasions of embarrassment seem to have an abrupt orgasmic character; a sudden introduction of the disturbing event is followed by an immediate peak in the experience of embarrassment and then by a slow return to the preceding ease, all phases being encompassed in the same encounter. A bad moment thus mars an otherwise euphoric situation.

At the other extreme we find that some occasions of embarrassment are sustained at the same level throughout the encounter, beginning when the interaction begins and lasting until the encounter is terminated. The participants speak of an uncomfortable or uneasy situation, not of an embarrassing incident. In such case, of course, the whole encounter becomes for one or more of the parties an incident that causes embarrassment. Abrupt embarrassment may often be intense, while sustained uneasiness is more commonly mild, involving barely apparent flusterings. An encounter which seems likely to occasion abrupt embarrassment may, because of this, cast a shadow of sustained uneasiness upon the participants, transforming the entire encounter into an incident itself.

In forming a picture of the embarrassed individual, one relies on imagery from

³ The themes developed in this paper are extensions of those in the writer's "On Face-Work," *Psychiatry*, XVIII (1955), 213-31; "Alienation from Interaction," *Human Relations* (forthcoming); and *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (University of Edinburgh, Social Sciences Research Centre, Monograph No. 2 [Edinburgh, 1956]).

mechanics: equilibrium or self-control can be lost, balance can be overthrown. No doubt the physical character of flustering in part evokes this imagery. In any case, a completely flustered individual is one who cannot for the time being mobilize his muscular and intellectual resources for the task at hand, although he would like to; he cannot volunteer a response to those around him that will allow them to sustain the conversation smoothly. He and his flustered actions block the line of activity the others have been pursuing. He is present with them, but he is not "in play." The others may be forced to stop and turn their attention to the impediment; the topic of conversation is neglected, and energies are directed to the task of re-establishing the flustered individual, of studiously ignoring him, or of withdrawing from his presence.

To conduct one's self comfortably in interaction and to be flustered are directly opposed. The more of one, the less, on the whole, of the other; hence through contrast each mode of behavior can throw light upon the characteristics of the other. Face-to-face interaction in *any* culture seems to require just those capacities that flustering seems guaranteed to destroy. Therefore, events which lead to embarrassment and the methods for avoiding and dispelling it may provide a cross-cultural framework of sociological analysis.

The pleasure or displeasure a social encounter affords an individual, and the affection or hostility he feels for the participants, can have more than one relation to his composure or lack of it. Compliments, acclaim, and sudden reward may throw the recipient into a state of joyful confusion, while a heated quarrel can be provoked and sustained, although throughout the individual feels composed and in full command of himself. More important, there is a kind of comfort which seems a formal property of the situation and which has to do with the coherence and decisiveness with which the individual assumes a well-integrated role and pursues momentary objectives having

nothing to do with the content of the actions themselves. A feeling of discomfiture per se seems always to be unpleasant, but the circumstances that arouse it may have immediate pleasant consequences for the one who is discomfited.

In spite of this variable relation between displeasure and discomfiture, to appear flustered, in our society at least, is considered evidence of weakness, inferiority, low status, moral guilt, defeat, and other unenviable attributes. And, as previously suggested, flustering threatens the encounter itself by disrupting the smooth transmission and reception by which encounters are sustained. When discomfiture arises from any of these sources, understandably the flustered individual will make some effort to conceal his state from the others present. The fixed smile, the nervous hollow laugh, the busy hands, the downward glance that conceals the expression of the eyes, have become famous as signs of attempting to conceal embarrassment. As Lord Chesterfield puts it:

They are ashamed in company, and so disconcerted that they do not know what they do, and try a thousand tricks to keep themselves in countenance; which tricks afterwards grow habitual to them. Some put their fingers to their nose, others scratch their head, others twirl their hats; in short, every awkward, ill-bred body has his tricks.⁴

These gestures provide the individual with screens to hide behind while he tries to bring his feelings back into tempo and himself back into play.

Given the individual's desire to conceal his embarrassment, given the setting and his skill at handling himself, he may seem poised according to some obvious signs yet prove to be embarrassed according to less apparent ones. Thus, while making a public speech, he may succeed in controlling his voice and give an impression of ease, yet those who sit beside him on the platform may see that his hands are shaking or that

⁴ *Letters of Lord Chesterfield to His Son* (Everyman's ed.; New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1929), p. 80.

facial tics are giving the lie to his composed front.

Since the individual dislikes to feel or appear embarrassed, tactful persons will avoid placing him in this position. In addition, they will often pretend not to know that he has lost composure or has grounds for losing it. They may try to suppress signs of having recognized his state or hide them behind the same kind of covering gesture that he might employ. Thus they protect his face and his feelings and presumably make it easier for him to regain composure or at least hold on to what he still has. However, just as the flustered individual may fail to conceal his embarrassment, those who perceive his discomfort may fail in their attempt to hide their knowledge, whereupon they all will realize that his embarrassment has been seen and that the seeing of it was something to conceal. When this point is reached, ordinary involvement in the interaction may meet a painful end. In all this dance between the concealer and the concealed-from, embarrassment presents the same problem and is handled in the same ways as any other offense against propriety.

There seems to be a critical point at which the flustered individual gives up trying to conceal or play down his uneasiness: he collapses into tears or paroxysms of laughter, has a temper tantrum, flies into a blind rage, faints, dashes to the nearest exit, or becomes rigidly immobile as when in panic. After that it is very difficult for him to recover composure. He answers to a new set of rhythms, characteristic of deep emotional experience, and can hardly give even a faint impression that he is at one with the others in interaction. In short, he abdicates his role as someone who sustains encounters. The moment of crisis is of course socially determined: the individual's breaking point is that of the group to whose affective standards he adheres. On rare occasions all the participants in an encounter may pass this point and together fail to maintain even a semblance of ordinary interaction. The little social system they created in interaction collapses; they draw

apart or hurriedly try to assume a new set of roles.

The terms "poise," "*sang-froid*," and "aplomb," referring to the capacity to maintain one's own composure, are to be distinguished from what is called "graciousness," "tact," or "social skill," namely, the capacity to avoid causing one's self or others embarrassment. Poise plays an important role in communication, for it guarantees that those present will not fail to play their parts in interaction but will continue as long as they are in one another's presence to receive and transmit disciplined communications. It is no wonder that trial by taunting is a test that every young person passes through until he develops a capacity to maintain composure.⁵ Nor should it come as a surprise that many of our games and sports commemorate the themes of composure and embarrassment: in poker, a dubious claim may win money for the player who can present it calmly; in judo, the maintenance and loss of composure are specifically fought over; in cricket, self-command or "style" is supposed to be kept up under tension.

The individual is likely to know that certain special situations always make him uncomfortable and that he has certain "faulty" relationships which always cause him uneasiness. His daily round of social encounters is largely determined, no doubt, by his major social obligations, but he goes a little out of his way to find situations that will not be embarrassing and to by-pass those that will. An individual who firmly believes that he has little poise, perhaps even exaggerating his failing, is shy and bashful; dreading all encounters, he seeks always to shorten them or avoid them alto-

⁵ One interesting form in which this trial has been institutionalized in America, especially in lower-class Negro society, is "playing the dozens" (see John Dollard, "Dialectic of Insult," *American Imago*, I [1939], 3-25; R. F. B. Berdie, "Playing the Dozens," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLII [1947], 120-21). On teasing in general see S. J. Sperling, "On the Psychodynamics of Teasing," *Journal of the American Psycho-analytical Association*, I (1953), 458-83.

gether. The stutterer is a painful instance of this, showing us the price the individual may be willing to pay for his social life.⁶

CAUSES OF EMBARRASSMENT

Embarrassment has to do with unfulfilled expectations but not of a statistical kind. Given their social identities and the setting, the participants will sense what sort of conduct *ought* to be maintained as the appropriate thing, however much they may despair of its actually occurring. An individual may firmly expect that certain others will make him ill at ease, and yet this knowledge may increase his discomfiture instead of lessening it. An entirely unexpected flash of social engineering may save a situation, all the more effectively for being unanticipated.

The expectations relevant to embarrassment are moral, then, but embarrassment does not arise from the breach of *any* moral expectation, for some infractions give rise to resolute moral indignation and no uneasiness at all. Rather we should look to those moral obligations which surround the individual in only one of his capacities, that of someone who carries on social encounters. The individual, of course, is obliged to remain composed, but this tells us that things are going well, not why. And things go well or badly because of what is perceived about the social identities of those present.

During interaction the individual is expected to possess certain attributes, capacities, and information which, taken together, fit together into a self that is at once coherently unified and appropriate for the occasion. Through the expressive implications of his stream of conduct, through mere participation itself, the individual effectively projects this acceptable self into the interaction, although he may not be aware of it, and the others may not be aware of having so interpreted his conduct. At the same time he must accept and honor

the selves projected by the other participants. The elements of a social encounter, then, consist of effectively projected claims to an acceptable self and the confirmation of like claims on the part of the others. The contributions of all are oriented to these and built up on the basis of them.

When an event throws doubt upon or discredits these claims, then the encounter finds itself lodged in assumptions which no longer hold. The responses the parties have made ready are now out of place and must be choked back, and the interaction must be reconstructed. At such times the individual whose self has been threatened (the individual *for* whom embarrassment is felt) and the individual who threatened him may both feel ashamed of what together they have brought about, sharing this sentiment just when they have reason to feel apart. And this joint responsibility is only right. By the standards of the wider society, perhaps only the discredited individual ought to feel ashamed; but, by the standards of the little social system maintained through the interaction, the discreditor is just as guilty as the person he discredits—sometimes more so, for, if he has been posing as a tactful man, in destroying another's image he destroys his own.

But of course the trouble does not stop with the guilty pair or those who have identified themselves sympathetically with them. Having no settled and legitimate object to which to play out their own unity, the others find themselves unfixed and discomfited. This is why embarrassment seems to be contagious, spreading, once started, in ever widening circles of discomfiture.

There are many classic circumstances under which the self projected by an individual may be discredited, causing him shame and embarrassment over what he has or appears to have done to himself and to the interaction. To experience a sudden change in status, as by marriage or promotion, is to acquire a self that other individuals will not fully admit because of their lingering attachment to the old self. To ask for a job, a loan of money, or a hand in marriage is to

⁶ Cf. H. J. Heltman, "Psycho-social Phenomena of Stuttering and Their Etiological and Therapeutic Implications," *Journal of Social Psychology*, IX (1938), 79-96.

project an image of self as worthy, under conditions where the one who can discredit the assumption may have good reason to do so. To affect the style of one's occupational or social betters is to make claims that may well be discredited by one's lack of familiarity with the role.

The physical structure of an encounter itself is usually accorded certain symbolic implications, sometimes leading a participant against his will to project claims about himself that are false and embarrassing. Physical closeness easily implies social closeness, as anyone knows who has happened upon an intimate gathering not meant for him or who has found it necessary to carry on fraternal "small talk" with someone too high or low or strange to ever be a brother. Similarly, if there is to be talk, someone must initiate it, feed it, and terminate it; and these acts may awkwardly suggest rankings and power which are out of line with the facts.

Various kinds of recurrent encounters in a given society may share the assumption that participants have attained certain moral, mental, and physiognomic standards. The person who falls short may everywhere find himself inadvertently trapped into making implicit identity claims which he cannot fulfil. Compromised in every encounter which he enters, he truly wears the leper's bell. The individual who most isolates himself from social contacts may then be the least insulated from the demands of society. And, if he only imagines that he possesses a disqualifying attribute, his judgment of himself may be in error, but in the light of it his withdrawal from contact is reasonable. In any case, in deciding whether an individual's grounds for shyness are real or imaginary, one should seek not for "justifiable" disqualifications but for the much larger range of characteristics which actually embarrass encounters.

In all these settings the same fundamental thing occurs: the expressive facts at hand threaten or discredit the assumptions a participant finds he has projected about his identity.⁷ Thereafter those present find

they can neither do without the assumptions nor base their own responses upon them. The inhabitable reality shrinks until everyone feels "small" or out of place.

A complication must be added. Often important everyday occasions of embarrassment arise when the self projected is somehow confronted with another self which, though valid in other contexts, cannot be here sustained in harmony with the first. Embarrassment, then, leads us to the matter of "role segregation." Each individual has more than one role, but he is saved from role dilemma by "audience segregation," for, ordinarily, those before whom he plays out one of his roles will not be the individuals before whom he plays out another, allowing him to be a different person in each role without discrediting either.

In every social system, however, there are times and places where audience segregation regularly breaks down and where individuals confront one another with selves incompatible with the ones they extend to each other on other occasions. At such times, embarrassment, especially the mild kind, clearly shows itself to be located not in the individual but in the social system wherein he has his several selves.

DOMAIN OF EMBARRASSMENT

Having started with psychological considerations, we have come by stages to a structural sociological point of view. Precedent comes from social anthropologists and their analyses of joking and avoidance. One assumes that embarrassment is a normal

⁷ In addition to his other troubles, he has discredited his implicit claim to poise. He will feel he has cause, then, to become embarrassed over his embarrassment, even though no one present may have perceived the earlier stages of his discomfiture. But a qualification must be made. When an individual, receiving a compliment, blushes from modesty, he may lose his reputation for poise but confirm a more important one, that of being modest. Feeling that his chagrin is nothing to be ashamed of, his embarrassment will not lead him to be embarrassed. On the other hand, when embarrassment is clearly expected as a reasonable response, he who fails to become embarrassed may appear insensitive and thereupon become embarrassed because of this appearance.

part of normal social life, the individual becoming uneasy not because he is personally maladjusted but rather because he is not; presumably anyone with his combination of statuses would do likewise. In an empirical study of a particular social system, the first object would be to learn what categories of persons become embarrassed in what recurrent situations. And the second object would be to discover what would happen to the social system and the framework of obligations if embarrassment had not come to be systematically built into it.

An illustration may be taken from the social life of large social establishments—office buildings, schools, hospitals, etc. Here, in elevators, halls, and cafeterias, at newsstands, vending machines, snack counters, and entrances, all members are often formally on an equal if distant footing.⁸ In Benoit-Smullyan's terms, *situs*, not *status* or *locus*, is expressed.⁹ Cutting across these relationships of equality and distance is another set of relationships, arising in work teams whose members are ranked by such things as prestige and authority and yet drawn together by joint enterprise and personal knowledge of one another.

In many large establishments, staggered work hours, segregated cafeterias, and the like help to insure that those who are ranked and close in one set of relations will not have to find themselves in physically intimate situations where they are expected to maintain equality and distance. The democratic orientation of some of our newer establishments, however, tends to throw differently placed members of the same work team to-

gether at places such as the cafeteria, causing them uneasiness. There is no way for them to act that does not disturb one of the two basic sets of relations in which they stand to each other. These difficulties are especially likely to occur in elevators, for there individuals who are not quite on chatting terms must remain for a time too close together to ignore the opportunity for informal talk—a problem solved, of course, for some, by special executive elevators. Embarrassment, then, is built into the establishment ecologically.

Because of possessing multiple selves the individual may find he is required both to be present and to not be present on certain occasions. Embarrassment ensues: the individual finds himself being torn apart, however gently. Corresponding to the oscillation of his conduct is the oscillation of his self.

SOCIAL FUNCTION OF EMBARRASSMENT

When an individual's projected self is threatened during interaction, he may with poise suppress all signs of shame and embarrassment. No flutterings, or efforts to conceal having seen them, obtrude upon the smooth flow of the encounter; participants can proceed as if no incident has occurred.

When situations are saved, however, something important may be lost. By showing embarrassment when he can be neither of two people, the individual leaves open the possibility that in the future he may effectively be either.¹⁰ His role in the current interaction may be sacrificed, and even the encounter itself, but he demonstrates that, while he cannot present a sustainable and coherent self on this occasion, he is at least disturbed by the fact and may prove worthy

⁸ This equal and joint membership in a large organization is often celebrated annually at the office party and in amateur dramatic skits, this being accomplished by pointedly excluding outsiders and scrambling the rank of insiders.

⁹ Émile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 151-61. In a certain way the claim of equal institutional membership is reinforced by the ruling in our society that males ought to show certain minor courtesies to females; all other principles, such as distinctions between racial groups and occupational categories, must be suppressed. The effect is to stress *situs* and equality.

¹⁰ A similar argument was presented by Samuel Johnson in his piece "Of Bashfulness," *The Rambler* (1751), No. 139: "It generally happens that assurance keeps an even pace with ability; and the fear of miscarriage, which hinders our first attempts, is gradually dissipated as our skill advances towards certainty of success. The bashfulness, therefore, which prevents disgrace, that short temporary shame which secures us from the danger of lasting reproach, cannot be properly counted among our misfortunes."

at another time. To this extent, embarrassment is not an irrational impulse breaking through socially prescribed behavior but part of this orderly behavior itself. Flusterings are an extreme example of that important class of acts which are usually quite spontaneous and yet no less required and obligatory than ones self-consciously performed.

Behind a conflict in identity lies a more fundamental conflict, one of organizational principle, since the self, for many purposes, consists merely of the application of legitimate organizational principles to one's self. One builds one's identity out of claims which, if denied, give one the right to feel righteously indignant. Behind the apprentice's claims for a full share in the use of certain plant facilities there is the organizational principle: all members of the establishment are equal in certain ways qua members. Behind the specialist's demand for suitable financial recognition there is the principle that the type of work, not mere work, determines status. The fumbings of the apprentice and the specialist when they reach the Coca-Cola machine at the same time express an incompatibility of organizational principles.¹¹

The principles of organization of any social system are likely to come in conflict at certain points. Instead of permitting the conflict to be expressed in an encounter, the individual places himself between the opposing principles. He sacrifices his identity for a moment, and sometimes the encounter, but the principles are preserved. He may be ground between opposing assumptions, thereby preventing direct friction between them, or he may be almost pulled apart, so that principles with little relation to one another may operate together. Social structure gains elasticity; the individual merely loses composure.

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¹¹ At such moments "joshing" sometimes occurs. It is said to be a means of releasing the tension caused either by embarrassment or by whatever caused embarrassment. But in many cases this kind of banter is a way of saying that what occurs now is not serious or real. The exaggeration, the mock insult, the mock claims—all these reduce the seriousness of conflict by denying reality to the situation. And this, of course, in another way, is what embarrassment does. It is natural, then, to find embarrassment and joking together, for both help in denying the same reality.

THE VALUE CONCEPT IN SOCIOLOGY

FRANZ ADLER

ABSTRACT

Values may be seen as absolutes, as inherent in objects, as present within man, and as identical with his behavior. Absolutes are inaccessible to science. Values in objects cannot be discovered apart from human behavior relating to the objects. Internal states cannot be observed apart from action. Thus, what people do is all that can be known about their values. The meaning of an action can be grasped without recourse to any other kind of value concept if meaning is understood as the probability of other events preceding, accompanying, or following it. Norms can be seen as sets of verbal and non-verbal behavior.

The discussion of values is made difficult by pronounced differences in what the term "value" means to different people. Concepts of value can, however, be reduced to about four basic types: (A) Values are considered as absolutes, existing in the mind of God as eternal ideas, as independent validities, etc. (B) Values are considered as being in the object, material or non-material. (C) Values are seen as located in man, originating in his biological needs or in his mind. Man by himself or man in the aggregate, variously referred to as group, society, culture, state, class, is seen as "holding" values. (D) Values are equated with actions. There are, in addition, some mixed types.

The absolute may also be conceived as inherent in objects. The goodness of a steak, for example, may be considered as absolute, independent of the condition of the taste buds of the eater, his religious upbringing, and his general attitudes. Thus, one aspect of B is equally part of A. But B also includes the ideas of relative value which is created in the object by those who desire it. It refers, furthermore, to considerations of potentialities present in objects for the satisfaction of needs or desires of individuals who may or may not recognize either their own needs or these potentialities.

The absolute may also be seen as recognized by the human mind, again both individually or collectively. The soul is said to remember value ideas from its prehuman existence; the grace of God reveals values to the mind by direct inspiration, by enlightened reason, or by revealed scriptures; the individual mind recognized values by participating in the universal process of reason;

individual man as a part knows intuitively the absolute values of the whole; or, simply, human thought as reason is a trustworthy image of reality which includes absolute values. But C may also be seen as originating in individuals or aggregates of individuals and varying among them.

American sociological writing abounds in examples of uses of the term "value" with these meanings. Of course, uses of the term without any definition also occur frequently, a practice quite justifiable where there can be no doubt as to the intended meaning but inexcusable in the present confusion.

Type A, the absolute, is to be found among universalist or realist thinkers (the two terms are used here interchangeably), that is, primarily among Catholic sociologists and in the work of Pitirim A. Sorokin. Thus Furfey defines value as "the quality of recognized desirability founded on goodness." Goodness is absolute. However, man can recognize it. As "recognized goodness" it represents a combination of Types A and C. As Furfey continues, "a value as defined depends upon the real goodness of the object"; he also accepts a view combining A and B.¹ Sorokin, too, asserts his adherence to absolute value reality.²

Absolutes, whether pure as in Type A or combined with Types B and C, are not accessible to sense perception and, consequently, are not suited to study by the methods of natural science. This is not a statement

¹ Paul Hanley Furfey, *The Scope and Method of Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), p. 89.

² Pitirim A. Sorokin, *The Crisis of Our Age: The Social and Cultural Outlook* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1946), pp. 317-18.

about their existence or non-existence. It only says that reliable knowledge about them is impossible, faith, intuition, and speculation being the only possible approaches.

An example of Type B is the definition used by Park and Burgess: "Anything capable of being appreciated (wished for) is a 'value.'"³ The object has certain inherent qualities which, sometimes, somewhere, somehow, may be desired by somebody. The most frequent form of B is clearly and concisely expressed by Becker: "any object of any need," whether this need be "raw or prepared," conscious or unconscious.⁴ While the previously discussed conception sees value in the capacity of satisfying needs which may or may not have arisen in anybody so far, this conception sees value as arising in the object where and when desire or need points to it.

Both approaches follow accepted economic reasoning and are aimed at making values empirically accessible. They lead, however, to an impasse of circularity without achieving the hoped-for empirical accessibility. "Capacity to satisfy needs" cannot be observed before the needs are expressed and satisfied. The object itself does not indicate all the needs it may be able to

satisfy. Forgotten needs (for flint to make fire, arrowheads to shoot game, etc.) or undiscovered ones (for pre-atomic gas ranges as collectors' items in the future) cannot be observed in the object and used as a basis for assessing its value. Values are to be discovered in phenomena other than the object itself. Becker's formulation recognizes this point. Here, value is created in the object, when it becomes the goal of need or desire, when it is believed to be able to satisfy a wish or a craving. Thus, "value" is said to be something outside the individual that comes into existence by the value-giving activity inside the individual; in other words, a value is what is valued. Whatever the exact wording, this is the implication of all the definitions in this group.⁵ This conception,

³ See, e.g., Earle Edward Eubanks, *The Concepts of Sociology: A Treatise Presenting a Suggested Organization of Sociological Theory in Terms of Its Major Concepts* (Boston: D. C. Heath & Co., 1932), p. 189: "a general designation for anything wished for, that is, for anything to which such a value has been attached that it is desired by someone"; Thomas D. Elliott, in Fairchild (ed.), *op. cit.*, p. 296: "objects, inanimate or animate, human, artificial, or nonmaterial, to which some value . . . has been imputed"; Fairchild, *ibid.*, p. 331: "the believed capacity of any object to satisfy human desires"; Joseph S. Roucek and Roland L. Warren, *Sociology: An Introduction* (Ames, Iowa: Littlefield, Adams & Co., 1951), p. 268: "the capacity to satisfy a human desire which is attributed to any object, idea, or content of experience"; Richard T. LaPiere, *Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1946), p. 280: "These are the concepts of what is and what is not desirable, social values and unvalues" (the context seems to indicate that LaPiere uses "desirable" here as meaning "desired"); Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1949), p. 124: "that which is considered desirable, which is thought worthy of being pursued"; Edward Byron Reuter, *Handbook of Sociology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1941), p. 163: "[any object] of human desires or appreciation" and "the objective counterpart of the attitude, [it] possesses qualities that elicit the common interest of group members" (the latter quotation comes originally from W. I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927], II, 21, 22); E. T. Hiller, *Social Relations and Structures: A Study in Principles of Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 191: "By valuation is meant the esteem or disesteem or the assumption as to the importance or significance of a thing or person. A value is anything so es-

⁴ Robert E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (2d ed.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924), p. 488. See also Henry Pratt Fairchild (ed.), *Dictionary of Sociology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1944), p. 331: "the quality of any object which causes it to be of interest to an individual or group"; Ralph Linton, *The Cultural Background of Personality* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1945), p. 11: "any element common to a series of situations, which is capable of evoking a covert response in the individual"; John Lewis Gillin and John Philip Gillin, *Cultural Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1948), p. 157: "The value of a thing is its worth or desirability as compared with something else." This definition could be interpreted so as to warrant its classification as a combination of A and B; but the context seems to make the present classification under B alone more likely to be correct.

⁵ Howard Becker, *Through Values to Social Interpretation: Essays on Social Contexts, Actions, Types, and Prospects* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950), p. 10 n.

in the end, shows the observation of objects for the discovery of values to be futile and, instead, points to man as the proper observational target.

The concepts of value grouped under C locate value within the human being. This can be done quite simply by reversing the statement discussed above. Instead of defining values as the objects of esteem, they are said to be "the esteem which we attach to the valuables capable of satisfying desires."⁶ Little is gained, but it becomes clear at once that values conceived in this manner as internal events are inaccessible to direct observation.

Some among these definitions (C) stress preference or priority. Thus Young uses the term to refer to "a combination of ideas and attitudes which gives a scale of preference or priority to motives and goals as well as to a course of action from motive to goal."⁷ Needless to say, preference or priority of motives cannot be observed as such.

The most important group of concepts under C relate "value" in one way or another to "meaning." This leads to added difficulties without disposing of those already indicated. The crux of the matter lies in the inherent vagueness of the term "meaning" as exemplified in the following statement of Sorokin:

Any meaning in a narrow sense is a value. Any value presupposes a norm of conduct with reference to its realization or rejection. . . . On the other hand any norm . . . is necessarily a meaning and a positive or negative value. Hence the terms "meaning," "value," and "norm" will

teemed or disesteemed"; Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society: A Sociological Interpretation* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), p. 375: "Values are thus 'things' in which people are interested—things that they want, desire to be or become, feel as obligatory, worship, enjoy"; etc.

⁶ Lowell Julliard Carr, *Situational Analysis* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), p. 55; cf. also Hiller, *op. cit.*, p. 191, who contrasts an internal event "valuation" with its external counterpart "value."

⁷ Kimball Young, *Sociology: A Study of Society and Culture* (2d ed.; New York: American Book Co., 1949), p. 110; cf. Gillin and Gillin's definition in n. 3 above.

be used interchangeably to denote a general class of meaningful phenomena, superimposed upon the biophysical properties of persons and objects, actions and events.⁸

Generally, these meanings are said or understood to be social or collective meanings—by no means a clarification.

Sometimes this social or collective value (C) is reified and given some sort of existence or subsistence of its own outside of and prior to any individual, a Durkheimian social reality that has exteriority and exercises constraint. This view is exemplified in Thomas and Znaniecki's definition. Values are "objective, social elements which impose themselves upon the individual as given and provoke his reaction."⁹

Viewed as located or at least originated within man, individually or collectively, values become psychological phenomena, internal states, or internal behavior, not directly accessible to observation other than introspection. As such, they are said to precede action and to guide it; they may be wholly or partially the cause of action. "An element of a shared symbolic system which serves as a criterion or standard for selection

⁸ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture, and Personality, Their Structure and Dynamics: A System of General Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), p. 47. See also Joyce O. Hertzler, *Social Institutions* (Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska Press, 1946), p. 310: "Social values are focal products of group experience. They are estimates of the significance of things, acts, and relationships deemed necessary and vital in the satisfaction of individual and social needs in human groups." ("Significance" appears to be about the same as "meaning." "Focal products" are undefined.) The counterparts of these collective meanings (C) are objects to which meanings have been collectively attributed (B): Reuter, *op. cit.*, p. 163: "any objects, conditions or principles, around which meanings have grown up in the course of experience of social interaction" and "those objects and activities which have common meanings for the members of a particular group" (the latter quotation comes originally from Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22). Similarly, Florian Znaniecki, *Social Actions* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1936), p. 13: "logico-meaningful objects as they are given to agents"; see also Hiller's definition in n. 5 above.

⁹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 1131.

of the alternatives of orientation which are intrinsically open in a situation may be called a value."¹⁰ How are these covert phenomena to be studied?

Values according to C are as inaccessible to the methods of the natural sciences (at the present state of our knowledge concerning internal mental and emotional phenomena) as values according to A and B. Current scientific psychology has nothing to say on the subject. In such a quandary the theorist who wishes to base his sociology (or his economics, political science, or whatnot) on values either must use a philosophical, non-empirical psychology already in existence or must make up one of his own. It is very improbable that pure speculations different from and competing with Newtonian and Einsteinian physics would gain any respectability in our day and age. Why, on the other hand, speculative psychologies should be given preference by serious thinkers to experimentally gained and scientifically organized ones is a riddle that has not yet been seriously investigated.

The psychology used by present-day American value sociologists is generally derived from German phenomenological philosophy through the mediation of Max Weber and fortified with Mead's and Cooley's social interactionism. The result is "interpretive" or "*verstehende*" sociology. While natural science sociology aims at predictability on the basis of inductive generalizations, *Geisteswissenschaftliche*, that is, *verstehende*, interpretive sociology aims at

"understanding," a sort of aesthetic satisfaction in the student achieved by means of intuitionist empathy. The natural science sociologist "understands" a specific case when he has been able to identify it as being similar to many others about which a verified general statement is available. The interpretive sociologist "understands" when he feels that in the given case he himself might have acted as the given actor did: the behavior displayed "makes sense" to him. To achieve this aesthetically satisfying result, he must impute values to the actors which in some way are prior to the act and wholly or partially causal to it. The natural science sociologist, on the other hand, has no real need for a value concept. He investigates the concept mainly when it is brought forth by others and tries to find an empirically accessible referent.

American culture includes a tradition of empiricism and a distrust of non-empirical or anti-empirical philosophies. Direct transplantation of German social philosophies has therefore proved impossible. Even interpretive sociologists find it necessary to relate their concepts to observable fact. Thus Thomas and Znaniecki already attempted to tie the concepts of "meaning" and "value" to observable phenomena: "The meaning of . . . values becomes explicit when we take them in connection with human actions . . . a social value may have many meanings, for it may refer to many different kinds of action." Later, writing by himself, Znaniecki defines values as the meaningful objects of human actions, while things in themselves are meaningless and valueless objects.¹¹ Thus actions are seen as the observable indication of values still conceived as located somewhere other than in the actions as such.

Under closer scrutiny, this is found to lead the interpretive sociologist into additional difficulties. Kluckhohn explains how he discovers values: "Operationally, the observer notes certain kinds of patterned behavior. He cannot 'explain' these regulari-

¹⁰ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 12. See also Clyde Kluckhohn, "Values and Value-Orientations in the Theory of Action: An Exploration in Definition and Classification," in Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951), p. 395: "A value is a conception explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action"; *ibid.*, p. 396: "Values are ideas formulating action commitments"; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 375: "Values are modes of organizing conduct—meaningful affectively invested pattern principles that guide human action"; observe the contradiction between this definition and Williams' other one quoted in n. 5.

¹¹ Thomas and Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, pp. 21, 22; Znaniecki, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

ties unless he subsumes certain aspects of the processes that determine concrete acts under the rubric 'value.'"¹² Thus Kluckhohn observes behavior (actions) and, by generalization of common elements thereof, arrives at a logical construct. Such constructs must needs be arbitrary as to their degree of generality and principles of generalization.¹³ Nevertheless, they are also assumed to be "conceptions, explicit or implicit," of the observed subject.¹⁴ This paradox is emphasized when Kluckhohn requires of value conceptions that they can be verbalized but stresses the point that the subject who supposedly holds the value need not be able to verbalize it. Only the observer must be able to do this.¹⁵ In this manner, introjection replaces empathy, and the "understanding" the interpretive sociologists achieves appears as his own satisfaction with the workings of his own mind.

Natural science sociologists have also used actions as indicators of values but generally in connection with a thought of value as attached to objects (B) rather than as residing in the human mind (C). Thus Lundberg says that "a thing has or is a value if and when people behave toward it so as to retain or increase their possession if it."¹⁶ It may be worth noting in passing that Tolman, the psychologist whom Parsons, Kluckhohn, and their collaborators called in to bolster their psychological approach, actually embraces Lundberg's stand on values.¹⁷ As in most concepts of the Type B,

the value, though located in the object, originates outside of it and must be observed outside of it. Thus it appears that, whether one approaches values from B or C, he has to refer to action or behavior if he wishes to provide empirical evidence for his statements.

If this is recognized, the following reasoning becomes almost inescapable. The values in an object are known only by the way the object is being acted upon. The needs, interests, attitudes, meanings, wishes, volitions, norms—in short, the valuations of individuals, singly or in the aggregate—can be known only from their actions. Thus action is the only empirically knowable aspect of value. Whether or not value has other aspects is a question that the natural science sociologist must leave unanswered. That does not prove anything about their existence and non-existence. It merely means that, if natural science sociology is talking about values, all it can legitimately be talking about is observable behavior, observable action.

This view (D) which, in practice, equates "value" with "action" is supported by, but not dependent on, the assumption that whatever a person does is what he wants to do most under the given circumstances at the given moment. What he does not do he either positively wants not done or does not want it done strongly enough to do it at the time and under conditions as they are.¹⁸

¹² *Op. cit.*, p. 396.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 395; Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

¹⁴ Kluckhohn, *op. cit.*, p. 395.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁶ George A. Lundberg, *Can Science Save Us?* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1947), p. 26. Similarly, Stuart Carter Dodd, *Dimensions of Society* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), p. 272.

¹⁷ Edward C. Tolman, "A Psychological Model," in Parsons and Shils (eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 293, n. 7: The term "value" is used "to designate what types of object or situation will in the given context of need-activation and belief tend to be approached or to be avoided by the given actor." On page 357 Tolman designates values as functions of needs.

¹⁸ See Lundberg, *op. cit.*, p. 100: "Whatever people do under these circumstances will constitute their valuing—their values"; similarly Franz Adler in "Quantitative Systems of Sociology," *Proceedings of the Arkansas Academy of Science*, III (1950), 91. Philosophic backing for this view may be found, for example, in Georg R. Geiger, "Values and Inquiry," in Ray Lepley (ed.), *Value: A Cooperative Inquiry* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 96; or Jean Paul Sartre, *L'Être et le néant: Essai d'ontologie phénoménologique* (4th ed.; Paris: Librairie Gallimard, 1943), pp. 510 ff., 518, and *passim*; or see Franz Adler, "The Social Thought of Jean Paul Sartre," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (November, 1949), 287. The concurring view of scientific psychology is expressed in C. S. Hull, "Moral Values, Behaviorism, and the World Crisis," *Transactions of the New York Academy of Science*, VII (1945), 80.

But is it reasonable to say that value is action without taking the meaning of the action into account? And, if meaning is taken into account, is not this a return to conception C?

These questions can be answered. The meaning of the actions must be taken into account, but only that meaning which can be established empirically. What is the meaning of the act of sticking a nickel into the slot of a candy-vending machine? The probability is high that this action has been preceded by the action of an employee of a candy-vending company in putting candy into the machine. It will probably be followed by the mechanical response of the machine in putting forth some candy and by the actions of the buyer of taking the forthcoming candy, unwrapping it, eating it, and throwing the wrapper away; also by the actions of an employee of the vending company in coming around, picking up the money, replacing the merchandise, etc. The events probably preceding and following an action, particularly other actions probably preceding and following it, are its meaning. The observer of the action who knows the probabilities of the preceding and following actions knows the meaning as well as the value which the act performs without attempting to enter the actor's mind.

The "meaning of an action" is a special case of the more general "meaning of an event." The *objective meaning* of the event consists of its relations to all other events of the universe, past, present, and future. This infinity of relations is, obviously, not accessible to man. The scientists will, therefore, try to establish the *scientific meaning* of the event, that is, he will try to discover those relationships of the event to other events which he considers relevant to a given problem in a given frame of reference. An individual observing an event or producing it (acting) also relates it to other events. He does this on the basis of past personal or vicarious experiences. Thus the event has for him a *private meaning*. In any given culture, experiences and consequently private meanings overlap to a very high degree. The

public meaning of an event consists, then, of all those events that are commonly seen to occur with it. The social scientist who wants to discover the private or public meaning of an act or any other event must discover the preceding, following, and accompanying events among which the act or event generally occurs either with the individual or in the culture. The established probable connections of the event to past, contemporary, and later events are its empirically ascertainable private or public meanings; in other words, its scientific meaning in a social science frame of reference. This conception of "meaning," concrete, tangible, and empirical, is fully compatible with value concepts of the Type D.

Another attack might be formulated around the concept of "norms." There are norms, it is said, which demand adherence and which are values independent of anybody's actions? What is a norm? It is a statement written or spoken, once or repeatedly, which has as its content a command (or advice, demand, request, etc.) and sometimes carries a promise. This command may be directed to the average person: "Thou shalt not kill." Additional commands may be directed to special categories of persons as, for example, the police: "If somebody kills somebody, apprehend him and, if this is impossible, kill him." The promise goes to the violator of the norm as well as to those who obey it: "If you kill, we shall kill you" and "If somebody you love is killed, we shall kill the killer." Needless to say, neither the command nor the promise is always fulfilled. In fact, not only does the behavior of those toward whom the mores or the laws are directed often deviate from these commands but also the behavior of those whose business it is or who make it their business to enforce the commands and fulfil the promises of the law or the mores generally deviates from the behavior enjoined upon them.

When values are equated with action, these are the value aspects of a norm: First, there are people who utter the norm, repeat the norm, pass it as a law, preach it from the pulpit, etc. Thus we know that they want to

utter, repeat, pass, or preach. Whether, beyond that; they also want that the commands uttered, preached, etc., be enforced, that the repeated or legislated promises be kept, cannot be said without a further study of their behavior. It is very probable, for example, that at least some of those who legislate prohibition in this country do not want their commands enforced or their promises kept. All that the existence of a norm proves, then, is that there are people who want it to exist.

Second, as behavior occurs that complies with or deviates from the norm, values agreeing with or disagreeing with the commands of the norm are manifested. Any correlation of these values with those mentioned above has to be shown and cannot be assumed *a priori*. The same persons may—their reasons are irrelevant—with equal fervor talk against sin and then indulge in it. Their verbal as well as their non-verbal actions are their values. It is obviously unjustifiable to give to either the verbal or the non-verbal action the greater weight, to claim that either is more expressive of values or expressive of more real values than the other. What people say is what they want to *say*; what people do is what they want to *do*. What people say in Sunday school and what they do during the week may or may not be consistent; but both sets of behavior constitute their values. To suppress one set in favor of the other in the description of their behavior, their personality or their culture, is a falsification.

Third, those who carry out the sanctions and promises of the norm, be they elders, the public, gossiping prudes, courts of law, police officers, grievance committees, or vigilantes, tend to act independently of the original intent of the stated norm and in their actions incorporate again another set of values, again not *a priori* predictable from the two other sets of behavior or values.¹⁹

Interpretive sociologists will raise the following objection: it is not enough to develop value concepts which but *describe* in a generalized form observed behavior; we

must, instead, infer from the observed overt behavior some entity in internal covert behavior with the aid of which we can *explain* and *understand* the overt. But this involves a hopeless and useless circularity. About thirty years ago instinct in the explanation of social and cultural behavior was dropped because it was recognized that, since the "instinct" was but an inference from some observed behavior, it could not validly be used to explain it. "Interests," "wishes," and "attitudes," all of them once inexplicable props of psychologizing sociology, like the "instincts" of yore and the "values" of today, were constructed by generalization from observed behavior. As such they could and did serve for the prediction of the behavior they described. They could be used effectively for explanation in the same sense in which the law of gravity explains a case of a falling body, that is, as one case among many similar ones. But it is impossible to gain any deeper understanding, any understanding from within, by such a procedure. A generalization does not contain anything that was not already present in the cases from which it was drawn, in the principle or category of generalization, and in the method of generalization. Any claim that the "value" concept can yield insight beyond this is unfounded.

One of the most frequent objections to the reasoning that action is the only and the most reliable key to what is wanted arises from a confusion between "wanting," on the one hand, and "enjoying," "relishing," "having fun," etc., on the other. One may well want something enough to do it, although he would enjoy much more doing something else. The present writer, for example, does not particularly enjoy taking his little son to the barbershop for a haircut, but he nevertheless wants to do it sufficiently strongly to take him there about once every month. His behavior with regard to his

¹⁹ Cf. Georg Cohn, *Existenzialismus und Rechtswissenschaft* (Basel: Commissionsverlag Helbig & Lichtenhahn, 1955), *passim*. Cohn denies the existence of the "living" law in the stated norm but finds it in the practice of the courts of law in each specific case.

son's growth of hair can be predicted: for some time to come he will continue to express dislike of taking him to the barber, and yet he will continue to take him there. In other words, he appears to hold two contradicting values in the matter: one verbal, one non-verbal. Whatever other values he may hold cannot be known and are utterly irrelevant in this context because they do not lead to actions. Thus, for the purposes of sociological scientific discourse, values and actions may safely be treated as identical.

Finally, it may be objected that the equation of values with actions does away with the need for the "value" concept altogether. Admirers of Ockham's razor will not cry about such a loss. They are satisfied if a culture or a personality is described as a behavior syndrome and do not derive any thrill

from calling them, in addition, "value systems." In the past, emphasis on values has slowed down the advancement of the social sciences rather than furthered it. Znaniecki in one of his most recent works, embodying some of the fruits of a lifetime of sociological endeavor, states: "Even a superficial survey of the evolution of some sciences of culture indicates that their methodological progress is correlated with their growing emphasis on the study of human actions rather than on the study of cultural values abstracted from the actions in which they occurred."²⁰ There is no reason to believe that this relationship would be reversed in the future.

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²⁰ Florian Znaniecki, *Cultural Sciences: Their Origin and Development* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1952), p. 183.

DEMOCRACY UNLIMITED: KURT LEWIN'S FIELD THEORY¹

HENRY S. KARIEL

ABSTRACT

Kurt Lewin's theories of human knowledge, the social field, and the role of leadership in society reveal that his obvious humanitarian interests bore no relation to his methodology. He committed himself to the increasingly familiar experimental approach that values a power field with functionally related and thoroughly interdependent components. Using this field as model, he graded existing social orders as to the degree of integration of their parts—designating the most fully integrated as democratic. The maintenance of a democratic field requires leadership qualities which will create a mood by which consensus and maximum productive co-operation are achieved. To exalt this function of leadership is to disparage institutions for the adjustment of interests which liberal-democratic theory has traditionally supported.

Because some of the challengeable postulates of present-day social research can be revealed most sharply in the labor of a pioneer, it proves fruitful to review part of the extraordinarily influential work of Kurt Lewin (1890–1947).² His scattered but related efforts to understand individual conduct and social behavior have implications that fail to emerge clearly from studies which have paralleled or stimulated. To review his theory of knowledge, his construct of the social field, and, finally, his conception of leadership might therefore provide some insight into the possibilities and limits of research far more various and refined than Lewin's but in crucial ways no different in basic orientation. Such an exposition need not meet investigations of group dynamics on their own ground. Instead, it may seek to spell out some of their more radical ideological implications, in the hope of making evident how Lewin's approach to the study of society conflicts with institutions sustained by traditional liberal-democratic political theory.

There is every reason to believe that Lewin intended otherwise.³ Throughout his career he expressed a deeply felt and lively concern for the rights of minorities as well as

a persistent interest in the defeat of totalitarianism. Yet he never lost sight of the importance of social theory. Before coming to the United States from Germany in 1932 he had already laid a theoretical foundation which was easily appreciated in an American environment hospitable to co-operative research, pragmatic investigations, and practical experiments. However warmly he was received, there can be no doubt that Lewin himself was the real force in establishing the Research Center for Group Dynamics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1945 (transferred in 1948 to the University of Michigan), to aid, he had hoped, in the construction of an expansive empirical social science, uniting psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists. The center, Lewin was to point out, was "devoted to the development of scientific concepts, methods, and theories of group life which should lead to a deeper understanding and permit a more intelligent management of social problems in small and large settings." Emphasis was placed "on laboratory and field experiments for studying systematically the forces which determine group life and changes in group life."⁴ This grew naturally out of Lewin's

¹ The following account draws, in part, on an unpublished critique of group dynamics by David Minar.

² For a bibliography of Lewin's work see Lewin, *The Research Center for Group Dynamics* (New York: Beacon House, 1947); on the extent of his influence see the bibliography by Morton Deutsch, "Field Theory in Social Psychology," in Gardner Lindzey (ed.), *Handbook of Social Psychology* (2 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Press, 1954), I, 181–222.

³ Note especially the remarks by his wife in the Preface to Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), p. xvi; and Gordon W. Allport, "The Genius of Kurt Lewin," *Journal of Personality*, XVI (September, 1947), 1–10.

⁴ See Lewin, "The Research Center for Group Dynamics at Massachusetts Institute of Technology," *Sociometry*, VIII (March, 1945), 126–36, at 135; and "Frontiers in Group Dynamics," in Dorwin Cartwright (ed.), *Field Theory in Social Science* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 188–237.

early endeavors to transform the historical approach of psychology into the conceptual. Indeed, his work reveals him as consistently aspiring to formulate an abstract theory of social behavior.

To approximate such a theory, he had postulated the hypothesis—if not the existence⁵—of a “psychological field,” one alive with a host of elusive, but discoverable, forces. For an example of what might go on within it, one might think of an individual—caught in the “totality of facts which determine [his] behavior . . . at a certain moment”⁶ (a totality designated as “the life-space”)—as being attracted by something that appeals to him (a factor of “positive valence”), as taking steps to attain it (engaging in “locomotion”), and as reaching it or not and so perpetually changing or being changed by his “force field.” This field, articulated into “regions,” lends itself to study (“action research”)—that is, to description, diagnosis, and therapy. A non-quantitative geometry (topology) combined with symbols denoting dynamic relations (vector concepts) can be enlisted to compose diagrams representing specific social situations. These diagrams may be amplified by a picture of the imagined as opposed to the actual situation (“reality-unreality dimension”) and also by symbols showing the present impact of past actions and future expectations (“time perspective”). When the resulting multidimensional sketch—one that has become familiar and yet forbidding to many who have scanned the texts of group psychology, industrial sociology, and human relations—is scientifically accurate, when it is a precise model, it will permit the deduction of both individual and social behavior. It will constitute a formal deductive framework of neutral concepts which, in principle, will exhaustively relate and account for social variables.⁷

By valuing not the isolated interests,

⁵ On this point, as on a good many others, there can be no clarity because of Lewin's willingness to let his terms refer to various matters.

⁶ Lewin, *Principles of Topological Psychology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1936), p. 216.

goals, and viewpoints of individual persons but rather the system of relationships between individuals, by respecting the total configuration of social forces, Lewin constructively showed how much crucial data were overlooked when behavior was described without reference to its environment. At the same time, he exposed and dramatized the intimate connection between group and member, indicating how all problems of individual behavior, attitude, satisfaction, and morale are, properly seen, really problems of group behavior, group attitude, group satisfaction, and group morale.⁸ Either because he assumed that all men of good will would spontaneously consider problematical what he so designated or because he ignored the normative character of such concepts as “problem,” “tension,” or “harmony,” he did not discuss the nature of “problems.” The agreement thus taken for granted invites one to follow his clues⁹

⁷ Significantly related efforts are abundant. See especially Stuart C. Dodd, *Dimensions of Society: A Quantitative Systematics for the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942); Harold D. Lasswell and Abraham Kaplan, *Power and Society: A Framework for Political Inquiry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); and Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); also see generally *Behavioral Science*, the new publication of the Mental Health Research Institute, University of Michigan.

⁸ Lewin agreed that a proper study of groups must “(1) regard the group as a whole . . . (2) regard the group as composed of interdependent parts of members . . . (3) regard each member as existing in a social field in which even the ‘individual’ problems must be viewed in a framework of group membership . . .” (Ronald Lippitt, “An Experimental Study of the Effect of Democratic and Authoritarian Group Atmospheres,” in Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Sibylle Korsch Escalona, *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I* [Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1940], pp. 45–195, at p. 53).

⁹ For a sampling see Albert D. Annis and Norman C. Meier, “The Induction of Opinion through Suggestion by Means of Planted Content,” *Journal of Social Psychology*, V (February, 1934), 65–81; Muzafer Sherif, *The Psychology of Social Norms* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1936); K. Duncker, “Experimental Modification of Children's Food Preference through Social Suggestion,” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXIII (October, 1938), 489–507; Edward L. Bernays, “The Integra-

and show just how one may best guide the individual's behavior, affect his attitude, direct his desires, and support his morale, thereby settling problems, resolving tensions, and achieving social harmony. Not only, it seemed, would social ills thereby be alleviated, but science itself could advance. By the actual handling and re-forming of specific group situations, general laws might be formulated.¹⁰ Thus a true science of man might be constructed.

The way to such authentic knowledge is not, however, for the lonely traveler; for only one's companions, according to Lewin, can accredit perceptions and validate the individual's understanding.¹¹ By himself, man can reach no genuine truths. The true

self, that composite of one's real aspirations, is that which is publicly valued and socially reflected and identified.¹² As it has been well put by Gordon W. Allport in his introduction to Lewin's *Resolving Social Conflicts*,¹³ "The unifying theme [of Lewin's selected papers] is unmistakable: the group to which the individual belongs is the ground for his perceptions, his feelings, and his action." Outside this *de facto* group, nothing can be understood; no experience can have significance; no values can have independent status.¹⁴ Since no significant understanding of reality is possible for the individual outside the group, membership is indispensable. If the world is to be faced realistically, he must recognize his social nature, the group basis of his being. Man's absolute dependence on society is one of the specific realities of life. Without accepting as "basic . . . that (a) behavior *has to be* derived from a totality of coexisting facts, (b) these coexisting facts have the character of a 'dynamic field' in so far as the state of any part of this field de-

tion of Morale," in C. J. Friedrich and Edward S. Mason (eds.), *Public Policy* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1942), pp. 18-32; A. H. Leighton, *The Governing of Men* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1945); Dorwin Cartwright, "Achieving Change in People: Some Applications of Group Dynamic Theory," *Human Relations*, IV (1951), 381-93; Carl I. Hovland, "Changes in Attitude through Communication," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (July, 1951), 424-37; Jacob Levine and John Butler, "Lecture vs. Group Decision in Changing Behavior," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXVI (February, 1952), 29-33.

¹⁰ Of course, this view is not peculiar to Lewin. Cf.: "In our present state of backwardness, research aimed to aid policy, if intelligently designed and executed from the scientific point of view, can also contribute to our basic theoretical knowledge of social behavior" (Edward Albert Shils, *The Present State of American Sociology* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1948], p. 63). Similarly, John Dewey is said to have observed that "the building up of a social science . . . is dependent upon putting social planning into effect" (quoted in "The Fruitful Errors of Elton Mayo," *Fortune*, XXXIV [November, 1946], 181 ff., at 251). See also the argument for the proposition that sociological research should make "possible the accumulation of tested scientific knowledge at the same time that practical action is being carried on, and in such a way that the results of research can be used almost immediately to increase the effectiveness of action programs" (Claire Selltitz and Stuart W. Cook, "Can Research in Social Science Be Both Socially Useful and Scientifically Meaningful?" *American Sociological Review*, XIII [August, 1948], 454-59, at 459).

¹¹ Note Jerome S. Bruner and Leo Postman's assertion that "all perception is to a lesser or greater degree social perception" because "the set which the individual brings to a perceptual situation is a function of his prevailing motives, needs, attitudes, and personality structure—all of which, in turn, are productions of the interaction between the organism and his social environment" ("An Approach to Social Perception," in Wayne Dennis *et al.*, *Current Trends in Social Psychology* [Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948], pp. 71-118, at pp. 71-72). See also Theodore M. Newcomb, "Social Psychological Theory," in John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (eds.), *Social Psychology at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 31-49, at p. 32.

¹² See Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (February, 1951), 14-21, and "Discussion" by Reinhard Bendix, p. 22.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, p. vii.

¹⁴ See *ibid.*, p. 57. An alternative restatement of Lewin's view so as to save his own ideas—as distinguished from his interests—from dissolving in relativism is not made possible by postulating that individuals do and should belong to many groups (see p. 185); such multiple membership must be, to Lewin, symptomatic of a lack of balance of the individual or indicative of the unhealthiness of the groups.

depends on every other part of the field,"¹⁵ without accepting social bonds, no one is able to comprehend. True understanding can be achieved only from within the group upon which the individual depends. If he is not to escape reality and exhibit abnormality, he must be an integrated component of the group. To realize reality, the individual must operate at the level of the dynamic field, outside which no meaningful knowledge is possible.

Lewin's position is linked to Karl Mannheim's in their joint belief that all thought is inescapably conditioned by and woven into the factual field in which the thinker finds himself. This belief implies, moreover, what Wilhelm Dilthey had made explicit—that the final ground for explaining the world is "pure factuality." From this point of view, all explanations, knowledge, and understanding are so intimately tied to factually experienced natural relations that distinctions between values and facts will fade, that such transcending, normative orders which men have claimed to have beheld can blend with and be explained in terms of an amoral science of the patently real relations between things. Assuming all concepts to be finally wholly dependent upon and immersed within the *de facto*, only the *de facto* can be of significance for a true science of society—as Pareto, too, had concluded. To construct a true science of human behavior is consequently to plead for direct action within the field, manipulating the impressive array of social forces. Indeed, Lewin, providing an interesting reinforcement for the speculations of Sorel, ultimately reflects on the desirability of what he calls "action ideology."¹⁶

This prescription for experimental operations for the sake of comprehending society follows logically enough from the postulate that, abstracted from the group, no one—be he social scientist or layman—can perceive, describe, or evaluate without bias.

¹⁵ Lewin, "Formalization and Progress in Psychology," in Lewin *et al.*, *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I*, p. 33; the emphasis is supplied.

¹⁶ See Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, p. 64.

To obtain a sound picture of both one's self and one's environment, it is imperative to recognize one's place in the social field, where alone man can find his own and his environment's identity. In conflict with the field, he has inadequate knowledge of social reality, is perpetually uncertain about his conditions, and hence suffers from anxieties. Therefore, the more he belongs and the less he resists association, the better for him. Once this is accepted, an unchallengeable evaluation of specific societies becomes a real possibility. Because immersion and participation are not uniformly realizable—some groups paradoxically tolerate members who take an independent stand—groups may be scientifically graded. For this reason, it is clear enough, as Ronald Lippitt has pointed out, why "the American cultural ideal of the 'self-made man . . . standing on his own feet'" seemed tragic to Lewin.¹⁷ Obviously, not all societies manage to enlighten and quiet their members with the same degree of efficiency; not all produce integration, adaptation, and a feeling of belonging with equal success. Precisely these differences make objective classification and valuation possible. Those groups are scientifically the best which maximize the individual's opportunity to belong.

This axiom established, the social scientist, assuming or accepting an indisputably sound end, can search for the means to achieve it, at the same time improving society and building up knowledge. "I am persuaded," Lewin wrote, "that scientific sociology and social psychology based on an intimate combination of experiments and empirical theory can do as much or more for human betterment than the natural sciences have." It is true, he admitted, that pro-democratic sentiments, for which he, of course, had a genuine liking, may inhibit full-scale application of the laws of social science. But what must be must be. "Experiments with groups," he noted, "have not only to overcome philosophic prejudices and technical difficulties; they have also to

¹⁷ In Lewin, *The Research Center for Group Dynamics*, p. 27.

justify themselves as honorable and necessary social procedure. 'Group manipulation' is a term that is dreaded, at least in a democratic country. It seems to go counter to the basic dignities of man. I would not like to see this sentiment dismissed. [But] management is, after all, a legitimate and one of the most important functions in every aspect of social life."¹⁸ Whatever the difficulties, empirical science has always had to surmount them. To gain the clearest possible vision, the obvious procedure is to study group behavior in its various aberrations, to accumulate and compare data, and then to begin the appropriate treatment. It is to generalize by systematically assimilating discrete historical instances. Edward C. Tolman's comments, sympathetically offered, are here appropriate:

He [Lewin] felt that, if we could but correctly conceptualize the a-historical, situational factors determinative of behavior, then we could manipulate these contemporaneous situational factors and produce the sort of behavior which all persons of good will would desire. If we can but discover the "systematic laws," the laws of the "pure case," i.e., those laws whereby a given "life-space" inevitably produces a given behavior, then we can know how to change persons and groups to remake their behavior according to our heart's desires.¹⁹

Seeking reliable theory, Lewin had participated in the experimental establishment of three model groups. Of these three, the democratic, competing with autocratic and laissez faire groups, had proved most effective.²⁰ Systematic observation had shown

¹⁸ Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, p. 83; *The Research Center for Group Dynamics*, p. 11; see also Lewin, "Constructs in Psychology and Psychological Ecology," in Lewin *et al.*, *Authority and Frustration* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1940), pp. 11, 19, 25.

¹⁹ Edward C. Tolman, "Kurt Lewin—1890–1947," *Journal of Social Issues*, VI, Suppl. ser. No. 1 (Fall, 1948), 22–26, at 23. "In short," Tolman adds, "it was his humanity, I believe, which would not allow him to dwell for long on any considerations other than those of the manipulable present." Thus Lewin's interest in manipulation would seem to have grown out of his desire to do good, the nature of the good being clear enough to "all persons of good will."

the group permeated by a "democratic" atmosphere to be the least likely to hinder the individual in finding himself. It offered a maximum of "positive sociability," activating its members and making them simultaneously friendly and objective. Other groups had encouraged individuals to be hostile, aggressive, critical, apathetic, unfriendly, tense, recriminatory, and irrational.²¹

The so-called democratic group, in the light of Lewin's criteria, displays the greatest efficiency. It effectively causes the emergence of feelings that put men in touch with the essential reality of their dynamic field. It is best because characterized by a peaceful atmosphere and a co-operative mood due to the proper exercise of leadership skills. Thanks to sound leadership, individual members are induced, never commanded, to play their role in achieving a common cause voluntarily. They will share a homogeneous outlook and act in accordance with their interests—provided always that they are rightly led.

The accent on right leadership derives from experience showing that the individual will not automatically permit his real will to guide him. If he knew his true interests, he would, as a matter of course, invariably be part of that group upon which he is most dependent.²² His ultimate interests, it is as-

²⁰ See Lewin *et al.*, *Studies in Topological and Vector Psychology I*; and Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Ralph K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (May, 1939), 271–99.

²¹ See Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, pp. 78–82, and "The Fractality of Democracy," in Gardner Murphy (ed.), *Human Nature and Enduring Peace* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1945), pp. 306–7.

²² "The discrepancy between what people 'should do, if they were guided by their real interest,' and what they actually do is frequently caused by the fact that a person feels himself belonging to those to whom he is similar or to whom he wishes to be similar. On the other hand, his 'real interest' would demand that he should feel belonging to those upon whom his dependence is greatest" (Lewin, "Field Theory and Experiment in Social Psychology: Concepts and Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV [May, 1939], 868–96, at 887).

sumed, will not conflict with those of others, for all interests in the good society are harmoniously reconciled. It is therefore uneconomical or frivolous to be concerned with the merits and substance of particular policy objectives.

In practice, this approach to man and society calls for an emphasis not on the mechanism of politics, not on specific institutions or procedures for compromising competing interests, but, far more broadly, on morale, on the "style of living," the "social climate," the spirit pervading the dynamic field.²³ Lewin and his associates demonstrated this in an experiment during the second World War. They tried to discover how best to motivate students using eight dining rooms at the State University of Iowa to choose and eat whole-wheat bread. Lewin verified that in dining rooms where consumers were *lectured* about the desirability of switching from white to whole-wheat bread and could privately weigh their interests, it was more difficult to induce the change than in the rooms where the leadership "permitted" them to make the change by "voluntary group decision," the leaders and the led assuming, of course, that the overriding wartime goal—a healthy, viable nation—was beyond the scope of any "voluntary" decision.²⁴

When there is no doubt about the meaning of the general will, when morale within the field is good, anything is indeed possible and acceptable. Within the group that gives behavior its true sociopsychological meaning, the most painful or unpleasant action can be made palatable. "Under ordinary circumstances," Lewin has pointed out, "an individual will strongly resist an order . . . to eat three dozen unsalted soda crackers. As 'subjects' in an experiment, on the other hand, individuals were found ready to 'take it' without either hesitation or resist-

ance." Enlightened and therefore enthusiastic about the ultimate end, the individual, like the victim of disease who desires life above all, will subordinate all diverting interests. "In the role of patient, for example, the individual permits as 'treatment' by the doctor what would otherwise be vigorously resisted because of bodily pain or social unpleasantness."²⁵ To break human resistance and smooth man's way, the overriding good must be clear. To put this good into precise focus is eventually to make it possible to rule out all conflicting subjective visions, all conscientious objections. The "facts" must simply be accepted. To lead the good life is to embrace and be loyal to those identified ultimate objectives which are self-evidently right. Man's still terrifying problems—when the good life is finally led within the right order—will dissolve, their apparent actuality having been due to misguided imagination and extraneous works. Within the "democratic" group, choices between alternatives will no longer create anxiety, since all alternatives but the fixed goal can be shown to be opposed to the publicly validated common interest.

It is wasteful, therefore, merely to foster and institutionalize processes by which policies are formulated. Democracy, after all, is not to be defined procedurally "by isolated elements of conduct, rules or institutions; it is the larger *pattern* of group life and the group *atmosphere* which determine how a society is to be classified."²⁶ A democratic group may therefore be no less democratic for having its policy handed down from above. Thus neither Ronald Lippitt's remark, for example, that even in a democratic group one might "have to conform to arbitrary standards set by those higher in authority" nor John R. P. French's statement that democratic groups in industry "must work explicitly within the framework of the

²³ See Lewin, *Resolving Social Conflicts*, pp. 80, 82.

²⁴ See Lewin, "Forces behind Food Habits and Methods of Change," in National Research Council, Committee on Food Habits, *The Problem of Changing Food Habits* (Washington, D.C.: National Research Council, October, 1943), pp. 35-65, at pp. 55-60.

²⁵ Lewin, "Time Perspective and Morale," in Goodwin Watson (ed.), *Civilian Morale* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942), pp. 48-70, at pp. 51-52.

²⁶ Lewin, "The Practicality of Democracy," p. 302; the emphasis is Lewin's.

major goals of management"²⁷ can be challenged by Lewin, the social theorist. This is true, even though to him no group could be democratic unless its members, by their "own force," accepted the policy prescribed by higher authority. Precisely because Lewin assumed that an identity of interests marks the well-functioning social order, it proved easy to equate the individual's own force with teamwork, non-resistance to induced change, and a drive for maximum production—and this not by perverting Lewin's approach but by acting on it.

To those sharing Lewin's Rousseau-like emphasis on the fraternal element of democracy—an emphasis revealed by the way he contrasted American egalitarian parent-child relations with German autocratic ones²⁸—the source of policy prescriptions cannot matter, for there is no need to reconcile what are naturally related: the individual's own peculiar ends and the nature and purpose of society. This tight relationship and not the presence of devices insuring the responsibility of the leadership distinguishes the democratic group. Thus the temper in which society decides upon, accepts, ratifies, and acts out general policies is always the crucial criterion. The democratic group is recognizable by a spirit of warm, spontaneous acceptance of policy. Such consent attests to the sound communication of decisions. In specific cases, existing conflict, resistance, and hostility would consequently provide an index to the inefficiency or corruptibility of those who draft and legislate goals and transmit them

to the rank and file. Democratic leadership creates a wholesome and beneficent atmosphere, the beneficence being defined as the amiable mood of men adapted to their fate.

The existence of this mood is always a good; it is the very norm of health which makes an objective pathology of groups possible. Against all protestations, it legitimizes the scientist's restorative treatment. While it is true that society still limits his power, that others who also seek to employ men do not yet sufficiently co-operate, the experimenter may be granted the power to control groups, once he has explained the practical potential of his science to those leaders who still entertain the notions that the fit survive or that organizers are born or that "primitive methods of trial and error" are desirable. Because it can be shown that "the efficiency of this procedure is far below what can be achieved with systematic scientific experimentation," non-scientific managers may yet be enlightened.²⁹

It bears re-emphasizing that, ostensibly, no valuation of groups is offered or imposed. The social psychologist may pose as wholly neutral. He recognizes that the "question of planned change or of any 'social engineering' is identical with the question: What 'conditions' have to be changed to bring about a given result and how can one change these conditions with the means at hand?"³⁰ Accepting the "given" goals, he does not determine the policy of associations. A proponent of a science of means, he merely moves the body of members in the fixed direction to approximate the goal. Pathological groups composed of apathetic or aggressive individuals, far from justifying pessimism, are a challenge to him. He knows that a leader can alter their tone by appropriate techniques. Because it may take vigorous action to make the members recognize their mutual dependence, the leader must command the necessary power. Using his power appropriately, he can

²⁷ Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949), p. 144; French, in Lewin *et al.*, "The Practicality of Democracy," p. 325. Otto Klineberg has rightly felt justified in concluding from experiments resting on group dynamics theory that "the more 'democratic' the procedures, the less resistance there is to change, and the greater the productivity" (*Social Psychology* [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954], p. 462).

²⁸ See Lewin, "Some Social-psychological Differences between the United States and Germany," in *Resolving Social Conflicts*, p. 7.

²⁹ Lewin, *Authority and Frustration*, pp. 24, 25.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

finally teach the democratic follower to join causes and to play the role of participant.³¹

Well-circumscribed hospital environments, which psychiatrists such as Harry Stack Sullivan or Maxwell Jones had set up for their clearly schizophrenic patients, in order to facilitate man's natural disposition to enter into group relations Lewin was prepared to multiply and enlarge in the hope of ultimately providing, as he affirmed, for the life of a whole community or state or for the organization of the world.³² The belief that, as skills in social engineering increase, inferences may be verified by practical testing and by applications in an ever expanding interpersonal field is, in fact, being reinforced not only by Lewin's colleagues and followers but by many others as well.

Lewin's research on changing food habits, as James G. Miller has seen,³³ "contain first glimmerings of evidence that we have means to control scientifically the mass behavior of human beings in a matter concerning which they feel that they have freedom of action. They offer models of how experimental studies can be made on the predictable alteration of human behavior

in other fields." Social scientists have accordingly correlated authority and frustration, tested techniques for the training of leaders so as to stimulate group cohesion, and examined the bearing of a group's organization on its ability to meet crises.³⁴ These concerns have, in fact, made it necessary for the social scientist to remind himself of the subtle distinction between genuine and manipulated individual development. The distinction tends to be blurred especially when, as Fred H. Blum points out,³⁵ a social situation is analyzed with the view to changing it. With this procedure, which couples diagnosis and therapy, people, as the "objects" of study, must be actually involved and controlled.

To engage in such action research, Morris S. Viteles explains,³⁶ will produce benefits for industrial managers seeking to influence attitudes directly. Moreover, it will provide a sense of participation for workers who may be permitted to partake in program-planning which will indirectly mold their attitudes and improve their morale. Those in power can create a democratic climate—and this regardless of the environment's actual power relations.³⁷ Since what is re-

³¹ Lewin, "The Practicality of Democracy," pp. 310-11. Herbert A. Simon has observed that "we now have a considerable body of evidence on the participation hypothesis—the hypothesis that significant changes in human behavior can be brought about rapidly only if the persons *who are expected to change* participate in deciding what the change shall be and how it shall be made" (in Stephen K. Bailey *et al.*, *Research Frontiers in Politics and Government* [Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1955], pp. 28-29; the emphasis is supplied).

³² Lewin, "The Practicality of Democracy," p. 303. To Conrad Arensberg, reflecting on the scope of organization research, "the evidence from the study of industrial behavior and industrial relations seems to indicate that building theory upon research concentration on the small group may be mistaken" ("Behavior and Organization," in Rohrer and Sherif [eds.], *op. cit.*, pp. 324-52, at p. 324).

³³ "Psychological Approaches to the Prevention of War," in Dennis *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 274-99, at p. 287.

³⁴ See, among other works, Alex Bavelas, "Morale and the Training of Leaders," in Watson (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 143-65; Lewin *et al.*, *Authority and Frustration*; Lippitt, *Training in Community Relations*. For a review of the approach to theoretical research in group dynamics, to educational policy, and to practical application of research see Dorwin Cartwright, *The Research Center for Group Dynamics; A Report of Five Years' Activities and a View of Future Needs* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1950).

³⁵ "Action Research—a Scientific Approach?" *Philosophy of Science*, XXII (January, 1955), 1-7, at pp. 1-2.

³⁶ Viteles, *Motivation and Morale in Industry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1953), p. 436.

³⁷ See Gustav Ichheiser, "Misunderstanding in Human Relations: A Study in False Social Perception," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LV (September, 1949), Part 2. Also consider: "Human relations will almost automatically be bettered if new ways of perceiving one's situation can be made available, not too solemnly, but with zest and humor, through stories, skits, movies, or better

quired are new ways of understanding one's social role, the nature of the environment need trouble no one concerned about the fate of democracy. Nor need one despair of its practicality—the question to which Lewin had addressed himself—merely because the economic and political issues of the day cannot be made clear enough for the average man to choose intelligently between alternatives. For even though the individual cannot be reached by rational verbal appeals, his society can be so changed as to satisfy him nonetheless. Viteles' textbook summary³⁸ of experiments in which Lewin and his co-workers proved that production is increased when situations are created "in which workers are, in Allport's terms, 'participant in cooperative activity'" is to the point. These experiments have shown that employee participation "becomes an effective device for lowering resistance to change, and aiding production by lowering the resistance of barriers to the 'goal' of higher output." Of course, undisguised coercion can also produce change. But, says Viteles,

the use of group participation permits smoother "locomotion" to the same "goal" without the creation of "tensions" which may lead to industrial strife. Participation in decision-making in industry is generally viewed as an experience wherein attitudes favorable to change are taken on by the workers. . . .

The potential for industrial strife is lowered, since the change in group perception associated with group participation tends to bring the production "goal" closer to the standard desired by management. Furthermore "emotionality" is lowered, since workers playing the "role" of planners tend to keep discussion at a relatively depersonalized level.

still, actual games, parties, work-projects. As the therapist might state the matter, the person must be assisted in a friendly manner to see himself and his associates in an accepting way, parking his defenses and especially his sense of guilt outside the gate" (Gardner Murphy, "The Role of Psychologists in the Establishment of Better Human Relations," in Lyman Bryson *et al.* [eds.], *Perspectives on a Troubled Decade* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1950], pp. 1-11, at pp. 2-3).

³⁸ Viteles, *op. cit.*, p. 118.

To those who have taken their cue from Lewin, participation is the key to the wholesome, democratic regime. Democracy will result naturally enough from a person-to-person feeling in tolerant and generous community living. More specifically, in a community thus prepared to experience democracy, economic leadership would not be irresponsible, as heretofore. The new economic leader, as Gardner Murphy has delineated him, will "understand the democratic process as well as the economic reality"; he will be able to "take hold of his corporation, his board of directors, his stockholders, his workers, his consumers, his public as a wise political leader would take hold, revolutionizing the guidance of his enterprise from within and without. Many of those who talk of the partnership of business and government vaguely grope toward some such conceptions." Perhaps through plebiscites, referendums, and public opinion polls, everyone may get a due sense of participation and enable democracy to succeed. There can be no excuse for inactivity.³⁹ Man will find his bearings in social action. Integrated, he will achieve fulfilment; inclosed, he will find his freedom. Absorbed, adjusted, and liberated, he will be able to look down on the pathological society which still accommodates conflicts of interest by deliberately leaving a margin for the misfits, the maladjusted, the disoriented, and the apathetic.

Both the theoretical and the practical results of Lewin's work find their roots in his positing of a total dynamic field that leaves no ground upon which the individual and his necessary associates might reasonably make an independent stand. Lewin seemed to realize, steeped as he was in the philosophy of science, that a position not dependent on

³⁹ Gardner Murphy, in Murphy (ed.), *op. cit.*, pp. 298, 299 (Murphy's emphasis is omitted); Jerome S. Bruner, pp. 372-84; Ronald Lippitt and Charles Henry, pp. 313, 315-18. See also the discussion in "Citizen Participation in World Affairs: Problems and Possibilities," *Journal of Social Issues*, IV (Winter, 1948), 21-61.

the field would remain beyond the power of scientific modulation. Such immune positions would jeopardize and limit any attempt to achieve control. To produce social change, the social scientist must rigorously exclude any tie with, or appeal to, a fundamental law presumed to transcend the field he desires to affect. To grant possible validity to such a link between the factual and the normative—a link which assumes the possibility of their distinction—would spoil the integrity of his state.⁴⁰ It would make the state of affairs with which he is experimentally concerned unmanageable and unpredictable. Only by using an approach which values above all its freedom from values, its absolute objectivity, can he set up and move society. His knowledge lies in his action. As he arranges his state so as to strip it of phenomena not susceptible to incorporation in the body of scientific knowledge, he becomes, to the extent that he is successful, its founding father.⁴¹ And since he feels justified in claiming empirically confirmed objectivity for it—for he has, indeed, confirmed it by making it—he may go to work in the public arena, in the legislature and the market place, on the basis of decisive assumptions to which those whose

interests and goods are affected by his action have not had to consent—however readily they may, in fact, acquiesce. In so far as such work is theory-oriented, as Lewin's largely was, all that is involved is the drafting of a framework which would ideally encompass all variable, unstable, and disturbing forces;⁴² in so far as it is oriented toward the resolution of practical problems, it seeks the final good of social harmony by activating what appears sluggish and integrating what appears random. Whether theory-oriented or problem-oriented, it would aspire to that state of unity in which all tensions are resolved by being duly related.

When scientists are prepared to act consistently on the basis of these beliefs—though there is no need to argue that they are—they cannot respect the procedures which liberal democratic theory has traditionally valued. Instead, they are committed to a method that would place policy in a frame within which it may be objectively perceived and value conflicts, left inconclusive by parliamentary politics, may be concluded with efficiency and finality. Thus the expert technician, pointing to the so-called facts of the situation, would settle what a troublesome parliamentarianism tends to leave up in the air. His words, unhesitatingly converted into deeds, would shape policy far more effectively than the ambiguous, retractable language of the politician. That such results are not altogether intended, that a residue of an eclipsed tradition still generates second thoughts, cannot detract from the impetus given research in all the social sciences by Lewin's theory of the social field.

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⁴⁰ William Foote Whyte has noted that how the individual perceives situations cannot be helpful for scientific understanding if we "want to know what 'actually happened' in those situations" ("Small Groups and Large Organizations," in Rohrer and Sherif [eds.], *op. cit.*, pp. 297–312, at p. 302). Such individual perceptions and assessments would not, of course, be ignored; they would be treated as significant, because efficacious, functions of the determinate group structure. Thus subjective valuations become scientifically commensurable.

⁴¹ Cf. Leo Strauss's analysis, to which the preceding account is indebted, of Machiavelli's method (*Natural Right and History* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953], pp. 177–80).

⁴² See Lewin, *Field Theory in Social Science*, p. 8.

AUTHORITY AND POWER IN "IDENTICAL" ORGANIZATIONS¹

JAMES D. THOMPSON

ABSTRACT

Power relationships among executives were compared with official authority arrangements in two large military units. Formal organization and operating conditions of the units were comparable, and in both units operating demands resulted in power exceeding authority for certain functional "staff" directors and being lessened for "line" commanders. Despite differences in interpersonal abilities and behavior, operations executives held dominant positions. Within the general power framework required by technical considerations there were important differences between the two units. The relative power of certain positions varied between units, and these variations were associated with differences in communication channels.

Power structures have been observed in small groups and in large communities, but these usually have been informal arrangements either in informal groups or in the interstices between formal organizations, forming a superstructure above formal government. Yet the usual definitions of power are properly applicable to the internal structures of formal organizations. One reason why research workers have seldom regarded actual power in such organizations may be that the classics on bureaucracy have stressed the rational aspects of organization, with emphasis on authority to the neglect of unauthorized or illegitimate power. And it was not long ago that informal organization was "discovered" in bureaucracies.

Studies of informal organization in industrial and other large systems have been directed primarily toward relations between production workers or between them and their supervisors; executive behavior has seldom been considered.

This paper reports some results of a study of authorized and real power structures in two Air Force wings with the same regulations, directives, and charts, reporting to the same headquarters, and comparable in equipment, personnel, length of time in

existence, and mission. They operated under like weather conditions. Attention is focused on "top" executives and on differences in communication channels which were associated with differences in power structures.

It was hypothesized (1) that the real power structures in both wings would deviate from the more limited authority structures and (2) that the two power structures would differ from each other.

Power was defined as the ability to determine the behavior of others, regardless of the bases of that ability. Authority, in contrast, was defined as that type of power which goes with a position and is legitimated by the official norms. Power consists of some combination of authority and influence, but for purposes of this study influence was treated as a residual category.

A power structure was defined as a relatively fixed, regular, and continuous power relationship between two or more individuals or groups, and an authority structure as a relatively fixed, regular, and continuous power relationship between offices as they are formally prescribed.

Communication was defined as a kind of interaction in which sentiments, ideas, or facts become shared, and a communication channel as a relatively fixed, regular, and continuous communication relationship between two or more individuals.

COLLECTION AND ANALYSIS OF DATA

Data were collected by the author and other members of the research team² during

² Frederick L. Bates, Jack L. Dyer, Raymond W. Mack, Richard Stephens, and George S. Tracy.

¹ This research was supported in part by the United States Air Force under contract number 505-037-0001 monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute, Air University, and executed by the Institute for Research in Social Science, University of North Carolina. Project directors: Gordon W. Blackwell and Nicholas J. Demerath. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication, and disposal in whole or in part by or for the United States government.

six weeks spent in each of two wings. The principal techniques were direct observation, semistructured interviews, work-contact questionnaires, self-recorded schedules of contacts made by executives, and power ratings made by judges in the wings. Regulations, directives, and charts in effect at the time of field work also were analyzed.

Attention during field work was focused on two major aspects of co-ordination: *allocation* and *communication*. The allocation category was divided into five areas: tasks (or responsibilities); manpower; facilities; authority; and sanctions (rewards and punishments).³ Data on allocation were obtained primarily through interviewing and observation.

A series of interviews was conducted with each of a dozen executives in each wing and organized around three general questions: (1) What allocation decisions were made? (2) Who made them? (3) What were the consequences for the groups and activities under the respondent's jurisdiction? Weekly "staff meetings" and other sessions of executives were observed and recorded in detail, and the data were classified according to the same general questions. Critical incidents which related to these questions were also observed and recorded.

Channels of communication were determined from work-contact questionnaires completed by all available members of each wing and from records of actual contacts kept by major executives during a critical week in each wing.

Questionnaires asked the respondent to list the individuals with whom he had contact as frequently as several times a week. Contacts within his own work group were separated from other contacts. The plan was to administer the questionnaires to all executives and all their assistants, who together made up the "executive subsystem" of the wings. Similar questionnaires were adminis-

tered throughout the "maintenance subsystem" and in one of the three squadrons which comprised the "operations subsystem."

Completed questionnaires were obtained from 71 per cent of members of the executive subsystem in Wing A and from 68 per cent in Wing B. Percentages obtained in the other subsystems ranged from 67 to 81. The distribution of those from whom questionnaires were not obtained resembled randomness, and it is believed that the data obtained approximate the channels of communication within the wings.

All questionnaire entries were coded and entered into a matrix. The completed matrix was then "folded over," so that data regarding interaction between any two individuals appeared in one cell, regardless of whether the facts were supplied by one or both of the individuals.⁴ (Results reported here refer to interaction as reported by either party; if reported by both parties, it is tabulated as one interaction.)

THE AUTHORITY STRUCTURES

Each wing was composed of six working squadrons and a headquarters. Flying activities were carried out by crews belonging to the three tactical or combat squadrons, which "owned" the aircraft and also performed minor maintenance on them. Specialized and heavy maintenance activities were the responsibilities of three maintenance squadrons.

The chief executive of a wing was the wing commander, whose principal assistants were his deputy, his six squadron commanders, and the three members of his "wing co-ordinating staff," namely, a director of operations, a director of matériel, and a director of personnel. These eleven, plus an assistant to the director of matériel known as the

³ The frame of reference was taken with modifications from Talcott Parsons, particularly from *Toward a General Theory of Action*, ed. Parsons and Edward A. Shils (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1951).

⁴ Slightly more than 30 per cent of contacts reported by one person were also reported by the other. This was true in both wings. There is evidence that men tended to list their more important contacts (at least outside their own work groups) and to omit the less important. This would explain the absence of mutuality: contact between A and B might be quite important to A but insignificant to B.

"maintenance control officer," were the key executives on whom this study focused.

Each squadron commander was officially responsible *directly* to the wing commander for the control over and the quality of the activities of his squadron. Each had one or more squadron staff officers responsible for certain matters and answerable *directly* to him. To assist him in co-ordinating the activities of the six squadrons, the wing commander could turn to his co-ordinating staff. Regulations did not limit these offices to advisory positions, however. The director of operations was officially responsible to the wing commander for the development of the wing's combat capability; the director of matériel for the direction and co-ordination of all phases of maintenance, supply, and logistics within the wing; and the director of personnel for personnel actions in all squadrons.

Although relationships between squadron commanders and wing staff officers were not prescribed, regulations did specify that appropriate squadron staff officers would be "supervised and directed" by wing staff officers. At the same time, however, the squadron staff officers were officially responsible to their squadron commander.

A status differential existed among the executive offices, since the authorized ranks of the co-ordinating staff were one notch higher than those of squadron commanders. Movement "upward" in the hierarchy was movement from squadron command to wing staff positions.

In summary, the authority structure appeared to be a blend of the "line" and the "functional" concepts of administration which left some authority in both types of channels without fully integrating the channels.

OVERVIEW OF THE POWER STRUCTURES

In both wings members of the co-ordinating staffs were found to exert power *over* squadron commanders, despite the absence of authority to do so. This was particularly true of the directors of operations and matériel and less so of the director of personnel.

Repeatedly and systematically, directors made decisions about allocation which limited the freedom of squadron commanders to act. Directors enjoyed priority in manipulating variables and could freeze these into conditions for squadron commanders.

Allocation of operations tasks was dominated in both wings by the directors of operations, who drew up monthly training plans which were then divided among the tactical squadrons, fixed dates and deadlines for many requirements, and decided which of the squadrons would perform special activities assigned to the wing. Within the limits of restrictions by higher headquarters, the directors of operations decided who, what, and when, thereby forcing squadron commanders to take as fixed conditions which, to the directors of operations, were variables.

Similarly, the directors of matériel controlled the allocation of tasks among maintenance squadrons—and within maintenance sections of combat squadrons. They, too, set deadlines and priorities.

Despite the presence of a director of personnel in the authority structure, the allocation of manpower in both wings tended to be dominated by the directors of operations and matériel, depending upon the experience and training of the men subject to allocation. Routine matters were handled by squadron commanders and the directors of personnel, but, when key men or positions were involved, initiative was retained by the director of operations or matériel. This was true because of the crucial relationship between allocation of tasks and of men capable of carrying them out.

The allocation of facilities was handled through regular command or "line" channels—squadron commander to wing commander—for routine items, but, when the facilities were directly linked to operations or maintenance performance, the appropriate director took control, deciding which squadrons or sections within them would receive scarce tools or supplies.

Detailed policies and procedural guides by higher headquarters succeeded in mini-

mizing "politics" with respect to sanctions—such as promotions in rank and discipline. Other less tangible rewards—more or less covered by the term "job satisfactions"—were controlled, perhaps inadvertently, by those wielding power over task and manpower allocation. This meant that many things regarded as rewarding or punishing were decided by the directors of operations and matériel and were beyond the power of squadron commanders.

Qualitative data, then, indicated that *in both wings* directors of operations and matériel exercised unauthorized power over squadron commanders and over the directors of personnel. Less clear was the position in the power structure of the deputy wing commanders and the maintenance control officers: their roles appeared to differ in the two wings.

MAJOR DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WINGS

In Wing A the director of operations dominated maintenance executives, on the theory that maintenance existed to serve operations. On several occasions he planned major operations on the basis of his own inaccurate estimates of maintenance capabilities and later, to the general confusion, was forced to change his plans. The director of matériel was handicapped, in staff meetings, by the fact that he had to transact business with operations executives without the help of his chief assistant, the maintenance control officer, whose position gave him detailed information about maintenance schedules and capacities. Furthermore, when maintenance executives complained about lack of co-operation on the part of operations, it was the director of operations (not the combat squadron commanders) who promised and took action.

In Wing B the directors of operations and matériel worked more closely together, checking on each other's needs and capacities at several stages of their planning. Furthermore, they united sometimes against what they felt were arbitrary dictates of the wing commander. The director of matériel was strengthened, in executive discussions,

by the presence of the maintenance control officer, who, being recognized in Wing B as a staff officer, attended all staff meetings.⁵ (Because of the absence during part of the field work of the deputy wing commander of Wing A, qualitative data on his role were inconclusive.)

Finally, there were sharp differences between the two wings in the relationships of other executives to the wing commanders. In both, of course, the wing commanders were at the top of the hierarchy. But the commander of Wing A preferred to let his subordinates—in particular the director of operations—take the initiative; he reviewed and approved acts of his subordinates and held veto power. In Wing B, however, the wing commander more often exercised initiative, with the result that the hierarchical distance between him and his subordinates appeared to be greater.

POWER HIERARCHIES OBTAINED FROM JUDGES' RATINGS

As an independent check upon the qualitative analysis, the directors and squadron commanders were asked to give power rankings, that is, to "name the top five or six officers in the wing, in addition to the Wing Commander, who have the most to say about how the wing gets its work done and meets requirements." After the executive had named those he considered most powerful, he was asked to rank them. When judges felt unable to rank more than three or four, they were not pressed, with the result that there were several "ties" in the lower ranks.

The rankings were weighted using the simple device of five points for first place, four for second, and so on. In cases of tie votes, the average value was given to each. The weighted ratings obtained by each offi-

⁵ One example of the complexity of power phenomena involves a comparison of the maintenance control officers. In Wing A this position was weak when viewed at the executive level. Other members of the research team, concentrating on maintenance activities, found that this officer was quite powerful in the day-to-day activities *within* the maintenance system. In Wing B the locus of his power was reversed.

cer named were then totaled, to give each a score (Tables 1 and 2).

The order of the deputy wing commanders and directors of matériel is found to be reversed between wings, and the maintenance control officer is much higher in Wing B than in Wing A. The director of personnel is also higher in one case than in the other.

judges agreed on the locus of power. Tables 3 and 4, showing the number of times each executive was named in the various ranks, reveal general agreement on the higher rankings. (Tables here show maximum value, not average.) In both wings the rankings for the top men cluster. The directors of operations were rated either first or second by all

TABLE 1
POWER HIERARCHY IN WING A, EXCLUDING WING COMMANDER, AS DETERMINED FROM AGGREGATE SCORES RECEIVED FROM NINE JUDGES

Executive	Ranking in Hierarchy	Score	Per Cent of Total Score	Cumulative Percentage
Total.....	.....	133.0	100.0	.....
Director of operations.....	1	39.0	29.3	29.3
Deputy wing commander.....	2	29.0	21.8	51.1
Director of matériel.....	3	21.5	16.2	67.3
Director of personnel.....	4	17.0	12.8	80.1
Commander, Bomb Squadron A.....	5	7.5	5.6	85.7
Commander, Bomb Squadron B.....	6 and 7	6.5	4.9	90.6
Commander, Bomb Squadron C.....		6.5	4.9	95.5
Executive officer.....	8	4.0	3.0	98.5
Maintenance control officer.....	9	1.0	0.7	99.2
Wing intelligence officer.....	10	1.0	0.7	100.0

TABLE 2
POWER HIERARCHY IN WING B, EXCLUDING WING COMMANDER, AS DETERMINED FROM AGGREGATE SCORES RECEIVED FROM EIGHT JUDGES*

Executive	Ranking in Hierarchy	Score	Per Cent of Total Score	Cumulative Percentage
Total.....	.....	113.9	100.0	.....
Director of operations.....	1	35.5	31.2	31.2
Director of matériel.....	2	30.5	26.8	58.0
Deputy wing commander.....	3	18.0	15.8	73.8
Maintenance control officer.....	4	12.0	10.5	84.3
Director of personnel.....	5	11.0	9.7	94.0
Commander, Bomb Squadron A.....	6, 7 and 8	2.3	2.0	96.0
Commander, Bomb Squadron B.....		2.3	2.0	98.0
Commander, Bomb Squadron C.....		2.3	2.0	100.0

* One prospective judge was unavailable.

Perhaps of more significance, however, is the distribution of percentages. In Wing A the deputy received 21.8 per cent of the total score, while the director of matériel received 16.2 per cent; but in Wing B the deputy received 15.8 per cent and the director of matériel 26.8. Cumulative percentages show the two directors of matériel in very different situations. In Wing A more than half of the total score went to men above the director of matériel, while in Wing B it was less than one-third of the total score.

Another important question about the power hierarchies is the extent to which

judges. But, with descending rank, clusterings of frequencies gradually disappear. Moreover, there is a major incongruity in the case of the deputy wing commanders. When they were named, they were ranked high—but they were not always named.

It appeared that power is perceived differently by various executives, depending upon their positions. If this were so, it should be possible to group judges according to similarity of position and find a higher degree of consensus than in aggregate scores. To examine this possibility, an "index of consensus" was developed. In order to demon-

strate the logic and mechanics involved in the index, procedures used in computing one for the aggregate scores will be described, using data in Table 1. Since in essence the purpose is to find the "goodness of fit" of a given hierarchy—the extent to which it agrees with estimates of the judges—it is assumed for the aggregate index that the five executives with the largest total scores actually were the five most powerful executives and that their relative rankings as determined by the scores are correct.

Since each judge named only five and score points were based on five possible rankings, only the first five in the hierarchy are considered. If the nine judges in Wing A had been in perfect agreement, the director of operations would have received 45

ing 95 points of agreement. This was converted into an index by determining the percentage of agreement (95 divided by 135) between reported and expected scores, and multiplying by 100.

The general formula for computing the index of consensus is:

$$C = 100 \times \frac{\text{Sum of expected scores minus difference between sum of expected scores and sum of reported scores}}{\text{Sum of expected scores}}$$

TABLE 4

DISTRIBUTION OF RANKINGS OF WING B EXECUTIVES, EXCLUDING WING COMMANDER, AS REPORTED BY EIGHT JUDGES*

EXECUTIVE	NUMBER OF TIMES NAMED IN EACH RANK†				
	1	2	3	4	5
All executives.....	9	7	10	6	5
Director of operations..	4	4	..	..	..
Director of matériel...	2	3	3	..	..
Deputy wing commander.....	3	..	1	..	..
Maintenance control officer.....	..	..	2	3	..
Director of personnel..	..	..	1	3	2
Commander, Bomb Squadron A.....	..	..	1	..	1
Commander, Bomb Squadron B.....	..	..	1	..	1
Commander, Bomb Squadron C.....	..	..	1	..	1

* One prospective judge was unavailable.

† Tie votes given maximum value in each case rather than average value.

The index can vary between 0 and 100, with 0 indicating equal amounts of agreement and disagreement or absence of a pattern, and 100 indicating that all judges named the same executives in the same order.⁵

The aggregate index of consensus for judges in Wing A, on the hierarchy shown in Table 1, is 70.4, while there was more consensus among judges in Wing B, where the index was 78.4 on the hierarchy shown in Table 2.

⁵ Zero is theoretically possible but not practically so, since we determine expected scores from the hierarchy established from the estimates of judges. There must be some consensus before we can determine expected scores.

TABLE 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RANKINGS OF WING A EXECUTIVES, EXCLUDING WING COMMANDER, AS REPORTED BY NINE JUDGES

EXECUTIVE	NUMBER OF TIMES NAMED IN EACH RANK*				
	1	2	3	4	5
All executives.....	9	10	8	5	4
Director of operations..	4	5	..	..	..
Deputy wing commander.....	5	1	..	..	..
Director of matériel...	..	1	3	3	1
Director of personnel..	..	2	2	2	..
Commander, Bomb Squadron A.....	..	1	..	..	..
Commander, Bomb Squadron B.....	..	..	1	..	..
Commander, Bomb Squadron C.....	..	..	1	..	..
Executive officer.....	..	..	1	..	..
Maintenance control officer.....	..	..	..	..	1
Wing intelligence officer.....	..	..	..	..	1

* Tie votes given maximum value in each case rather than average value.

points, the deputy 36, and so on as indicated in Table 5, under "Expected Score." In the adjoining column are entered "reported scores," from Table 1. The differences between expected and reported scores are then computed and entered in the third column of Table 5. In this case the differences total 40. This means that 40 points were "misplaced" by the judges or that there were 40 points of disagreement, leav-

POWER PERCEPTION AND POSITION

Observation suggested two meaningful ways of grouping the judges: (a) by command and staff categories and (b) by operations and maintenance categories.

The power hierarchy in Wing A appeared clear to members of the operations system within the wing, who had a consensus index of 91.7 in relation to the following ranking:

1. Deputy wing commander
2. Director of operations
3. Director of personnel
4. Director of matériel
5. { Executive officer
Intelligence officer
Maintenance control officer

1. Director of operations
2. Deputy wing commander
3. Director of matériel
4. Director of personnel
5. Commander, Bomb Squadron 1

Do the power hierarchies upon which the subindexes are based actually fit the power structure as perceived by judges better than the aggregate index, which was 70.4? To determine this, it is necessary to develop a method for determining *total* consensus to compare with aggregate consensus. By total consensus is meant a measure of agreement resulting when judges are arranged into sub-grouping, each subgrouping having its own estimate of the power hierarchy. If all judges

TABLE 5
COMPUTATION OF INDEX OF CONSENSUS ON POWER HIERARCHY OF
WING A, AS DETERMINED FROM AGGREGATE
SCORES OF NINE JUDGES

Executive	Rank in Hierarchy	Expected Score (1)	Reported Score (2)	Difference (1-2) (3)
Total.....		135	133.0	40.0
Director of operations.....	1	45	39.0	6.0
Deputy wing commander.....	2	36	29.0	7.0
Director of matériel.....	3	27	21.5	5.5
Director of personnel.....	4	18	17.0	1.0
Commander, Bomb Squadron A....	5	9	7.5	1.5
Commander, Bomb Squadron B\	6	0	6.5	6.5
Commander, Bomb Squadron C).....	7	0	6.5	6.5
Executive officer.....	8	0	4.0	4.0
Maintenance control officer.....	9	0	1.0	1.0
Wing intelligence officer.....	10	0	1.0	1.0

$$C = 100 \left[\frac{\text{Total Col. 1} - \text{Total Col. 3}}{\text{Total Col. 1}} \right] = 70.4$$

Members of the maintenance system in Wing A, however, were in less agreement; they had an index of only 65, for the following hierarchy:

1. Director of operations
2. Director of matériel
3. Commander, Bomb Squadron 1
- 4 and 5. Commanders, Bomb Squadrons 2 and 3

Using the alternative method of sub-grouping—by command and staff—yields even less consensus in Wing A. Staff members agreed only 57.8, and command judges 75.6, on the following hierarchy:

in the staff agreed on a particular hierarchy, the index would be 100 for that subgrouping, and if all judges in the command subgrouping agreed on another hierarchy, the index would be 100. In that case the total index would also be 100, and it could be concluded that there was one hierarchy in effect for staff members and another for commanders.⁷

An index of total consensus is obtained by adding the points of difference for the two subgroupings, adding the expected scores for

⁷ Total index of consensus cannot be obtained by averaging the two indexes except where the two are identical.

the two, and computing an index as before. In Wing A, in the staff and command subgroupings, the result is a total index of consensus of 69.7, slightly lower than the aggregate index. According to these calculations, the staff and command subgroupings do not result in "better-fitting" power hierarchies in Wing A. For the operations and maintenance subgroupings, however, the total index in Wing A is 78.3, much better than the aggregate.

The reverse is found in Wing B, where staff and command subgroupings do result in greater total consensus. Staff judges agreed 86.9 on the following hierarchy:

1. Director of operations
2. Director of matériel
3. Director of personnel
- 4 and 5. Deputy wing commander and maintenance control officer

And command judges agreed 78.7 on the following:

1. Director of operations
2. Director of matériel
3. Deputy wing commander
4. Maintenance control officer
5. Director of personnel

The total index based on staff and command subgroupings in Wing B is 81.8, whereas it is only 76.3 for the operations and maintenance subgroupings in Wing B. This is even less than the 78.4 index of aggregate consensus for that wing.

These data indicate that the judges in Wing A perceived power in relation to areas of activity (operations and maintenance), while judges in Wing B perceived it more in accordance with the traditional distinctions between staff and command channels.

TEST OF HYPOTHESES

It was hypothesized that the real power structures in both wings would deviate from the more limited authority structures. This can be accepted without reservation. At both bases the directors of operations and matériel held more power than did squadron commanders. This was supported by observation and in the reports of staff judges as well as those of squadron commanders.

While the panel judgments do not show that the power of directors was power *over* squadron commanders, they support observations that the directors of operations and matériel were at or near the top of their power structures.

It is also clear that in both wings executives concerned primarily with operations activities had greater power than those concerned primarily with maintenance activities. This appeared in observations and in the judgments of panel members. In both wings, moreover, combat squadron commanders appeared on the fringe of the executive power structure, but maintenance squadron commanders were excluded.

Both directors of operations exercised power *over* the directors of matériel, which again was outside authorized relationships. This conclusion is supported by observation and also by interview data.

It was also hypothesized that the real power structures of the two wings would differ from each other. This can also be accepted without reservation. Domination of maintenance by operations executives was more pronounced in Wing A than in Wing B, where the director of matériel was in second place on the judge's lists. The maintenance control officer in Wing A was all but overlooked; his counterpart in Wing B was placed in the hierarchy by judges, a distinction confirmed by observation and interview data.

From analysis of the estimates of judges, a power hierarchy appeared sharply defined for operations executives in Wing A but poorly delineated for maintenance executives. In Wing B, by contrast, a power hierarchy was well defined for maintenance executives but poorly defined for operations executives. This leads to the conclusion that the operations system was more tightly structured than the maintenance system in Wing A, while the maintenance system was more tightly structured in Wing B. In the former the power of the deputy wing commander was felt primarily in operations, while in Wing B the power of the deputy was felt primarily in maintenance.

Finally, command and staff channels were more importance in Wing B than in Wing A, where the "functional" concept of organization was favored.

DISTRIBUTION OF WORK CONTACTS

There were fewer regular contacts (i.e., contacts occurring as often as several times a week) involving executives in Wing A than in Wing B.⁸ According to questionnaire data, which were obtained from more than two-thirds of all members of the two wings, and which are summarized in Table 6, executives in Wing A were involved in 331 regular

sibly executives in Wing B had more regular contacts because in that wing both "functional" and "line" channels were used frequently; the channels may have been competing. It is equally conceivable, however, that the differences are due to the larger number of written regulations and directives existing in Wing A.

Since interaction is a means of co-ordinating the activities of two or more subsystems, the direction of executive contacts is an important topic. Differences in the distribution of contacts appeared when contacts were tabulated according to the subsystem of the

TABLE 6
NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS IN REGULAR CONTACT
WITH EXECUTIVES IN WINGS A AND B

EXECUTIVE	WING A Number of		WING B Number of	
	Individuals	Groups	Individuals	Groups
Total.....	331	202	424	257
Average.....	33	20	42	26
Wing commander.....	23	18	26	20
Deputy wing commander.....	14	13	34	28
Director of operations.....	54	23	47	24
Director of matériel.....	22	17	36	25
Maintenance control officer.....	28	22	51	35
Director of personnel.....	46	24	35	20
Commander, Bomb Squadron.....	51	29	54	23
Commander, Maintenance Squadron A.....	36	23	44	30
Commander, Maintenance Squadron B.....	31	17	53	29
Commander, Maintenance Squadron C.....	26	16	44	29

contacts with individuals and in regular contact with one or more members of 202 groups in the wing. Wing B executives were involved in 424 regular contacts with individuals in 257 groups. On the average, the Wing A executive had regular contact with 33 individuals in 20 groups; the Wing B executive, with 42 individuals in 25 groups.⁹

Reasons for the greater volume of executive contacts in Wing B are not certain. Pos-

sible individual or group in contact with each executive.

Of the 202 groups in contact with executives in Wing A, 29 per cent were executive groups, 34 per cent were maintenance groups, and 37 per cent were operations groups.¹⁰ Executives in Wing B contacted 257 groups, only 22 per cent of which were executive groups, while 44 per cent were in maintenance and 34 per cent in operations. Percentages for operations were not significantly different, statistically, but the others

⁸ Because field plans did not call for a census in two of the bomb squadrons, figures for their commanders are not comparable with those for other executives and are omitted from tables and discussion.

⁹ Respondents in the executive subsystem of Wing A named an average of 19 other individuals, while those in Wing B named an average of only 16. The larger volume of reported contact in Wing B thus does not appear to be due to greater co-operation in completing questionnaires.

¹⁰ In interaction and activity most of the executives were members of both the executive subsystem and another. They and their assistants are here considered in the "other" subsystem, although for purposes of comparison both deputy wing commanders are considered in the executive subsystem, along with wing commanders, directors of personnel, adjutants, comptrollers, and their assistants.

are significantly different at better than the .05 level.

Similar patterns appear in executive contacts with individuals. Of 331 contacts for executives in Wing A, 26 per cent fell within the executive subsystem, 38 per cent in operations, and 36 per cent in maintenance. Executives in Wing B had 424 contacts, of which 20 per cent were with members of the executive subsystem, 33 per cent in operations, and 47 per cent in maintenance. These differences between wings are significant, statistically, at more than the .05 level.

These differences between wings appear to reflect, at least in part, a greater recogni-

tion. Management includes executives and their immediate assistants, such as secretaries, clerks, and office managers, junior executives responsible for the more detailed implementation of policies set by senior executives, and the immediate assistants of junior executives. Production includes those who, within a subsystem, decide allocation and assess the performance of production groups, those who specialized in direct supervision of work groups, and the workers themselves.

Table 7 shows that executives in Wing B contacted almost twice as many individuals at production levels as did executives in

TABLE 7
CONTACTS OF EXECUTIVES OF WINGS A AND B, BY LEVEL IN ORGANIZATION

		NUMBER OF INDIVIDUALS CONTACTED REGULARLY				
		WING A		WING B		
		Manage- ment Level	Produc- tion Level	Total	Manage- ment Level	Produc- tion Level
EXECUTIVE	Total					
All executives	331	271	60	424	309	115
Wing commander	23	23	0	26	23	3
Deputy wing commander	14	14	0	34	30	4
Director of operations	54	48	6	47	42	5
Director of matériel	22	22	0	36	34	2
Maintenance control officer	28	18	10	51	35	16
Director of personnel	46	46	0	35	35	0
Commander, Bomb Squadron	51	31	20	54	33	21
Commander, Maintenance Squadron A . . .	36	23	13	44	26	18
Commander, Maintenance Squadron B . . .	31	25	6	53	33	20
Commander, Maintenance Squadron C . . .	26	21	5	44	18	26

tion by Wing B executives of the interdependence of maintenance and operations, since in Wing B executives had not only more but a larger share of their contacts with individuals and groups in maintenance. This corroborates with the power structure data, indicating that the director of operations in Wing A was more prone to dictate to maintenance than was the director of operations in Wing B. The fact that executives in Wing A had a larger share of their contacts with members of the executive subsystem reflects the greater concentration of power at the top.

Interaction is also a major means of linking hierarchical levels. For purposes of this analysis individuals having regular contacts with executives will be identified with one of two broad levels—management or produc-

tion. This difference can be accounted for in part by the greater number of individuals contacted by executives in Wing B, but this does not, however, account for all the difference. Of a total of 331 contacts, 18 per cent were with individuals at production levels in Wing A, while 27 per cent of 424 individual contacts were at production levels in Wing B. This is statistically significant at the .05 level.

In both wings the bulk of the contacts of executives at the production level were between squadron commanders and the maintenance control officers; they provided the primary direct links between the executive and the production levels. The major differences between wings seem to be between maintenance squadron commanders: in Wing A they had 93 contacts, of which 26

per cent were at production levels; in Wing B, 141 contacts, of which 45 per cent were at production levels. These percentage differences are statistically significant at better than the .05 level.

There were also indirect links between some executives and production levels. These linkages were provided by junior executives and their assistants. An important question is the extent to which junior executives of the powerful executives communicated with production levels and whether they bypassed squadron commanders.

Tabulation revealed 66 regular contacts between management and production levels in the operations subsystem of Wing A, compared with 37 in Wing B.

(The power of operations in Wing A is also reflected in tabulations of contacts between individuals at management levels in operations and at management levels in maintenance. In Wing A there were 24 regular contacts between maintenance and operations at the management level, but only 8 in Wing B. This may reflect the greater dependence of maintenance upon operations in Wing A, although no conclusion can be drawn in the absence of information about initiation and content of communication.)

Within maintenance there were more contacts between management and production levels in Wing B than in Wing A. Since there were only 2 contacts between the matériel directorate and production levels in one wing and none in the other, the differences are accounted for by the maintenance control sections. In Wing A the maintenance control sections had 45 regular contacts with individuals at production levels, while for Wing B the figure was 134.

The association between number of indirect links with production levels and the power of the executive is the same in maintenance control as it was in operations. The more powerful director of operations (Wing A) had more indirect links with production levels. The more powerful maintenance control officer (Wing B) had more indirect links with production levels. This generalization also holds for directors of matériel, since

maintenance control officers were subordinate to them, and links between maintenance control officers and production would also be accessible to directors of matériel.

In the wing where the maintenance control officer was powerful and had many indirect links with production, the maintenance squadron commanders also had relatively numerous contacts with production. Table 7 shows that the three maintenance squadron commanders in Wing B made 64 contacts with individuals in production while their counterparts in Wing A made only 24. These data again suggest that dual channels bring about competition between channels and hence a greater volume of communication in Wing B, where both channels were used.

Despite its many characteristics of "bureaucracy," in the technical sense of that term, the roles in an Air Force wing are not completely standardized.¹¹ A specified office does not necessarily bring forth the same behavior in two wings. Presumably, too, the role might change in time in a given wing.

What accounts for the deviations? Major deviations of power structures from authority structures apparently came about because of the technical requirements of operations rather than because of personal relations. The perceived necessity for intersquadron co-ordination, for instance, led wing commanders to approve the exercise of power over squadron commanders by staff directors. The payoff importance of operations activities insured dominant positions for the executives concerned. The importance of manpower in wing performance meant that those responsible for performance had to assume power over manpower allocation.

¹¹ In a study of departmental executives in a British factory, Burns noted that "there were wide differences in the distribution of activities for individuals occupying the same work role, pointing to hidden forces in apparently similar situations" (Tom Burns, "The Directions of Activity and Communication in a Departmental Executive Group," *Human Relations*, Vol. VII [1954]). For another study of executive communication see Sune Carlsson, *Executive Behavior* (Stockholm: Strombergs, 1951).

Personal skills and personal relations undoubtedly had influence *within* the general power structures brought about by technical requirements. This is most clear in the case of wing commanders with quite dissimilar personalities. The commander of Wing A was a self-assured, secure individual who delegated authority or initiative and did not hesitate to reverse or modify his decisions when his subordinates turned up new information. The commander of Wing B, however, appeared less secure, reserving authority and initiative, and fearing loss of "face" if he altered a decision.

In Wing A the director of operations was dictatorial, and the wing commander was available to executives as an appellant judge; whereas in Wing B the commander was dictatorial, executives had no avenue for appeal, and instead the directors of operations and matériel formed something of a coalition.

This research supports the belief that in complex organizations power and communication are associated. At present, however, the nature of the relationship can only be inferred.

In the wing (A) which had greater concentration of power in fewer hands and a smaller power nucleus, executives had fewer links directly with people at production levels. This appears due primarily to the meager communication between squadron commanders and production levels, a conclusion which would agree with the idea that

competing channels lead to increased communication.

Yet, when the wings are broken down by subsystem, there appears to be a positive association between the power of the subsystem executive and the number of links between management and production. The director of operations was relatively more powerful in Wing A than in Wing B, and in Wing A there were more contacts in operations between management and production levels. Maintenance executives were relatively more powerful in Wing B than in Wing A, and there also were more contacts between management and production levels in maintenance in Wing B. In Wing A executives as a group had fewer direct contacts with production levels, but their assistants had more. Evidently Wing A was more centralized, with longer lines of communication.

But the concept of "centralization" seems to call for refinement. In Wing A power seems concentrated in the director of operations and, of course, the wing commander. In Wing B, while power appeared to be more evenly distributed, the wing commander exercised it more. From the viewpoint of hierarchical levels, both wings were centralized. But, from the standpoint of relationships between subsystems (vertical specialization), power in Wing A appears to be lopsided, like a wheel with an axis which is off-center.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY

THE VOTER AND THE NON-VOTER

PHILIP K. HASTINGS

ABSTRACT

Non-voters and voters, when equated as to sex, age, religion, education, and income, differ significantly. The non-voters took part minimally in organized activities and exposed themselves relatively less to politics in the mass media. Their political information was comparatively meager, and their attitudes uncrystallized. Non-voters identified themselves more closely with non-political leaders and were generally more isolated and immobile and most concerned with economic problems.

The off-year, non-presidential elections bring into sharp focus the widespread political apathy of the American electorate, whose chronic non-voting is so common that it may fairly be considered one of the defining attributes of American democracy. During the past quarter-century the proportion of eligible voters failing to go to the polls has ranged as high as 45 per cent in presidential elections and even higher in other contests. Why?

Among the earliest contributions to an understanding of non-voting were the demographic analyses of non-voters undertaken in both community or regional and national studies. The Survey Research Center's 1948 analysis,¹ based on a national sample, indicated a relatively high proportion of non-voters between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-four, among individuals with only a grade-school education, who earned under \$2,000 per year and who were Negroes, unskilled laborers, or farmers. Similar data have been obtained in other studies, including those of Erie County, Ohio (1940),² Elmira, New York (1948),³ and Pittsfield, Massachusetts (1952).⁴ The high level of agreement both between geographical regions and in time is particularly noteworthy.

¹ A. Campbell and R. L. Kahn, *The People Elect a President* (Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1952), p. 38.

² P. Lazarsfeld, B. Berelson, and H. Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1948).

³ B. Berelson, P. Lazarsfeld, and W. McPhee, *Voting* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954).

More recent studies of non-voters have shifted from a simple enumeration of various descriptive characteristics to the identification and measurement of both psychological and overt correlates of non-voting. One might infer that investigations of this nature arise from at least two assumptions: that underlying the various demographic characteristics known to be roughly definitive of non-voters is a distinctive psychological makeup and that failure to vote (or political apathy generally) is but one indication of a highly consistent pattern of behavior. Witness the Survey Research Center's 1952 national study of voting⁵ and the continuing community study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts. In the latter investigation, for example, the following correlates of non-voting were established: (1) comparatively rare membership in voluntary associations; (2) minimum exposure to political communication; (3) meager information; (4) little identification with political organizations; (5) low frequency of substantive assumptions regarding the voting behavior of various political organizations; and (6) indefinite attitudes toward current politico-economic issues.⁶ It is also known that political apathy

⁴ P. Hastings, "Politics Laboratory—1952," *Journal of Higher Education*, XXIV (January, 1953), 12–17.

⁵ A. Campbell, G. Gurin, and W. E. Miller, *The Voter Decides* (Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954).

⁶ P. Hastings, "The Non-Voter in 1952: A Study of Pittsfield, Massachusetts," *Journal of Psychology*, XXXVIII (Fall, 1954), 301–12.

is found predominantly among certain strata of the population.

One of the primary questions raised in light of existing research, however, is the nature of the relationship between the demographic and the psychological characteristics. Do they vary concomitantly? For example, are the non-voter's low level of political awareness and vagueness of attitude governed by his small amount of education? Does his tendency to identify himself with those of low income reflect his own economic status? The failure to examine such variables independently has been a notable deficiency in many non-voter studies. Clearly, there still remain the tasks of attempting not only to identify further psychological correlates but also to study their significance apart from the demographic variables. This paper, based on data obtained in the 1954 continuation of the Pittsfield Project,⁷ undertakes to do so.

With certain demographic factors held constant, three groups of Pittsfield respondents differing from one another in frequency of voting were compared as to replies to the following:

1. Do voters and non-voters differ in the nature and extent of their political identification with a number of local leader (or authority) symbols?
2. With what income class do they identify themselves?
3. Is there a difference between them in degree of crystallization of their political attitudes?
4. Do voters and non-voters differ in their evaluation of political issues?
5. To what extent is general social isolation and immobility characteristic of the non-voter?
6. Is the non-voter significantly less informed than the voter on political matters?

As a preliminary, each of the Pittsfield respondents who had been an eligible voter since 1948 was assigned to one of three groups divided on the basis of replies to two

questions requiring them to recall how they voted and one on their voting intention. Group I, the voters, was composed of those who claimed that they had voted for President in 1948 and 1952 and who, as of September, 1954, expressed intention to vote in the 1954 Massachusetts senatorial, congressional, and gubernatorial elections. Group II, the non-voters, was made up of persons who said that they had not voted in either 1948 or 1952 for President and who in September, 1954, had made no decision regarding any of the 1954 elections about which they were questioned.⁸ Group III, the occasional voter, consisted of individuals who indicated actual or intended voting participation in at least two of the three elections. On a proportional basis, the three groups were equated as to age, sex, religion, education, and income.⁹

That non-voting is but one indication of political apathy and a general withdrawal from community life was an assumption in the study. We expected that the non-voter's social isolation would be evident both in his overt behavior and in certain psychological attributes. We aimed to demonstrate empirically, with certain demographic factors held constant, that on both counts the non-voter differs significantly from the voter.

⁸ The November post-election survey showed that a large majority of them did not vote in 1954.

⁹ The proportions established after the interviews were in each case:

1. Male : female.....	—5:5
2. Under forty years : over forty years.....	—2:3
3. Catholic : Protestant : other.....	—5:4:1
4. Grades I–VIII : Grades IX–XII : college : other.....	—2:5:2:1
5. Under \$4,000 per year : \$4,000–\$7,000 : over \$7,000.....	—5:4:1

While in the total cross-section the subsamples of occasional voters and non-voters differed insignificantly in each of the five dimensions, the voter group contained significantly larger proportions of Protestants over forty years old. Consequently, to make the three groups match, a total of 23 Protestant respondents over forty years old were removed from the original voter group. The 23 were the only persons who could be so removed without altering the already-matching proportions on sex, education, and income and at the same time effect a matching on the religion and age variables.

⁷ Begun in 1952, this is a continuing detailed study of the political attitudes and behavior of the residents of Pittsfield, Massachusetts (pop. 55,000). The 1956 phase of the project is under way, financed by the Ford Foundation.

A composite measure dealing with different types of behavior was designed to test the non-voter's hypothesized isolation. As shown in Table 1, the sample was asked a series of questions designed to throw light on its involvement in community life. The

TABLE 1

DEGREE OF SOCIAL WITHDRAWAL
AND IMMOBILITY*

QUESTION: Have you ever—

- a) Lived anywhere else but Pittsfield?
- b) Had a job other than your present one?
- c) Read a travel book?
- d) Felt at election time that your vote didn't really count?
- e) Openly disagreed with your boss on something?
- f) Visited Canada?
- g) Written to your congressman?
- h) Thought of changing your present line of work?
- i) Wished you were in politics?
- j) Visited New York City?
- k) Been a member of some Pittsfield group like the Red Cross, the P.T.A., the Elks, etc.?
- l) Visited Chicago?
- m) Listened to (or on TV) a news commentator like Elmer Davis, for example?
- n) Read a newspaper editorial all the way through?

	Group I Voters (N=112)	Group II Non- Voters (N=44)	Group III Occa- sional Voters (N=57)
Mean score . . .	9.0	6.1†	7.9

* With the exception of item (d), each affirmative answer was assigned a score of 1. The score range was from 0 to 14, with the higher score indicating greater social involvement.

† The difference between the mean scores of Groups I and II is significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

questions touched on (1) physical or geographical mobility; (2) political behavior, aside from voting; (3) formal group activity; (4) exposure to politics in a medium of mass communication; and (5) vocational behavior. It was felt not only that the various questions should be simple and direct but that special care should be taken to avoid obliging the respondent to place himself in an unfavorable light. Further, since we sought a single index of general level of social involvement, by definition, it was necessary

to devise a set of items with a wide range. Finally, it was clear that the value of the measure depended in part upon its power of discrimination within the total sample, specifically, between the voters and the non-voters.

The replies (Table 1) indicate, at least within the limits of our measure, a significant difference in the social involvement of the non-voter in comparison with the voter. This relationship is strengthened by data on Group III (the occasional voters), showing an average social involvement score which falls between those of the first two groups. With age, income, education, sex, and religion held constant, as voting decreased, so did social involvement in general.

The frequently demonstrated relationship between infrequent voting, uncertain attitudes, and meager information has often been accounted for by limited education. But we argued that failure to vote involves considerably more: that the non-voter literally does not perceive political stimuli whether factual data or controversial issues.

As Table 2 shows, the apathetic individual's ability to give correct answers to questions of fact on well-publicized political events was limited. Of eleven questions, Pittsfield's non-voters, on the average, could answer only three correctly, compared with seven correct replies by the voters. One might have expected that, with education held constant in the three groups, there would be insignificant differences in level of information. Yet this was not the case.

A third variable hypothesized as correlated with non-voting was the crystallization of attitudes. As frequency of voting decreased, one would expect replies of "No opinion" to increase. And this is the case, as Table 3 shows.

What empirical data would give a more positive picture of the non-voter? To gain a better idea of the non-voter's personality, we went into each of the following questions: Are there differences between the voter and the non-voter in their selection and assessment of political issues of maximum concern? With which local economic stratum

does the non-voter most frequently identify himself psychologically? What subjective relation exists between the non-voter and recognized community leaders?

We anticipated that the non-voter would tend to be a self- rather than environment-centered individual whose interest would focus primarily upon the political issues of most immediate and practical concern to him. Further, we expected that the non-voter experiences a sense of insecurity and inadequacy manifested in a comparatively great subjective dependence upon the local leaders. Definitive verification would require more than the techniques employed

TABLE 2

LEVEL OF INFORMATION*

QUESTION: I wonder if you happen to remember—

- a) About how many people live in Pittsfield?
- b) Whether Eisenhower or Stevenson won in Pittsfield in the 1952 elections?
- c) Who Roy Cohn is?
- d) Who ran against Governor Herter in 1952?
- e) Who L. K. Miller is?†
- f) Whether a pay raise for post-office workers was approved by Congress recently?
- g) Who Ralph Zwicker is?
- h) Whether Congress recently changed the Taft-Hartley Law?
- i) Who is running against Heselton this year?
- j) Whether Congress voted, during the past year, to lower our taxes?
- k) Who Leonard Hall is?

	Group I Voters (N = 112)	Group II Non-Voters (N = 44)	Group III Occasional Voters (N = 57)
Mean score . .	13.0	5.7‡	10.0

* Each item was scored as follows: 0 = incorrect; 1 = partly correct; and 2 = totally correct. The score range was from 0 to 22.

† Editor of Pittsfield's only newspaper, *The Berkshire Eagle* (by and large, Republican-oriented).

‡ The difference between the mean scores of Groups I and II is significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

in the Pittsfield Project, and the following data are offered as the initial and tentative results.

It seemed likely that one indication of the non-voters' greater immediate and material self-interest would be the frequency with which they stress political issues of 1954 directly bearing on their economic well-

being. The respondents were therefore presented a list of eight issues (Table 4), to be ranked in order of importance. The politically active respondents proved to be more concerned with foreign affairs; the non-

TABLE 3
CRYSTALLIZATION OF ATTITUDES
(Per Cent)

	Group I Voters (N = 112)	Group II Non- Voters (N = 44)	Group III Occa- sional Voters (N = 57)
A. In your opinion does organized labor have a great deal of influence in the politics of this country, or doesn't it have very much influence?			
Great deal	65	43	58
Not much	22	25	25
No opinion	13	32*	17
B. Would you like to have McCarthy on your party ticket as the candidate for senator from Massachusetts?			
Yes	13	20	14
No	79	36	60
Depends	5	7	9
No opinion	3	37*	17
C. Would you favor making our Army and Navy smaller if this meant that you wouldn't have to pay so many taxes?			
Yes	6	14	11
No	89	55	81
Depends	2	9	7
No opinion	3	22*	1

* Items in which a percentage difference significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence or better exists between Groups I and II.

voters, with taxation and the cost of living.

A corroborating finding was that six out of ten of the non-voters, when asked whether they considered themselves as wealthy, earning a little more than average, earning a little less than average, or poor, claimed to belong to one or the other of the latter two (Table 5). Essentially the opposite was found among the voters.

Those who are highly active politically tend to concern themselves with broad po-

litical issues that only indirectly and in the long run affected their daily lives and, although no different from non-voters in economic composition, identify themselves more frequently with the classes with higher incomes. For the comparatively inactive group, the findings on these two counts indicated an opposite tendency.

To test our expectation that voters and non-voters would differ in the extent to which they demonstrated a measure of political dependence upon individuals with comparatively high status (authority symbols), the following question was asked:

TABLE 4

EVALUATION OF POLITICAL ISSUES

POLITICAL ISSUE	PERCENTAGE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN GROUPS I AND II*	
	Group I Voters (N=112)	Group II Non- Voters (N=44)
More aggression by Communist China (e.g., an invasion of Formosa).....	+25	....
Threat of another world war..	+19	....
Corruption in government....	+ 7	....
Government spending.....	+ 4	....
Amount of money I can earn (wages).....	....	+ 1
McCarthy.....	....	+ 1
Level of taxation.....	....	+ 7
Cost of living.....	....	+29

*The question on which Table 4 is based was: "[HAND CARD] Here is a list of problems that both the Democrats and the Republicans will be talking about during the election campaign this fall. As of now, which of these problems worries you *most*? Which worries you *second most*? *Third*, etc.? The card contained the issues as enumerated above. All the voters and non-voters replied, and the percentage differences here shown are differences in the frequency with which the issue was ranked No. 1 and No. 2 by the individuals in each group.

TABLE 5

ECONOMIC STRATA IDENTIFICATION

(Per Cent)

	Group III		
	Group I Voters (N=112)	Group II Non- Voters (N=44)	Occa- sional Voters (N=57)
Wealthy, or income a little above average..	65	40	52
Income a little below average, or poor.....	35	60*	48

*The percentage difference between Groups I and II is significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

[HAND CARD] Here is a list of people whose opinions on politics you may or may not agree with. Could you tell us which people you *tend to agree with most* and, also, which you *tend to disagree with most*?

- Other members of your family
- Your priest or minister
- Your boss (or your husband's)
- The editor of the *Eagle*
- Your close friends
- Local labor union leaders
- People who live in your neighborhood
- Your (or your husband's) fellow workers

TABLE 6

POLITICAL IDENTIFICATION PATTERN

(Per Cent)

Agree with Most	Group III		
	Group I Voters (N=112)	Group II Non- Voters (N=44)	Occa- sional Voters (N=57)
<i>High status:</i>			
The editor of the <i>Eagle</i>	41	79*	56
Your boss (or your husband's).....	65	83*	85
Local labor union leaders.....	31	47*	39
Your priest or minister.....	86	78	92
<i>Equal status:</i>			
People who live in your neighborhood..	74	69	83
Members of your family.....	85	81	76
Your (or your husband's) fellow workers.....	74	74	88
Your close friends...	80	77	81

*The percentage differences between Groups I and II are significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

Of the eight individuals or groups included in the question, four were selected as having essentially equal status with the respondent and four as occupying relatively high status both in the community at large and in relation to most of the respondents. We anticipated that there would be insignificant differences in the comparative proportions of voters and non-voters indicating political agreement with those who were their equals in status but that among the non-voters significantly higher percentages would agree with their "superiors." With one exception ("your priest or minister"), the results (Table 6) bear out these expectations.

What can be inferred from these results? One might argue that they further reinforce the observation that the non-voter is generally a non-participant: these data suggest that he is perhaps not even willing to think for himself as far as political matters are concerned. An alternative interpretation, however, is that the non-voter actually views those with high status in his community, whether they be the editor of the local paper, a labor leader, or his job superior, as

politically knowledgeable people with whom to identify himself and to follow. One might speculate, although the Pittsfield data provide no empirical basis for this, that, to the extent that the non-voter depends politically upon the local authority or leader symbols, he betrays a personal sense of inadequacy and insecurity. Conceivably, this is a pervasive personality trait that in part defines the politically apathetic individual.

WILLIAMS COLLEGE

RELATIONSHIPS OF MARRIED OFFSPRING AND PARENT

A TEST OF MEAD'S THEORY

SHELDON STRYKER

ABSTRACT

From propositions of George Herbert Mead, a set of hypotheses concerning conditions of accurate role-taking have been drawn. These were tested on married offspring-parent relationships. On the basis of the frequency with which the tests supported the theory and on other criteria, Mead's theory was judged sound, but with some modification. Suggested modification incorporates into the theory as variables the degree of organization, rationality, and utilitarianism present in social relationships.

The work of George Herbert Mead has long been a potent stimulus for sociologists interested in social psychology. However, while Mead's theory has been extended, little has been done to test or refine his premises.¹ Thus, as it stands, Mead's theory has perhaps as much honorific as scientific status in social psychology. The intention of this research is to draw from Mead a set of propositions integral to his theory; to develop the research tools for taking the theory out of the realm of speculation; to derive from the propositions specific testable hypotheses; and to test them. No single study can test all the implications of a theory as complex as Mead's; one must take much of it for granted, testing only specified aspects. We are concerned with the process termed "taking the role of the other," or, briefly, "role-taking."² Four

propositions underlie the hypotheses and methods of this study.

A. *Social activities are imbedded in a structure of roles.*—Social activities are inevitably "self-other" patterns involving the relationship of one person to at least one other: for every role there is at least one counter- or supporting role.

B. *To engage in social activity, a person must take the role of the other(s) implicated with him in it.*—To play a role, person A must incorporate into his "self" the role of person B. A must anticipate or predict the response of B, since that response is the basis for A's further activity.³

C. *A significant segment of the role of the other which one must take consists of attitudes.*—For Mead, "taking the role of the other" is not fundamentally different from "taking the attitude of the other." An attitude is simply an early stage of activity, including the role.⁴

D. *Ability to take the role or attitude of the other is predicated upon a common universe of discourse.*—"[A] universe of discourse is always implied as the context in terms of which . . . significant gestures or symbols do in fact have significance. . . . A universe of discourse is simply a system of common or social meanings."⁵

¹ Found especially in *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). For possible exceptions to this appraisal see H. S. Sullivan, "Psychiatry: Introduction to the Study of Interpersonal Relations," in P. Mullahy (ed.), *A Study in Interpersonal Relations* (New York: Hermitage Press, 1949); N. N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 14–21; T. R. Sarbin, "Contributions to Role-taking Theory. I. Hypnotic Behavior," *Psychological Review*, LVII (1950), 225–70.

² We shall not try to present Mead's entire theory or to justify extensively the specific formulation of the propositions drawn from it. For the former see Mead, *op. cit.*; for the latter see S. Stryker, "Attitude Ascription in Adult Married Offspring-Parent Relationships: A Study of the Social Psychological Theory of G. H. Mead" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1955).

³ See Mead's account of the significance of the conversation of gestures, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 63, 167, 179, 253–54. That role-taking involves anticipating the response of another is seen in Mead's account of the requirements for participation in an organized game and of intelligence (*ibid.*, pp. 141, n. 3, 151; see also pp. 242–43, 253–54).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 6, 11, 159–60, 254 ff., 300, 362.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 89–90; see also pp. 156–58, 257.

This study investigates role-taking among married adults and their parents, using a married couple and the parents of one, but not both. Use of family units was based upon three considerations: the necessity of controlling, as far as possible, opportunity for knowledge of and intimacy with the other whose role was to be taken; the desirability also that subjects should have had some minimal opportunity to learn appropriate role responses; and the decision to focus upon comparatively unspecialized and "whole" relationships.

The hypotheses are derived from proposition D, but presume A and B as well. From D it follows that circumstances permitting the development of shared meanings will make for accurate role-taking. Without, for the moment, attempting to justify those hypotheses whose relation to the propositions is not apparent, it can be expected that role-taking will be more accurate in (1) persons of blood relationship than in persons of in-law relationship; (2) persons of the same sex than in persons of opposite sex; (3) females in relation to males than in males in relation to females; (4) females in relation to blood relatives than in males in relation to blood relatives; (5) males in relation to in-laws than in females in relation to in-laws; (6) persons of similar occupations than in persons of different occupations; (7) persons of similar educational background than in persons of different education; (8) persons of similar religious orientation than in persons of different orientation; (9) persons of similar community background than in persons of different background; (10) persons close in age than in persons distant in age; (11) persons having frequent contact than in persons having infrequent contact; (12) persons of relatively equal status than in persons of unequal status. It can further be expected that accurate role-taking will (13) vary with the significance of the role area for the relationship; (14) vary with the significance of the other for the role-taker; (15) be independent of sympathy with the views of the person whose role is taken.

Many of the hypotheses seem clearly implied by the propositions. Hypotheses 3-5 and 12-15 require some justification, since hitherto undiscussed reasoning separates them from the propositions.

Hypothesis 3.—The confused character of expectations impinging on females in our society in contrast to males has been observed.⁶ Further, the folk dictum that this is a man's world is in many ways correct. Thus experiences of males are more likely to be meaningful to females than are experiences of females to males. We may expect that there will be greater opportunity for females to share systems of symbolic meaning deriving from the male than for males to share such systems deriving from the female.⁷

Hypothesis 4.—Females are less emancipated from and closer to their families than are males.⁸ There is thus greater opportunity for females to hold systems of shared meanings with members of their own families.

Hypothesis 5.—This hypothesis is based on the observation that in our society⁹ in-laws tend to pose problems chiefly to women. It follows that there will be a greater sharing of a universe of discourse between males and in-laws than between females and in-laws.

Hypothesis 12.—Unequal status presents barriers to the sharing of perspectives which equal status does not. This reasoning pro-

⁶ E.g., A. M. Rose, "The Adequacy of Women's Expectations for Adult Roles," *Social Forces*, XXX (1951), 69-77; M. Komarovsky, "Cultural Contradictions and Sex Roles," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1946), 184-89.

⁷ There is some experimental evidence for this in J. C. Brown, "An Experiment in Role-taking," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (1952), 587-97.

⁸ M. Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, XV (1950), 508-16; S. Stryker, "The Adjustment of Married Offspring to Their Parents," *American Sociological Review*, XX (1955), 149-54.

⁹ R. S. Cavan, E. W. Burgess, and R. Havighurst, "The Family in Later Years" (preliminary report, Committee on Dynamics of Family Interaction, National Conference on Family Life), p. 7; J. T. and M. G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), pp. 285-95.

vides the nexus between proposition D and the hypothesis.

Hypotheses 13 and 14.—Taft, in a thorough review of research on accuracy of judgments of others, notes that accuracy varies, among other things, with that which is judged and the person who is judged.¹⁰ It is certain that not all areas of interaction are equally significant in a relationship or all persons equally significant with respect to a given area of interaction. It may be expected that opportunity to develop shared systems of meaning will vary with differential significance, both of area and of persons.

Hypothesis 15.—This hypothesis is implied only negatively, in that the propositions speak of role-taking without the emotional involvement usually considered an aspect of sympathy. In Mead's theory, social behavior is predicated upon the role-players' accurate estimate of one another's future activities. Whether one is sympathetic or not is irrelevant: the efficient policeman must base his actions on his predictions of the responses of the criminal.¹¹

Perhaps the basic reason why few have tested Mead's theory is the difficulty of operationally defining its variables. The first need is for an adequate measure of accuracy in taking the role of another.

The measure utilized derives from propositions B and C, in terms of which accurate role-taking is equated with accurate prediction.¹² In the study here reported, subjects were required to predict the responses of another to statements of attitudes, that is, to ascribe the attitudes of others.¹³ The criterion of accuracy was the actual set of responses of the other. Thus a married couple and the parents of one spouse were asked to respond to a set of statements

about attitudes. Each child was asked to indicate how he felt about the items and how he thought each of his parents felt about them. Similarly, each parent was asked for his own response and to ascribe the response of each offspring. The responses were in terms of one of four categories: Strongly Agree, Agree, Disagree, or Strongly Disagree. Our index of accuracy consists of the number of correct predictions A makes of B's responses, expressed as a percentage of total predictions of B's responses.¹⁴

Hostrof and Bender have noted the problem of distinguishing between accuracy based on knowledge and accuracy based on projection when prediction is used in measures of empathy.¹⁵ This stricture could, of course, be applied to our index of role-taking. That there are diverse sources of accuracy need not concern us here. The theory being studied, *as it has thus far been developed*, postulates no distinction among the bases for accuracy. Thus in this study the problem has been by-passed.

A self-administered interview schedule provided the data necessary to test the hypotheses. It consisted of a series of face-sheet questions, an ascription scale, a dependence index, and an adjustment index.

The ascription technique required attitude statements to which offspring and parents could respond for themselves and for one another. It was adapted from a scale measuring family ideology on an autocratic-democratic continuum.¹⁶ As modified for present purposes, the scale consisted of twenty items. Four response categories were used after extensive pretesting designed to provide items to which responses would be

¹⁴ What appears to be novel here is (a) the scoring technique, which avoids some of the problems of techniques previously used, and (b) the use of the technique to test hypotheses drawn from a significant and complex body of theory.

¹⁵ A. H. Hastorf and I. E. Bender, "A Caution Respecting Measurement of Empathic Ability," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVII (1952), 574-76.

¹⁶ P. E. Huffman, "Authoritarian Personality and Family Ideology" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Western Reserve University, 1950).

¹⁰ R. Taft, "Some Correlates of the Ability To Make Accurate Social Judgments" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, 1950).

¹¹ Mead, *op. cit.*, pp. 303-4.

¹² Not to equate role-taking with the predictive procedures of science, a logically different process.

¹³ Hereafter, role-taking and attitude ascription are synonyms. The relevance of proposition C at this point is apparent.

relatively stable both when a subject answered for himself and when he predicted another's answer.¹⁷ After experimentation with five-, four-, and three-category response systems, it was decided to use the four-category system and to consider as identical the categories Strongly Agree and Agree and Strongly Disagree and Disagree.

These decisions were reached through the following considerations. An arbitrary criterion was set up permitting a 10 per cent shift in responses to items. When five- and three-category systems were used and any change in response was considered a shift, subjects altered responses on approximately one-fourth of the items. There seemed to be no appropriate rationale for combining neutral and either affirmative or negative responses.¹⁸ Since respondents to attitude statements avoid extreme categories, it seemed best not to use an agree-disagree dichotomy, in spite of the intention to dichotomize in scoring. When shifts *within* the agree and disagree categories were ignored, the number of shifts fell close to the criterion.¹⁹

We have not dealt with the validity or reliability of these twenty items taken as a unitary scale, since this report makes no assumption on these scores. Some data on conventional questions of validity and reliability are available.²⁰

The dependence index was based on ten items referring to a superordinate-subordinate dimension included in the schedule (for example: "Asks my advice more than I ask his"; "If we differ, I can generally convince him that I'm right"). Subjects labeled each as true or false of the others to whom they

ascribed attitudes. Index scores were then computed by subtracting the number of items marked in a manner indicating subordination from the number marked so as to indicate superordination.²¹

The larger study on which this report is based used an index measuring the adjustment of adult offspring and parent which incorporated items tapping various dimensions: affection, intimacy, tension, and sympathy (ego-involvement). Only the sympathy dimension is pertinent here.²² The index of sympathy consisted of ten items, which subjects labeled as true or false in relation to the others for whom they ascribed attitudes (sample items: "I find myself imitating him often"; "He does many things I would not do"). Scoring proceeded in a manner directly analogous to that for the dependence index.

The universe from which the sample of family units was drawn was defined as follows: All four persons were alive: an offspring pair with only one living parent was unacceptable. All were white residents of Bloomington, Indiana. Offspring and parents maintained separate residence. The maximum age of parents was seventy.

Ideally, families would have been drawn at random from the total number meeting the specifications. But the writer was unable to conceive of any means, within the limits of the resources of the study, by which a comprehensive listing could be made.²³ The procedure was as follows: A roster of 133

²¹ For data relating to the validity of this index see *ibid.*, pp. 66-69.

²² For an account of the derivation, reliability, and validity of the complete index see Stryker, "The Adjustment of Married Offspring to Their Parents."

²³ Another consequence of our procedure will be noted later, with some implications of these defects. The following may be pertinent: non-respondents and respondents did not differ on any characteristic for which information was available; the study revealed no relationship between accuracy scores and a variety of demographic and social variables—age, years married, number of children, education, etc.; random sampling is assumed to be less important in a study of social *process* such as this than in one involving description of *content*.

¹⁷ The ascription technique necessitates the demand for *item* stability rather than conventional test-retest *total score* reliability.

¹⁸ As Karl Schuessler has shown in connection with Guttman scaling methods (see his "Item Selection in Scale Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XVII [1952], 183-92).

¹⁹ 10.4 per cent for own responses and 12.8 per cent for predicted responses.

²⁰ Stryker, "Attitude Ascription in Adult Married Offspring-Parent Relationships," pp. 50-56.

potentially eligible families was compiled by consulting ministers of local churches and a "New Citizens" column in the local newspaper, which reported names and addresses of grandparents as well as parents of newborn infants.²⁴ Forty-six units completed the schedules. Of the remainder, 35 did not actually meet specifications; in 25, no person in the unit completed a schedule; in 27, completed schedules were obtained from one or more but not all four. All subjects were reached in their homes between June and October, 1954.

Two instances illustrating how the data were analyzed will be presented, then a table summarizing the results of the analyses. The summary table provides the basis for a reconsideration of the theory from which the hypotheses were derived.

Each subject ascribed the attitudes of two others; e.g., the son ascribed the responses either of his father and mother or of his father and mother-in-law. Thus the 184 subjects may be categorized in terms of four attributes: sex, generation, relationship with the other whose attitudes are ascribed (own relative or in-law), and sex of that other. There are, consequently, sixteen categories, each containing the responses of 23 persons. These categories and the notations for them are as follows:

1. Son ascribing to father: S-F
2. Son ascribing to mother: S-M
3. Son ascribing to father-in-law: S-IF
4. Son ascribing to mother-in-law: S-IM
5. Daughter ascribing to father: D-F
6. Daughter ascribing to mother: D-M
7. Daughter ascribing to father-in-law: D-IF
8. Daughter ascribing to mother-in-law: D-IM
9. Father ascribing to son: F-S
10. Father ascribing to daughter: F-D
11. Father ascribing to son-in-law: F-IS
12. Father ascribing to daughter-in-law: F-ID
13. Mother ascribing to son: M-S
14. Mother ascribing to daughter: M-D
15. Mother ascribing to son-in-law: M-IS
16. Mother ascribing to daughter-in-law: M-ID

²⁴ In issues for two years preceding June, 1954.

These categories may be grouped and analyzed in a number of ways: by the sex of the person whose attitudes are ascribed; by the sex of the ascriber; by the relationship of the ascriber to the object of ascription; by the generation of the ascriber; by the linkage—same or cross-sex—involved in the relationship. These *modes of analysis* have been labeled as follows:

1. "Ascription, female other" and "ascription, male other"
2. "Female ascription" and "male ascription"
3. "Ascription, own" and "ascription, in-law"
4. "Offspring ascription" and "parent ascription"
5. "Ascription, same sex" and "ascription, cross-sex"

The specific statistical technique selected to test the hypotheses was the analysis of variance.²⁵

²⁵ We obtained responses from four members of the same family unit. In consequence, a pair of offspring will have ascribed the attitudes of the same parent; the same offspring will have ascribed the attitudes of two parents; and parent and offspring will have ascribed each other's responses. Thus, in any given mode of analysis, the data in various pairs of cells in the analysis probably will not be statistically independent. This is in violation of an assumption underlying the analysis of variance, namely, that the observations be randomly drawn, independent samples. There is, of course, no reason why data cannot be grouped as has been done. The problem emerges when reference is made to the *F*-distribution as a test of statistical significance. In what follows we do, in fact, refer to the *F*-distribution. Given violation of assumptions, one must either use informal tools to assess his data or formal statistical criteria in spite of violation of assumptions. It seems better to impose upon one's self the discipline of formal statistical tools. An important question here is the kind of inference to be drawn on the basis of technically inappropriate statistical tools. We move from the statistical tests to a general consideration of Mead's theory; our interest is in suggesting modifications of the theory which could be subjected to further test. The use of our data and the procedures for this purpose appear to be warranted.

I am grateful to Dr. Leo Goodman for having called my attention to the possibility that the cells are not independent and for illuminating the consequences of this defect. Dr. Goodman is not, of course, responsible for the statistical techniques used in this report.

To turn to the illustrative instances of tests of the hypotheses. Hypothesis 1 stated: Role-taking will be more accurate for persons of blood relationship than for persons of in-law relationship.²⁶ Table 1 presents the test of hypothesis 1 when the persons whose attitudes are ascribed are female. Here it is the relationship variable,

pations than for persons of different occupations. Subjects were placed in one of the following categories: professional, business, white-collar, blue-collar, student, housewife. Wives listing an occupation other than housewife were placed in the category appropriate to their response; the others were placed in their husbands' categories. A

TABLE 1

ASCRPTION, FEMALE OTHER

	Son		Daughter		Father		Mother	
	S-M	S-IM	D-M	D-IM	F-D	F-ID	M-D	M-ID
Mean ascription score. . . .	53.91	62.60	68.00	57.83	62.57	56.30	66.91	51.96
<i>N</i>	23	23	23	23	23	23	23	23

MEAN SCORES, CONTRASTING
COMBINED CATEGORIES

Variable	Mean
<i>Generation:</i>	
Offspring.	60.58
Parent.	59.43
<i>Sex:</i>	
Male.	58.84
Female.	61.17
<i>Relationship:</i>	
Own.	62.85
In-law.	57.17

COMPLETED ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	<i>F</i>
Generation.	60.99	1	60.99	.....
Sex.	248.21	1	248.21	1.14
Relationship.	1,537.38	1	1,537.38	7.08
<i>Interaction:</i>				
Gen.×sex.	248.89	1	248.89	1.15
Gen.×rel.	1,120.20	1	1,120.20	5.05
Sex×rel.	2,184.54	1	2,184.54	10.05
Gen.×sex×rel.	241.67	1	241.67	1.11
Within groups.	38,245.91	176	217.31	.....
Total.	43,887.79	183	.....	.....

$$F_{95}(1, 176) = 3.90$$

$$F_{99}(1, 176) = 6.79$$

contrasting the four own-relative with the four in-law categories, which is pertinent. The mean ascription scores for these two groupings are 62.85 and 57.17, respectively. The *F*-ratio for the relationship variable is significant beyond the .01 level.²⁷

Hypotheses 6 states: Role-taking will be more accurate for persons of similar occu-

student was classed as either professional or business.

The test of hypothesis 6 proceeded by contrasting those relationships in which occupations are on the same level with those on different levels. The expectation is that the former will be more accurate in their

²⁶ More precisely, the hypothesis tested is the null hypothesis, rejection of which by inference supports the positively stated hypothesis.

²⁷ The *F*-ratios for the first-order interactions are also significant. It would appear that the observed relationship difference depends on the generation and sex of the ascriber.

ascription.²⁸ As seen in Table 2, the hypothesis holds when the object of ascription is female. The *F*-ration testing the weighted mean difference of 5.57 between the rows is significant beyond the .05 level.

All hypotheses were tested by using one of the two designs of the illustrative cases. There were fifteen hypotheses, each tested with from one to ten of the modes of analysis. Further, three were tested with two different sets of data. Consequently, there were 147 individual tests of the hypotheses. Table 3 summarizes the results of

indicates a statistically significant finding contradictory to the hypothesis. An "I" means that a given mode of analysis was irrelevant for the hypothesis. Cells with no entry are cases in which findings were not statistically significant.

Beneath each column are two numbers. The uppermost is the number of times a hypothesis was tested and was supported by statistically significant findings. The lower number is the frequency with which a hypothesis was tested and failed to hold.

To the right of each row is a second pair

TABLE 2
ASCRPTION, FEMALE OTHER BY OCCUPATIONAL
SIMILARITY OR DIFFERENCE

		ASCRIBER-OTHER RELATIONSHIPS								Row
		S-M	S-IM	F-D	F-ID	D-M	D-IM	M-D	M-ID	
Same	{M....	54.38	66.50	60.00	67.50	76.40	58.33	52.50	68.90	64.50
	{N....	8	10	6	10	10	6	6	10	66
Different	{M....	53.67	59.61	55.00	58.46	61.54	57.65	51.77	65.38	57.50
	{N....	15	13	17	13	13	17	17	13	118

COMPLETED ANALYSIS OF VARIANCE

Source	Sum of Squares	D.F.	Mean Square	F
Columns.....	4,801.70	7	685.96	3.19
Rows.....	1,233.61	1	1,233.61	5.74
Interaction.....	899.83	7	128.55	....
Within groups.....	36,098.44	168	214.87	....
Weighted mean difference, rows: 5.57			$F_{95}(1,168)=3.90$	
			$F_{95}(7,168)=2.06$	

these 147 tests, giving equal weight to each.

Listed horizontally in Table 3 (by number used earlier) are the fifteen hypotheses. Listed vertically are the ten modes of analysis. Each cross-classification cell represents one mode of analysis for one of the hypotheses. Separate columns are provided when different sets of data applied to the same hypothesis.

A plus mark in a cell indicates that, for this mode of analysis, a finding resulted which supported the hypothesis significant beyond the .05 level.²⁹ A minus mark in-

of numbers. The first is the number of times a mode of analysis was relevant to the hypotheses and produced statistically significant results supporting these. The second is the number of times a mode of analysis was relevant but failed to support the hypotheses.

Of the 147 tests, 57, or 39 per cent, produced results clearly supporting the theory; 90, or 61 per cent, did not. Only one test produced a statistically significant finding contradictory to the hypotheses. Two other facts, not appearing in the table, are pertinent: that, of the 90 instances in which clear support for the theory was not forthcoming, 11 produced results significant between the .10 and .05 levels in a direction favorable to the hypotheses and that with few exceptions, concentrated in the tests of

²⁸ All hypotheses based on the expected consequence of similarity or difference were handled in an analogous manner.

²⁹ An exception to this use of the plus sign is for hypothesis 15, where negative statistical results implied support for the hypothesis.

TABLE 3

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS: HYPOTHESES BY MODES OF ANALYSIS*

MODES OF ANALYSIS	1	2	3	4	5	HYPOTHESES (BY NUMBERS PREVIOUSLY USED)								12	13	14	15	N, HYPOTHESIS RELEVANT, HOLDS	N, HYPOTHESIS RELEVANT, FAILS
						6	7	a	b	8	a	b	9							a	b	10	a	b	11
Ascription, female other	+	I	I	I	I	+	+	+				+			+	7	7		
Ascription, male other.		I	I	I	I	+	+		+						+	4	10		
Female ascription.....	+		I	I	I	+	+		+	+		+	+		+	8	8		
Male ascription.....			I	I	I	+	+		+	+					+	4	11		
Ascription, own.....	I	+	I	+	I	+	+				+			+	+	9	6		
Ascription, in-law.....	I		I	I	I	+	+		+	+		+	+		+	4	11		
Offspring ascription...			I	I	I	+	+								+	4	11		
Parent ascription.....	+		I	I	I	+	+		+						+	4	11		
Ascription, same sex...	+	I	I	I	I	+	+			+					+	5	9		
Ascription, cross-sex...		I	I	I	I	+	+		+				+	+	+	9	6		
N, hypothesis relevant, holds.....	4	1	0	1	0	10	5	2	3	1	4	0	4	4	2	3	10	57	
N, hypothesis relevant, fails.....	4	5	1	0	1	0	5	8	7	9	6	10	6	6	8	7	0	90	

* Key:

+ = Statistically significant finding supporting hypothesis (see n. 33 for exception).

- = Statistically significant finding contradictory to hypothesis.

I = Mode of analysis irrelevant to hypotheses.

Blank = Statistically non-significant finding.

the age-difference hypothesis, mean scores for contrasted sets of categories differed in the direction predicted by the hypotheses.

Upon what criteria can the judgment of over-all soundness of a theory be made? Certainly, one is the frequency with which it allows correct predictions of empirically observable events. But, outside the limiting case of the crucial experiment, is this a demand for perfect prediction? It is not reasonable to hold social-psychological theory to this standard of perfection. Even presuming a theory to exhaust relevant variables, our concepts are too loose, our established knowledge too meager, our logic too crude, our measurements too imprecise, our observations too error-ridden, to expect perfect prediction.

This, however, raises the further question of the minimal degree of success required. One can use a statistical criterion: if the .05 level is used in tests of hypotheses, it may be expected that in five out of one hundred cases significant results will appear on the basis of chance. Success beyond this ratio would then be greater than chance expectation; the larger the ratio, the greater the degree of permissible confidence in the theory which provided the hypotheses. Also relevant are the frequency of findings approximating satisfactory levels of significance and the degree to which the general tendency of the data is compatible with the hypotheses, regardless of levels of statistical significance.

To turn to a second criterion useful in assessing a theory: is there an alternative explanation which could better account for the findings?

Table 3 shows the frequency with which each mode of analysis either produces or fails to produce findings supporting the hypotheses. There is a greater tendency for the "ascription, female other" mode of analysis to hold in contrast to the "ascription, male other"; the same is true for "female ascription" in contrast to "male ascription," "ascription, own" in contrast to "ascription, in-law," and "ascription, cross-sex" in contrast to "ascription, same sex."

One alternative explanation is that role-taking ability is a function of intelligence. This does not seem likely for two reasons. It is the same subjects, ascribing for different persons, who are included in the "ascription, female other" and "ascription, male other" modes of analysis, as well as in the "ascription, cross-sex" and "ascription, same sex" modes. Yet the hypotheses are differentially successful in the first of these pairs in contrast to the second. Moreover, if education is taken as a rough index of intelligence, our data indicate no consistent differences, by education level, in role-taking accuracy.

An alternative is that accurate ascription is a function of length of acquaintance. This supposition would do less well in predicting the findings than did Mead's theory. Length of acquaintance could not explain the relative superiority of females over males in ascribing for own relatives. Too, daughters ascribing attitudes to their in-laws have been married longer than sons doing the same;³⁰ yet sons are somewhat better in-law ascribers than are daughters, and parents ascribe somewhat better to sons-in-law than to daughters-in-law. Further, S-IM is superior to S-M ascription and M-IS to M-S. These facts deny the significance of length of acquaintance beyond some minimum necessary to establish patterned relationships.

A third possibility is that accurate ascription is a function of similarity, per se, of role-taker and other, apart from the relevance of similarity for the creation of a common universe of discourse. Theory based on this assumption would account for differences in accuracy of ascription between persons of similar and different characteristics. However, predictions based on this assumption would fail wherever Mead's theory fails. Too, this notion runs afoul of the fact that the "ascription, cross-sex" mode of analysis produced significant results more often than did "ascription, same sex." Further, prediction made through Mead's theory supported by the data could not be

³⁰ The mean number of years married for daughters ascribing to in-laws is 6.09; for sons, 4.70. This difference is not statistically significant.

made through a simple similarity theory—superior ascription by females to own relatives and the superiority of females to males in cross-sex ascription, for example.³¹

A third criterion of judgment is the degree of modification necessary to align the theory with empirical observations. Why were not predictions more successful? The answer involves the kind and extent of modification necessary to reconcile the theory with the findings. To anticipate the conclusion: necessary alteration, although serious, does not require discarding the broad outline of Mead's theory.

In the light of the data here presented, Mead's theory does exhibit an essential soundness.

Mead was philosopher as well as social psychologist, and his philosophy had a bearing on his social psychology. He was a pragmatist; he saw mental activity as problem-solving, knowledge as instrumental, and the test of knowledge as experience. His analysis of the "act," the point at which his philosophy and social psychology are articulated most closely, follows these characteristic patterns. In brief, an act refers to purposive behavior which began in an impulse requiring some adjustment to appropriate objects in the external world.³² A social act is one in which the appropriate object is another individual.³³ The attitudes of others constitute a stimulus, adjustment to which involves role-taking. Role-taking

is necessitated by the pertinence of others to one's own ends.

An act may be reflective or non-reflective. Mead is concerned primarily with those acts in which "a blocked impulse requires the reflective process to set up hypotheses in order to guide action."³⁴ In short, he conceptualized the act, individual and social, on the model of research procedure.

Mead also sought a universal community, in which all men are united within a common universe of discourse and take the role of an all-inclusive "generalized other."³⁵

To return to Mead's social psychology: for him, the basic datum of social psychology is "intelligent" and purposeful activity as it takes place in the form of the social act. His concern is with such problems as "how to bridge the gap between impulse and rationality; how the organism acquires the capacity of self-consciousness, reflective thinking, abstract reasoning, and purposive behavior; and how man as a rational animal arose."³⁶

Certain consequences for Mead's theory flow from these philosophical dispositions and from the kinds of problems set for social psychology. Mead's social psychology is highly rationalistic. As ideal types, various modes of orientation may enter the concrete act—traditional, affective, evaluative, and rational. It is clear that Mead focuses on the last to the virtual exclusion of the other three—behavior involving absolute ends, affect, or tradition remain, by and large, outside his view.

Mead's social psychology is also highly utilitarian. A social act begins with a problem and proceeds to the resolution of that problem. Role-taking is necessary, since others are implicated in the ends of the individual. Thus persons act in social situations with specific ends in view. Or, rephrased, social situations involve well-structured, clearly defined goals.

³¹ Considering another type of similarity, agreement with the views of another is highly related to accurate ascription. When, however, variations in agreement could be statistically controlled, those sets of data which produced significant findings when agreement was not controlled continued to do so; those data which did not produce significant results originally still did not do so. It appears that differences in accuracy predicted by the hypotheses are superimposed upon the differences due to attitudinal agreement or disagreement.

³² For fuller descriptions see Mead, *The Philosophy of the Act* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938), pp. 3-25.

³³ More precisely, another organism of the same form as that which has the impulse (*Mind, Self, and Society*, p. 7, n. 7).

³⁴ S. M. Strong, "A Note on George H. Mead's *The Philosophy of the Act*," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (1939), 72.

³⁵ See all of Sec. IV of *Mind, Self, and Society*, esp. pp. 317-27.

³⁶ Strong, *op. cit.*, p. 71.

Furthermore, in Mead's social psychology, social life is seen as highly organized. In stressing the "generalized other" and a universe of discourse and in the ideal of a universe of discourse coterminous with humanity, Mead uses a model of social life in which the rules of the game are well defined, roles are precisely appropriate and neatly articulated, and goals specific, consciously held, and unanimously accepted.

If these comments are sound, a key to the cases in which prediction failed is provided. For, considering the setting of this study, the family departs relatively far from the model from which Mead's analyses develop. The argument is not that the American family is unorganized or that familial behavior is devoid of rational and utilitarian elements. It is rather that, compared with many other social situations, the family is relatively less organized, family activity less purely rational and utilitarian. In these terms, the successful predictions may be seen as a function of the degree to which concrete family relationships approach the model on which the theory is based; the failures, a function of the degree to which concrete family relationships depart from it.

A glance through recent textbooks on the family will reveal these propositions: the American family is a rapidly changing institution; no clear institutional pattern has yet emerged to replace the older pattern of well-defined relationships, explicit expectations, and integrated activities; as a primary group it is held together by bonds of sentiment, emotion, and custom rather than utilitarian necessity; non-rational and irrational elements are decisive in establishing the relationships that grow up between family members; emotional life within the family is intense as compared with that in extra-family relationships. These propositions do not fully describe the American family; again, it is a matter of their relative applicability to the family as compared with other social units.

It is suggested that a qualification be incorporated into the body of theory deriv-

ing from Mead to take into account differentials in the degree of rationality, utilitarianism, and organization in various sets of social relationships. For Mead these are implicitly assumed *constants* of social situations; we are proposing that they be treated as explicit *variables* in the theory, variations among which would be pertinent to predictions. The expectation is that, to the degree that these characteristics are present in social relationships, observations of role-taking will more completely support hypotheses based on Mead's theory.

This study does not provide the data necessary to test this interpretation of the failure of the hypotheses. There is, however, some evidence which does lend it plausibility in the differential success of the hypotheses in the various modes of analysis. There was, it will be recalled, a greater tendency for the hypotheses to hold when objects of ascription were female rather than male; ascribers were female rather than male; objects of ascription were own relatives rather than in-laws; and ascriber and object were of opposite sexes rather than same sex. The relevance of these differentials may be seen by contrasting features of family life for the various pairs of relationships involved in the modes of analysis.

A greater proportion of a female's life is family-related; her interests and activities tend to be family-centered in a way in which a male's activities and interests are not. She is more dependent upon family relationships in both a psychological and an economic sense. For her, more than for a male, the family represents a means through which directly utilitarian, as well as other, satisfactions are achieved. What Waller called the "principle of least interest" applies to her.³⁷ More irrevocably committed to her family than is a male, she must arrive at some *modus vivendi* in relation to others in the family. Her attitudes are generally more relevant to the actual organization of family life.

If these observations are sound, the

³⁷ W. Waller and R. Hill, *The Family* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), pp. 190-92.

greater success of the hypotheses when the role-taker is female and when the object of ascription is female can be explained in a manner supporting our critique and suggested modification of Mead's theory. For the female, accurate knowledge of attitudes of relatives is essential to immediate life-experiences. In short, her approach to family life is likely to be more rational and utilitarian than that of the male.

We are less prepared to elaborate upon the significance of the greater success of the "ascription, own" and "ascription, cross-sex" as compared with the "ascription, in-law" and "ascription, same sex" modes of analysis. It may be that a greater degree

of rationality is possible in cross-sex familial relationships than in same sex. It is possible that this assertion would hold for blood in contrast to in-law relations, in which strong stereotypes may interfere with rational appraisal. A possible further bar to rationality in in-law relationships is that the explicit recognition of differences might strain already tenuous bonds. If differences remain below the threshold of awareness, areas of potential conflict where conflict is especially dangerous are avoided. The implication is that bonds between blood relatives can better stand the strain of recognized differences.

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CONTINUING URBANIZATION ON THE PACIFIC COAST¹

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ABSTRACT

In the Pacific Coast region, the third most urbanized section of the nation, urbanization continues at a rapid rate. It takes the form of continued massing of population in a few counties. Both urban and rural non-farm populations grow most rapidly in counties already most highly urbanized, while most counties lose rural farm population. The trends in distribution of urban population by size of place differ markedly among the individual states.

The United States is a nation of continuously increasing urban residence.

Urbanization has been going on in all regions at different rates and in different forms. The form taken by urbanization is important even though it provides information only indirectly on such matters as the preconditions or "causes" of urbanization or on the details of the changing way of life. Urbanization in one area could be largely a matter of rapid growth of a few large metropolitan centers with little accompanying growth of smaller urban places; in another, a similar rate of urbanization might be through the development of new urban places and the addition of residents to existing small cities, even though the great metropolises showed no increase or even lost population; and, conceivably, in an area with a declining rural population, urbanization could occur without any expansion of the urban population. The "metropolitanization" of society in the first instance obviously has quite other implications for society than does the urbanization by forfeit in the last example. Unfortunately, the details of the urbanization pattern are frequently lost in discussions of the over-all trends.

In the present paper the amount, distribution, and components of urbanization between 1940 and 1950 are examined in the cluster of three states of the Pacific Coast region. Urban residence is not new there. In 1900 only two of the nine divisions utilized

by the Census Bureau exceeded the Pacific Coast in percentage of population residing in urban places. In 1950 these three states held the same rank as in 1900, three out of four residents being urban dwellers.

THE UNITS OF OBSERVATION

The primary units of study are the 240 places classified as urban in both 1940 and 1950. Their adjusted rates of growth (Table 1) range from -23.8 for Grand Coulee, Washington, to +326.6 for Richmond, California. The rates of increase are based upon city populations adjusted for college students² and military personnel³ and include

² The reallocation of college students was accomplished as follows: (1) For all college towns the number of college students enrolled in fall, 1949-50, was subtracted from the 1950 population. (2) The total number of college students reported as enrolled in the state were allocated to the individual cities in one of two ways: (a) for cities of 10,000 or more inhabitants, by multiplying the estimated number of persons of college age in the city by the estimated college enrolment rate of that city and adjusting the resulting products, so that their sum is not unreasonable in view of the reported state total; (b) for cities of less than 10,000 where data are not available for the above procedure, by allocating the total number of college students to individual towns in proportion to the percentage of the total number of residents aged fifteen to twenty-four. No claim is made that either procedure does more than roughly correct what is a very grave distortion in a few cases.

³ For 1950 the difference between the total labor force and the civilian labor force was used as an estimate of military personnel. Adjustments were made only when the number was fifty or larger. In these cases, estimates of military population were obtained for 1940 by prorating on the basis of the 1950 figures the state total for military population in 1940 obtained from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Current Population Reports* (Series F-25, No. 72).

¹ Revision of a paper presented before a joint meeting of the Pacific Coast Committee on Social Statistics of the Social Science Research Council, the American Statistical Association and the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Section K, Berkeley, California, December 27-30, 1954.

increase from annexation in addition to natural increase and net migration. The general effect of the adjustments is slight in most cities but quite marked in others, especially in small college towns with sizable institutions.⁴

The second units of observation are 133 counties selected as units representing the territorial situation within which the cities developed.⁵ For the 92 counties having comparable 1940 and 1950 urban data, three counties showed an increase of 200 per cent

16 in which it decreased; the median increase is 26.7 per cent. In contrast to the generally rapid increase in the urban and rural non-farm categories, in only 1 of 132 counties was the increase in rural farm population as high as 40 per cent. An actual loss of rural farm population characterized 115 of the counties. The median increase figure was -14.9 per cent.

In examining the rapid rates of urban increase in these counties, it is important to keep in mind the 41 cases for which urban

TABLE 1
ADJUSTED RATE OF POPULATION GROWTH FOR PACIFIC COAST CITIES
BY STATE AND REGION, 1940-50

PER CENT INCREASE	Washington		NUMBER AND PER CENT OF CITIES		California		Region	
	No.	Per Cent	Oregon No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
					Gain			
160 or more...	2	5.0	1	2.9	12	7.2	15	6.2
140-59.....	0	.....	0	.....	4	2.4	4	1.7
120-39.....	0	.....	0	.....	7	4.2	7	2.9
100-119.....	1	2.5	1	2.9	8	4.8	10	4.2
80-99.....	2	5.0	1	2.9	8	4.8	11	4.6
60-79.....	2	5.0	2	5.9	17	10.2	21	8.8
40-59.....	4	10.0	4	11.8	31	18.7	39	16.2
20-39.....	11	27.5	16	47.1	55	33.1	82	34.2
0-19.....	16	40.0	8	23.5	22	13.3	46	19.2
					Loss			
1-19.....	1	2.5	1	2.9	2	1.2	4	1.7
20 or more...	1	2.5	0	.....	0	.....	1	0.4
Total.....	40	100.0	34	99.9	166	99.9	240	100.1
Median...	..	22.9	..	32.0	...	43.3	...	33.3

or more and two an actual loss of urban population. The median increase is 50.6 per cent. Of the 132 counties with rural non-farm population, there are 8 in which this category increased 200 per cent or more and

rates were not applicable. These are 30 counties that had no towns with as many as 2,500 inhabitants and 11 counties that achieved their first urban population in 1950 and thus lack comparable data.⁶ In addition, many of

⁴ Eugene, Corvallis, and Pullman, each with some 5,000-6,000 students in 1950, had their rate of increase lowered from 72.2 to 48.2, 93.1 to 31.7, and 172.0 to 62.1, respectively.

⁵ Special problems were involved in computing growth rates for these units. Because of the change in definition of residence categories, comparable data are not available for 1940 and 1950 for rural non-farm and rural farm populations. (For a discussion of changes in definitions see Bureau of the Census, *Census of Population: 1950*, Vol. I, chap. i: "United States Summary," esp. pp. xiv-xv.) The rates presented here are based on the difference between 1940 and 1950 figures and thus involve some error. The elements involved in the changes in definition—institutional population, persons living in motels on farm property, persons renting dwelling units

on farm property—must have had a highly variable effect from county to county. However, a check did not disclose a large institution in a sparsely populated county which might have been transferred from rural farm to non-farm by the new procedure. This being the case, any effects of the changing definition can be expected to be of lesser magnitude, so that the figures presented here presumably are reasonably accurate. The county rates were not adjusted for college students or military population.

⁶ Eight of the non-urban counties are in Oregon, while California and Washington have 11 each. In Washington and Oregon these counties and the first-urban counties are almost entirely in the arid cattle-raising, wheat-raising, or irrigated country east of the Cascade Mountains. In California they are scattered to the east and north of San Francisco.

the counties with the most strikingly high rates of urban increase have very small urban populations.⁷ For example, of the 26 counties that had rates of urban increase larger than 75 per cent, 19 still were less than 50 per cent urban in 1950.

Since these counties were to be considered as the territorial environment within which the cities grew or failed to grow, certain additional data from 1940 were compiled: per cent of the population urban, per cent of the labor force in agriculture, population per square mile, and location in reference to the standard metropolitan areas. In addition, the components of growth—rate of natural increase and rate of increase from net migration—were computed for the 1940–50 decade.⁸

ANALYZING THE DATA

The first question to be considered concerns the extent to which recent urbanization in the Pacific Coast region involves a continuing massing of population in the large urban aggregates already established in 1940. As a basis for evaluation, a number of more specific propositions will be examined which have to do with the relationship between the rate of growth of cities and certain criteria of urban concentration in 1940. In making the analyses, the 240 cities are arbitrarily classified into three categories of approximately equal size: slow growth (less than 25 per cent increase), medium growth (25–49 per cent increase), and rapid growth (50 per cent increase or more). Thus categorized, they are then

⁷ The high rate (173.5) of Grant County, Washington, results from the shifting of two small places into the urban category to provide a total urban population of 10,009. Grand Coulee, the only other city in the county, had the highest rate of loss of all the cities. Adjacent Franklin County's high rate (161.4) results entirely from the growth of the sole city, Pasco, to 10,228 inhabitants.

⁸ These rates were corrected for underregistration of births and for allocation of military personnel but not for college students. It would perhaps have been preferable to have these components of growth computed for the cities themselves, but the lack of information on annexations would make the net migration data nearly meaningless.

cross-classified, with the 133 counties classified according to selected 1940 characteristics. The amount of association between the two sets of categories is measured by λ , which varies in value from 0 to -1 and $+1$.⁹

1. One way of determining the tendency of urban population to continue piling up in areas already considerably urbanized is to relate individual city growth to the 1940 urbanization status of the county in which this city is located. This is done in the top portion of Table 2. Clearly those counties that were highly urbanized in 1940 had more than their share of cities that grew rapidly between 1940 and 1950. Counties of medium urbanization in 1940 had most of their cities in the medium-growth category, while the less urbanized counties tended to have slowly growing cities. The λ value for this table is .382. While norms are not available, this value suggests a moderate positive relationship between the extent of urbanization of a county and the future rate of growth of its cities. While the evidence clearly supports this general idea, it also is important to note that nearly one-fourth of the cities in the least urbanized counties grew rapidly and that one-fifth of the cities located in highly urbanized counties grew slowly.

2. Very similar results are to be expected when rate of city growth is related to the 1940 population density of the counties in which the cities are located. The data are presented in the middle portion of Table 2. While not all cities in highly urbanized counties grew rapidly and not all cities in sparsely settled counties grew slowly, there is a clear-cut moderate relationship. The value of λ is .391.

3. Considering the findings on this point, consistency would require a negative relationship between the rate of urban growth and the percentage of the labor force having agricultural employment in 1940. The data

⁹ This measure is designed for use with cross-classification in which the categories are ordered (see Leo A. Goodman and William H. Kruskal, "Measures of Association for Cross Classification," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLIX [December, 1954], 747–54).

in the lower section of Table 2 reveal a statistically significant relationship generally negative in direction although with some suggestion of curvilinearity. An outstanding feature of the table is the disproportionate number of rapidly growing cities located in counties having less than 10 per cent agricultural employment in 1940. The λ of $-.282$ shows somewhat greater association than in previous cross-tabulations examined.

To summarize tentatively: recent urbanization on the Pacific Coast has involved a

cities with 100,000–250,000 inhabitants. The upward movement of these four cities is surely as much as could be expected in the way of metropolitan development in the region. It is significant that this change occurred only in California.

Urbanization has affected the three states in differing ways. For example, in the 5,000–10,000 size category, Washington had five more cities than in 1940 with a 65.3 per cent population gain, Oregon had four more cities with only a 14.6 per cent gain, while

TABLE 2

ADJUSTED 1940–50 RATE OF GROWTH OF PACIFIC COAST CITIES RELATED TO
1940 CHARACTERISTICS OF COUNTIES IN WHICH LOCATED

1940 COUNTY CHARACTERISTIC	SLOW		MEDIUM		RAPID		TOTAL	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
<i>Per cent of population</i>								
<i>urban:</i>								
Less than 50.	48	43.2	36	32.4	27	24.3	111	99.9
50–74.....	13	20.0	27	41.5	25	38.5	65	100.0
75 or more.....	13	20.3	16	25.0	35	54.7	64	100.0
Total.....	74	30.8	79	32.9	87	36.3	240	100.0
<i>Persons per square</i>								
<i>mile:</i>								
Less than 25.....	36	42.9	28	33.3	20	23.8	84	100.0
25–99.....	23	39.0	19	32.2	17	28.8	59	100.0
100 or more.....	15	15.5	32	33.0	50	51.5	97	100.0
Total.....	74	30.8	79	32.9	87	36.3	240	100.0
<i>Per cent of labor force</i>								
<i>in agriculture:</i>								
Less than 10.....	20	21.3	24	25.5	50	53.2	94	100.0
10–24.....	31	41.9	24	32.4	19	25.7	74	100.0
25 or more.....	23	31.9	31	43.1	18	25.0	72	100.0
Total.....	74	30.8	79	32.9	87	36.3	240	100.0

continued massing of population in established areas of urbanization, but previous urbanization is not a prerequisite of urban growth.

To what extent did new urban places and metropolitan centers emerge in the Pacific Coast region during the 1940–50 period? In Table 3 data on the gain and loss of cities of given size categories are presented by states and region.

Only California shows the development of new cities in any category above the 50,000 level. San Diego and Long Beach move into the 250,000–500,000 category, to be replaced by the shift upward of Berkeley and Pasadena to the 100,000–250,000 category. The result is an actual decrease of about one-fourth in the number of people living in

California had seven fewer cities and a population loss of 20.3 per cent. In general, more of the urban gain in Washington (9.9 per cent) and Oregon (23.7 per cent) has gone into cities of less than 10,000 inhabitants than in the case of California (0.7 per cent). The former states have had the greatest relative increase in the category 25,000–50,000, while in California it is in the category 250,000–500,000. For the region as a whole the most impressive changes are the addition of 72 cities¹⁰ (not shown in the table) that had less than 2,500 in 1940, the

¹⁰ Washington, 15; Oregon, 13; and California, 44. In addition, by using the 1950 definition, a few additional places in urbanized areas and 56 unincorporated places with 2,500 inhabitants or more would be classified as urban places.

TABLE 3
CHANGES IN URBAN POPULATION BY CITY-SIZE CATEGORY FOR PACIFIC COAST STATES AND REGION, 1940-50

CITY-SIZE CATEGORY (in 000's)	WASHINGTON				OREGON				CALIFORNIA				REGION			
	1*	2†	3‡	4§	1*	2†	3‡	4§	1*	2†	3‡	4§	1*	2†	3‡	4§
1,000 or more...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	466,081	31.0	21.2	0	466,081	31.0	17.0
500-1,000...	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	0	140,821	22.2	6.4	0	140,821	22.2	5.1
250-500...	0	99,289	27.0	28.2	0	68,234	22.3	34.0	2	667,566	220.9	30.4	2	835,089	85.6	30.4
100-250...	0	73,985	32.0	21.0	0	..	..	..	0	-117,616	-24.8	-5.4	0	-43,631	-6.2	-1.6
50-100...	0	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	4	345,835	71.0	15.7	4	345,835	71.0	12.6
25-50...	2	89,030	102.6	25.3	1	48,111	155.7	24.0	4	170,431	39.3	7.8	7	307,572	55.8	11.2
10-25...	4	54,775	46.0	15.6	3	36,797	53.3	18.3	36	585,343	122.8	26.6	43	676,915	101.9	24.6
5-10...	5	28,252	65.3	8.0	4	29,275	46.0	14.6	-7	-78,400	-20.3	-3.6	2	-20,873	-4.2	-0.8
2.5-5...	4	6,852	9.4	1.9	5	18,155	29.0	9.1	5	16,840	8.2	0.8	14	41,847	12.3	1.5
Total...	..	352,183	38.2	100.0	..	200,572	37.7	100.0	..	2,196,901	44.8	99.9	..	2,749,656	43.3	100.0

* Number of cities gained.

† Amount of urban gain.

‡ Per cent of population increase.

§ Per cent of state's urban gain going to city-size category.

addition of 43 cities to the 10,000-25,000 category with the attendant doubling of population, and the loss of population in the categories 5,000-10,000 and 100,000-250,000.

To what extent has urbanization taken the form of rapid growth of suburban communities and satellite cities around the small as well as the larger urban centers? The growth rates of incorporated suburbs is ascertainable, but an evaluation of the rate of development of the unincorporated settled areas adjacent to the cities is complicated by a lack of comparable data. (The latter cases will be examined below.)

1. The comparative rate of growth of incorporated suburbs is revealed if cities are first classified as central cities, other cities located in the urbanized areas, cities located outside the urbanized areas but in the standard metropolitan areas (SMA's), and cities located outside the SMA's. The latter presumably deviate the most from suburban communities, while those located inside the urbanized areas of the central cities most closely approximate them. When the rates of growth of cities so classified are examined (Table 4), it is clear that, while with one exception the central cities themselves have not grown rapidly, the other cities located in the urbanized areas are heavily concentrated in the category of rapid growth.¹¹ In contrast, 45 per cent of all cities located outside the SMA's are classified as slow-growing. Omitting the central cities, this relationship results in a λ value of .552, which is relatively large in comparison with the other values computed.

As a second attack upon this question, cities were classified according to their distance in highway miles from central cities. A table, unfortunately too large to be presented here, shows the growth trends by distance from central cities when the factor of size is considered simultaneously. The evidence in Table 4 that the heavily settled, urbanized areas of great cities get more than

¹¹ The rate of growth of these cities is particularly impressive, since around the larger metropolitan centers incorporated places are contiguous, and there is little opportunity for growth through annexation.

their share of rapidly growing cities is confirmed, with the additional datum that this holds true regardless of city size. The fastest-growing cities are most likely to be found near major central cities, with a decrease in the median rate of growth as distance from the central city is increased. However, after the first three or four zones the pattern becomes erratic. With the present data it is impossible to say whether this is due to a lack of relationship or accounted for by the very small number of cases in the distant zones. While no tests of significance were applied, the data suggest a cautious acceptance of the negative relationship between rate of growth of cities and their distance from the nearest central city.

into three categories depending on the rate of rural non-farm increase between 1940 and 1950. The categories were then related to the indicators of 1940 urbanization used in the analysis of city growth. The cross-tabulations in the upper section of Table 5 reveal a consistent positive relationship between percentage of the population urban in 1940 and percentage of increase in the rural non-farm population. Of the highly urbanized counties, 24 out of 43 experienced a rapid increase in rural non-farm population as contrasted with 6 of the 47 least urbanized counties. The value of λ is .532.

2. Following the sequence used in the analysis of city growth, the categories of rural non-farm growth were next related to

TABLE 4
ADJUSTED 1940-50 RATE OF GROWTH OF URBAN PLACES RELATED TO LOCATION IN REFERENCE TO CENTRAL CITIES AND STANDARD METROPOLITAN AREAS

LOCATION	Slow		RATE OF GROWTH OF CITIES				Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Central cities.....	3	25.0	8	66.7	1	8.3	12	100.0
Other cities:								
In urbanized area.	8	13.8	9	15.5	41	70.7	58	100.0
SMA ring.....	10	19.2	23	44.2	19	36.5	52	99.9
Outside SMA.....	53	44.9	39	33.1	26	22.0	118	100.0
Total.....	74	30.8	79	32.9	87	36.3	240	100.0

In the previous section it was shown that rapidly growing cities tend to be located adjacent to the central cities. In addition to such satellite or suburban places, however, there are also the unincorporated areas on the periphery of established cities. Unfortunately, there is no basis for comparing areas smaller than entire counties or populations more appropriate than the rural non-farm population. This latter category contains various divergent populations such as those of small villages and mining and logging camps. However, if this population has grown most rapidly in areas already urbanized in 1940, it would be evidence of the expected heavy fringe development.

1. As in the case of cities, a first important question concerns the areas in which heavy growth of rural non-farm population has been occurring. In order to answer this question, the 133 counties were classified

the density of population in 1940. Again, the relationship is positive. Of the densely settled counties, 28 out of 46 had rapidly growing rural non-farm population as compared with 3 of the 31 least densely settled counties. This relationship is reflected in the λ of .600.

In contrast to the consistent results of these two analyses, there is no apparent relationship between the percentage of the labor force in agriculture in 1940 and the rate of rural non-farm growth in 1940-50. The computed λ is -.034. While, in general, highly urbanized, densely settled counties experienced the most rapid growth of the rural non-farm population, it is clear that counties with considerable agricultural employment also grew.¹² However, other evi-

¹² For example, two non-urban counties, Del Norte, California, and Jefferson, Oregon, had rates of increase of 101.9 and 166.4, respectively, for their rural non-farm population.

dence shows that the most rapid increase in the rural non-farm population tended to take place near the great metropolitan centers. When the 133 counties are arranged in tiers approximating concentric zones around the SMA's (Table 6), this pattern is obvious. Seventeen of the 21 counties in SMA's had an increase in the rural non-farm population of 80 per cent or more,¹³ but this was true of only 6 of the 29 counties in Tier IV and beyond. The computed value of λ is .431.

It is clear that urbanization is occurring

¹³ To the 21 counties in standard metropolitan areas go 1,358,060 new rural non-farm residents, or 63.5 per cent of the region's 2,140,261. The remaining 112 counties received 36.5 per cent.

in all forms in the Pacific Coast region. In the cities some increase in size results from changes in municipal boundaries, but in the counties population increase depends upon natural increase and net migration. Additional light is thrown on the urbanization process if it is related to these two components of growth as computed for the 133 counties.¹⁴

It is important to keep in mind the heterogeneous nature of the arbitrarily delimit-

¹⁴ Components of growth figures for California counties were made available through the courtesy of Dr. Carl M. Frisen, State Department of Finance, Sacramento, California. These differ slightly from those for the other states in that birth figures were not adjusted for underregistration.

TABLE 5
ADJUSTED 1940-50 RATE OF GROWTH OF RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION OF
PACIFIC COAST COUNTIES RELATED TO THE 1940
CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUNTIES

1940 COUNTY CHARACTERISTICS	RATE OF GROWTH OF RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION							
	Slow		Medium		High		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
<i>Per cent of population</i>								
<i>urban:</i>								
Less than 20.....	29	61.7	12	25.5	6	12.8	47	100.0
20-39.....	6	14.0	21	48.8	16	37.2	43	100.0
40 or more.....	10	23.3	9	20.9	24	55.8	43	100.0
Total.....	45	33.8	42	31.6	46	34.6	133	100.0
<i>Persons per square</i>								
<i>mile:</i>								
Less than 5.....	19	61.3	9	29.0	3	9.7	31	100.0
5-24.....	20	35.7	21	37.5	15	26.8	56	100.0
25 and over.....	6	13.0	12	26.1	28	60.9	46	100.0
Total.....	45	33.8	42	31.6	46	34.6	133	100.0
<i>Per cent of labor force</i>								
<i>in agriculture:</i>								
Less than 15.....	11	32.4	13	38.2	10	29.4	34	100.0
15-34.....	20	33.9	14	23.7	25	42.4	59	100.0
35 and over.....	14	35.0	15	37.5	11	27.5	40	100.0
Total.....	45	33.8	42	31.6	46	34.6	133	100.0

TABLE 6
ADJUSTED 1940-50 RATE OF GROWTH OF RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION OF
PACIFIC COAST COUNTIES RELATED TO THEIR
DISTANCE FROM CENTRAL CITIES

TIER*	RATE OF GROWTH OF RURAL NON-FARM POPULATION							
	Slow		Medium		Rapid		Total	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
I.....	1	4.8	3	14.3	17	80.9	21	100.0
II.....	12	28.6	16	38.1	14	33.3	42	100.0
III.....	19	46.3	13	31.7	9	22.0	41	100.0
IV.....	6	37.5	8	50.0	2	12.5	16	100.0
V.....	7	53.8	2	15.4	4	30.8	13	100.0
Total....	45	33.8	42	31.6	46	34.6	133	100.0

* Tier I comprises the SMA counties; Tier II, the counties contiguous to the SMA's, and so on, to Tier V, comprising the most distant counties.

ed counties which are the units of the analysis and the necessity for caution in interpreting the results.¹⁵ However, certain conclusions are indicated. As anticipated, in the Pacific Coast states net migration is the most important component of growth except for the declining farm population. The rate of natural increase appears to be more closely related to the rate of growth of urban and semiurban populations than to the farm growth rate; it is an effect of the high rate of in-migration of young people at the age when they are most likely to be having children.

CONCLUSION

This study of the amount and form of urbanization and the components of urban growth on the Pacific Coast between 1940 and 1950 points to the following conclusions:

1. Trends in growth and distribution of urban and rural population in the western states are highly similar to national trends but mainly are of greater magnitude.

2. California dominates the Pacific Coast region in both amount and rate of urban growth, claiming the great majority of the new urban and rural non-farm residents.

3. In all three Pacific Coast states, recent urbanization has been most impressive in the areas where it was most impressive in the past. This is evident in every measure utilized in the analysis. Whatever the factors that bring about urban growth and however they may interact in the process, there is an apparent consistency and stability in their influence that bids well for increasing predictability.

4. The high concentration of urban population has continued with the 21 counties of the SMA's containing more than 80 per

cent of the new urban population and more than 60 per cent of the new rural non-farm population. In contrast, in 1950, 30 counties had no place as large as 2,500 inhabitants.

5. The extremely rapid growth of the rural non-farm population has been concentrated around the major cities, and thus much of it qualifies as urban under the new definition.

6. The West has already ceased to grow by adding to its rural farm population. The fact that only 17 of the 133 counties did not lose farm population during this period of rapid growth has important implications for the nature of the evolving western society.

7. In-migration has been an extremely important component of growth for both

TABLE 7

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN RATE OF GROWTH BY RESIDENCE CATEGORY AND THE COMPONENTS OF GROWTH FOR PACIFIC COAST COUNTIES, 1940-50

RESIDENCE CATEGORY	COMPONENTS OF GROWTH	
	Natural Increase	Net Migration
Urban.....	.45*	.71*
Rural non-farm.....	.35*	.64*
Rural farm.....	.25*	.02

* Corresponds to significance beyond the .01 level.

urban and rural non-farm population. Natural increase, probably related to the influx of young migrants, apparently has been of considerable significance in urban and rural non-farm growth.

8. Although the data examined do not extend beyond 1950, their consistency suggests very strongly that the trends in urbanization will continue in the years between 1950 and 1960.

The rapid urbanization of the Pacific Coast has been shown to be mainly a continuing concentration of new urban and rural non-farm population around well-established metropolitan centers. Questions immediately arise, of course, as to why this should be the case. What are the characteristics of the larger urban places that stimulate or facilitate further urbanization? What

¹⁵ In all coefficients of correlation the skewed distributions for the counties were brought into close conformity with normality by transforming all values into logarithms before computing the coefficients (see Jack P. Gibbs and Walter T. Martin, "The Components of Population Growth and the Process of Change in Counties of the Pacific Northwest, 1940-50," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXII, No. 2 [June, 1954], 141-50).

are the regional variations in this tendency? We can only speculate that, at least up to some ascertainable size, the established metropolis with its favorable ecological position, its elaborate division of labor, and its position of regional power and prestige is best equipped to provide for large numbers of non-farm families. Life in the large metropolis may seem in conflict with many

cherished traditions of American society, yet in these great urban complexes increasingly large populations are being maintained at increasingly high levels of living. The details of metropolitan organization which provide for the livelihood of these vast populations have yet to be explored in full.

UNIVERSITY OF OREGON

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TERROR AND PROGRESS USSR

To the Editor:

After re-reading the last chapter in my *Terror and Progress USSR*, I can well understand why the very thoughtful review by Rose Laub Coser in your journal for May, 1956 (pp. 636-37), should have presented my tentative predictions on the future course of Soviet development in a somewhat erroneous way. To clear up her interpretation and to restate briefly what I was attempting to puzzle out, may I ask for a few lines?

Mrs. Coser had the impression that I had rejected the possibility of a technocratic emphasis in Soviet society and that I believed rather "in the plausibility of a development toward 'traditionalism.'" What I was trying to say was that either of these two main possibilities of development might become a reality. From the data available in 1953, however, I could not decide which, since both, I thought, were showing roughly equal signs of growth. My conclusion was that one set of developments would sooner or later dominate *if* certain other supporting changes were introduced in key social institutions. The "if" required, in my opinion, considerable spelling out, and these imaginative pictures of the changes necessary to bring about

either alternative probably confused Mrs. Coser as well as other readers. As a result, my actual conclusion seems to have gone astray, leading to Mrs. Coser's understandable attempt to present more precisely views which were not amenable to such definite treatment.

My present judgment, based on further reflection, discussion with colleagues, and the behavior of the new regime during the last three years, is that the technocratic course is actually the most probable for some time to come. For example, there is recent evidence against the increasing rigidity of the Soviet class structure (see the Harvard doctoral dissertation by Robert A. Feldmesser, "Aspects of Social Mobility in the Soviet Union").

Mrs. Coser's generous appraisal aroused feelings of euphoria only rarely experienced by authors on reading reviews of their works. The only inaccuracy in her review was, after all, due mostly to a misunderstanding to which I was the main contributor.

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

*Russian Research Center
Harvard University*

ADDITIONAL HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1955 AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1955

The following names were submitted to the *Journal* subsequent to the listing in our July, 1956, issue.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

- Herbert Wayne Gustafson, B.A., M.S. Utah, 1950, 1951. "On the Frequency Distribution of Participation in Small-Group Discussion." *Utah*.
Mamoru Iga, B.A. Kwansei Gakuin (Japan), 1946; M.A. Brigham Young, 1951. "Acculturation of Japanese Population in Davis County, Utah." *Utah*.

MASTER'S DEGREES

- Mark H. Adams, B.S. Johns Hopkins, 1941. "A Comparative Study of 96 Delinquents with a Similar Number of Non-delinquents Residing in Canton, Baltimore, Maryland." *Maryland*.
Adnan Al Doory, B.S. Law School, Baghdad, 1947. "A Comparative Study of the Juvenile Courts in the United States and in Iraq." *Maryland*.
William Dean Poe, B.S. Utah, 1949. "A Sociological Analysis of the Medieval Cathari as a Social Movement." *Utah*.
Alice Riddleberger, B.S. California, 1952. "Prejudice and Perception." *Maryland*.
Gerald L. Rudolph, B.S. Maryland, 1951. "A Study of the Sponsorship Program of the Bureau of Rehabilitation at the National Training School for Boys." *Maryland*.
Neuell Milton Scroggins, B.S. Utah, 1953. "The Older Worker in Industry: Utilization and Retirement." *Utah*.
Irwin L. Shelberg, B.S. Maryland, 1955. "A Social Analysis of a Village, Isle of Thraust, Kent, England." *Maryland*.

- David Knight Shelton, B.A. Furman, 1940. "Some Distinguishing Characteristics of Fifty Air Force Families, Hill Air Force Base, Utah." *Utah*.
Joseph M. Szuleski, B.S. Maryland, 1953. "The Influence of Social Environment as Related to the Selection of Nursing as a Career." *Maryland*.
Catherine Van Sickler, B.A. Maryland, 1954. "Emotional Disorders and Selected Environmental Factors." *Maryland*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1955

- Ray R. Canning, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College (Logan, Utah), 1942; M.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "Courtship and Wedding Patterns of Three Generations of Mormons." *Utah*.
Donald Andrew Chase, A.B., M.A. Tufts, 1949, 1950. "Old Age and Retirement: A Sociological Study of Tampa, Florida." *Maryland*.
Jay Burton Christensen, B.S. Utah State Agricultural College (Logan, Utah), 1941; M.S. Brigham Young, 1950. "A Study of Religious Attitudes of High-School and College Students." *Utah*.
Meyer Greenberg, A.B. Yeshiva, 1934; Master Hebrew Literature, Jewish Institute of Religion, 1944. "Changing Observances of Traditional Jewish Religious Practices: A Study of Generations." *Maryland*.
Frank L. Magleby, B.S. Brigham Young, 1935; M.S.W. Utah, 1951. "Institutional Treatment of the Criminally Insane in the United States." *Utah*.

NEWS AND NOTES

American Jewish Committee.—Marshall Sklare, formerly a study director in the division of scientific research, has been appointed director of the division.

Benjamin B. Ringer has joined the staff of the division as a study director.

The American Jewish Committee is holding a conference at Arden House in November, to consider the present status of ethnic-religious groups in the United States. The planning committee includes Oscar Handlin, Harvard University, chairman; Otto Klineberg, Columbia University; Mordecai M. Kaplan, Jewish Theological Seminary of America; Donald Young, Russell Sage Foundation; Robin Williams, Cornell University; and Pendleton Herring, Social Science Research Council.

University of British Columbia.—The University of British Columbia has created a new department of anthropology, criminology, and sociology, to be headed by H. B. Hawthorn. Other anthropology members are C. S. Belshaw, Wayne Suttles, and C. E. Borden. K. D. Naegle, S. M. Jamieson, and J. Friesen are in sociology with Maurice Leznoff, lecturer for 1956-57. E. K. Nelson and D. Gibbons are in criminology.

University of California, Los Angeles.—Kenneth E. Little, professor of social anthropology, University of Edinburgh, will serve as visiting professor during the fall semester.

Ralph L. Beals has returned to the campus after a year's leave of absence at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

Joseph B. Birdsell has been granted a leave of absence to spend the fall semester at the Institute for Study of Human Variation at Columbia University.

Joseph B. Birdsell and Walter R. Goldschmidt have been promoted to professorships.

Donald R. Cressey has been promoted to be associate professor.

Ralph H. Turner has been awarded a Fulbright Research Fellowship to the London School of Economics and Political Science (University of London). He left for England with his family at the end of the summer.

The following additions have been made to the staff: Raymond J. Murphy, H. B. Nicholson, and Charles R. Wright.

Ruth Riemer has been granted a leave of absence for the academic year 1956-57.

Eleanor Bernert Sheldon has been appointed research associate.

University of Chicago.—The Population Research and Training Center has received a grant from Resources for the Future, Inc., for a study of levels of living and patterns of economic growth by state economic areas. The project will be directed by Otis Dudley Duncan, with Ray P. Cuzzort, formerly at Carleton College, as a research associate. The center has also received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for a study of differential mortality, causes of death, and fertility, in relation to quality of housing and social-economic status. The principal investigators are Philip Hauser and Evelyn Kitawaga.

Awards for postdoctoral study in statistics by persons whose primary field is not statistics but a physical, biological, or social science are offered by the Committee on Statistics of the university. The awards range from \$3,600 to \$5,000 for an eleven-month residence. The closing date for application for the academic year 1957-58 is February 15, 1957. Further information may be obtained from the Committee on Statistics, Eckhart Hall, University of Chicago, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus of sociology, has been appointed acting director of the Family Study Center.

Eugene Litwak, ~~who~~ has been assistant director of the Family Study Center, has been appointed an instructor at the college of Columbia University and will also be affiliated with the Bureau of Applied Social Research.

Dropsie College.—Werner J. Cahnman has been appointed research associate on a special project starting October 1, 1956.

Groves Conference on Marriage and the Family.—The conference will be held on the campus of Michigan State University from April 29 to

May 1, 1957. The program chairman is Jessie Bernard. The host chairman is Irma H. Gross of the department of home management and child development at Michigan State.

Hampton Institute. The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Edward Nelson Palmer in Washington, D.C., on August 10th. At the time of his death, Dr. Palmer was serving as professor of social sciences at the Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia.

He had also taught at Fisk University and served as a research assistant on the Myrdal study, assisting Guy Johnson in the research on secret societies among Negroes. He was awarded the doctoral degree of the University of Michigan in 1945. His undergraduate degree was taken at Talladega College.

Hofstra College.—Dr. Benjamin Nelson, formerly of the University of Minnesota, has accepted an appointment as professor of history and social science. He will be chairman of the department of sociology and co-ordinator of the new experimental integrated social science program.

Kansas Wesleyan University.—Haitung King has resigned to accept a position at Illinois Wesleyan University.

Metropolitan St. Louis Survey.—The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, financed by grants of \$250,000 from the Ford Foundation and \$50,000 from the McDonnell Aircraft Corporation Trust to St. Louis and Washington universities and begun in June, 1956, will consist of a series of comprehensive governmental, social, and economic studies of the metropolitan area. The planned date of completion is September, 1957.

The project has four principal purposes: (1) to prepare proposals for consideration of a board of freeholders on reform of municipal government and (2) to furnish for consideration of citizens in other metropolitan areas an appraisal of methods for gathering information on metropolitan problems, an analysis of the residents' attitudes toward government, and an evaluation of referendum campaign techniques. The other purposes are to develop a systematic conceptual framework for research in metropolitan government and to increase the supply of research workers. This last goal will be

achieved by engaging students on the project and by setting up a seminar for which academic credit will be given.

The survey welcomes communications from individuals and organizations completing analyses or currently working in this or allied areas of investigation. Correspondence should be addressed to John C. Bollens, Executive Officer and Director of Research, Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, 8147 Delmar Blvd., University City 24, Missouri.

National Association of Intergroup Relations Officials.—On November 28, 29, and 30, 1956, the tenth annual conference will be held at the Bellevue-Stratford Hotel in Philadelphia. The theme of the conference will be "Integration: America's Moral Imperative."

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—Robert Harlan Fosen has been appointed assistant professor of sociology.

Sam Schulman, assistant professor of sociology, has resigned to accept a position with the Russell Sage Foundation in Boston.

Leo Carlyle May has been appointed associate professor of sociology, replacing Herman M. Case, who resigned to become assistant educational director of the Anti-Defamation League in New York. Dr. May will begin offering courses on the Far East during the year 1956-57, as part of an interdisciplinary (geography, government, history, and sociology) plan for the development of a program of Asian studies. The Near East will be included eventually.

Solomon Sutker, associate professor of sociology, has returned to the department after a year's leave of absence.

The department of sociology and rural life completed its twentieth year in August. Three of the original staff still retain their department connections: Otis Durant Duncan, professor and head of the department; James Franklin Page, professor emeritus; and Edward Manning Day, associate professor emeritus.

Progress in Psychotherapy.—Under the title "Progress in Psychotherapy," a series of annual volumes is being published by Grune & Stratton, each volume giving a global view of the current trends in psychotherapy. J. L. Moreno is the permanent, co-ordinating editor of the series. Volume I of the series, edited by Frieda Fromm-Reichmann and J. L. Moreno,

has just appeared. Volume II is now in preparation, edited by Jules Masserman and J. L. Moreno.

Inquiries and manuscripts for the series should be sent to P.O. Box 311, Beacon, New York.

St. Louis University.—The department of sociology's graduate program in social anthropology now admits full-time candidates for the Master's degree. New seminars added to the program include an area studies seminar on rural Mexico; a seminar on the works of Robert Redfield; and a seminar on the people of Yucatán.

Allen Spitzer, director of anthropological research, was reappointed to the rank of associate professor of anthropology effective September 1 and was also appointed research professor of anthropology on the faculty of Mexico City College. In the summer he visited Tepoztlán, Morelos, Mexico, for a special study of the barrio of San Miguel in connection with folk Catholicism and also in continuation of a proposed monograph on the life and works of Robert Redfield, on the field work for which Professor and Mrs. Spitzer will work for the next five years.

Social Science Research Council.—The council will again offer in 1957 all types of fellowships and grants which were awarded in 1956, except undergraduate research stipends. The latter can no longer be offered because funds granted to the council for that purpose have been exhausted.

Four new types of grants will be offered for the first time: (a) for research on American governmental processes, (b) for field studies of political groups in foreign areas, and (c) for research on national defense problems since 1939, as well as faculty research grants, unrestricted as to subject matter or discipline within the field of social science.

Three summer institutes are now scheduled for 1957, and one or more others may be announced later. Two institutes on applications of mathematics in the social sciences will be held at Stanford University, one for social scientists and one for college teachers of mathematics, the latter being co-sponsored by the Mathematical Association of America. An institute on organization theory and research will be held at Carnegie Institute of Technology.

A booklet describing all these offerings will be distributed about October 1. All applications will be due not later than January 7, 1956, except for the new programs: (a) due November 1 and March 1; (b) and (c) due November 15. Inquiries should be addressed to the council at 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Southern Methodist University.—Walter T. Watson, chairman of the department, is visiting professor at Southern Illinois University for the academic year. He replaces Joseph K. Johnson, chairman of the department, who is on sabbatical leave.

Morton B. King, Jr., past chairman of the department of sociology of the University of Mississippi, is visiting professor for the current year.

M. LaVern Norris is returning to the department as instructor after taking his graduate study at Louisiana State University.

Bruce M. Pringle, assistant professor, is devoting part time to research financed by United Cerebral Palsy of Dallas County, Texas, and conducted by the department of sociology.

University of Utah.—Henry H. Frost was appointed chairman of the department of sociology in July. Professor Frost has been a member of the department since 1939.

Arthur L. Beeley, who served as chairman of the department since 1927, has been appointed professor emeritus of sociology and dean emeritus of the graduate school of social work. In 1955 the Board of Regents conferred on him the honorary degree LL.D.

State College of Washington.—A study of the effectiveness of various methods of teaching the introductory course in sociology is being conducted by Vernon Davies, John Lillywhite, James Short, and Edward Gross. The project is supported by a grant of \$10,000 from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

The department of rural sociology is making a study, by personal interview, of the rural and urban population sixty-five years of age and over in Thurston County, Washington. The study was initiated by the Governor's Council on Aging Population, financed by the State Department of Public Assistance. The research is under the direction of Carol Stone, assistant rural sociologist.

Ivan Nye, director of the Sociological Re-

search Laboratory, has received a second grant from the college to continue research on parent-child relations.

James Short has received a grant from the college to continue research on reported delinquent behavior. With the expiration of his Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship, Dr. Short resumes full-time work in the department.

Joel B. Montague, Jr., has been granted a sabbatical leave, beginning in February. He and his family plan to spend some time in Italy and Spain, after which they will be located in a rural village in England, where Dr. Montague will continue his studies of national character and stratification, begun in London in 1950-51.

John Lillywhite has been granted leave to accept an appointment to serve on the Washington State Board of Prison Terms and Paroles.

John B. Edlefsen is serving a third year as

sociologist with the ICA Technical Mission to Pakistan.

A. Scotch has been appointed instructor in anthropology.

Paul Honigsheim has been reappointed guest lecturer in sociology for the fall semester.

Three graduate assistants in the department have accepted teaching positions: Harry Dick, acting instructor in the department at Washington State College; Alfred Prince, assistant professor at the University of Wisconsin; Richard Ogles, assistant professor at Marietta College.

Wayne State University.—Lloyd Allen Cook, chairman of the department of educational sociology, has been appointed vice-president of the university for instruction and research. Wayne became a state university on July 1, as now appears in its amended name.

BOOK REVIEWS

Bourgeoisie noire ("Black Bourgeoisie"). By FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Paris: Librairie Plon, 1955. Pp. 230. Fr. 870.

This most recent book by Franklin Frazier is not just a French summary of his earlier work in this area. Its stated object is "a sociological analysis of the behavior, attitudes and values of the Negro bourgeoisie" (pp. 21-22), which might be a description of parts of Frazier's book, *The Negro in the United States* (1950), and the areas covered are similar. But *Bourgeoisie noire* is polemic rather than scientific.

Frazier takes the position that, because the middle-class Negroes have taken over the values of bourgeois whites and yet continue to be rejected by the white world, they have developed an inferiority complex. They have tried to compensate for it by isolating themselves in a world of make-believe, which, however, fails to insulate them completely. Consequently, they are confused and contradictory individuals. He concludes: "Indeed, they seem to be on the way to losing all personality, to becoming 'no-one'" (pp. 23-24).

The history of the treatment of Negroes, the sort of education which has been open to them, and their negligible contribution as a middle-class group to the economy of production are interrelated factors which have kept them on the fringe of society. Frazier illustrates his argument with excerpts from historical documents, reports of meetings of Negro business organizations, and statements by personal informants. For evidence of the behavior and values of the Negro bourgeoisie, he goes to the Negro press. To support his thesis that the Negro bourgeoisie suffers from an inferiority complex and personality disorganization, Frazier draws mainly from psychoanalytic case material reported in *The Mark of Oppression* by Kardiner and Livesey. The reader must take Frazier's word for it when it comes to the number of middle-class Negroes suffering such psychological effects, as this book contains no information about this, just as it contains no clear definition of the Negro bourgeoisie as a group. Inferentially, the definition seems to include all Negroes above the lower class.

It is difficult, therefore, to assess the adequacy of this analysis. It accounts for the behavior

and values of the *nouveau riche* but not of the small but growing number of Negroes who have gained recognition in the larger society. This seems due, in part, to Frazier's definition of his subject, in which he explicitly avoids analysis of the fact that the characteristics of the Negro bourgeoisie which he stresses most are *common* to middle classes in the modern world (p. 211) and perhaps most conducive to integration of ethnic and other subgroups into this class. The fact that in this class, at this period in history, and in this society, less emphasis is placed on cultural tradition, on ascribed status, and on kinship and that much greater emphasis is given to achievement, mode of life, leisure activities, and "things that money can buy" could be related to the increasing integration of Negroes with whites in certain segments of society—the professions and the education system, the arts and the entertainment world, and sports and industry. The extent of integration should not be exaggerated, but its nature should interest the emerging middle classes in French Africa—a section of Frazier's audience to which he addresses himself explicitly (p. 211).

BARBARA HOCKEY KAPLAN

Cornell University

Without the Chrysanthemum and the Sword: A Study of the Attitudes of Youth in Post-war Japan. By JEAN STOETZEL. New York: UNESCO (Columbia University Press), 1955. Pp. 334. \$4.00.

This aptly titled work is one of three UNESCO studies of the attitudes of contemporary youth undertaken simultaneously in Japan, Germany, and India. With the wealth of quantitative material is included a substantial amount of excellent qualitative contextual material on developments in postwar Japan. There is something here for the specialist on Japan, for the person interested in problems of cross-cultural attitude research, and for the layman who would be informed on a wide variety of things Japanese. Clearly, however, the chief interest of the book will be to those seeking some idea of the relationship of contemporary Japan to the Japan of Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*. This study, however, is based on field

work (1951-52) and on the analysis of a variety of surveys and projective materials, but Stoetzel succeeds admirably in following up the earlier work and in making a substantial contribution of his own.

Among the topics covered are the demographic position of youth in Japanese society, some very readable material on child socialization, reactions to the Occupation's reforms, interest in international affairs, pacifism, attitude toward authority, and the personality of the young. Although the focus is on Japanese youth, the major public opinion survey was administered to a representative sample of 2,671 of four age groups: sixteen to nineteen, twenty to twenty-four, twenty-five to twenty-nine, and over thirty. Many of the most telling passages relate to the crucial differences in attitude among them on a wide variety of topics; the data reveal something far more complex than a simple young-old split.

Any discussion of Japanese values must refer to the concepts of obligation (in this case *on* and *giri*) made famous by Benedict's treatment. Stoetzel offers some comments on the system but wisely does not devote undue space to the matter. The survey results indicate that 72 per cent of the respondents feel that fewer and fewer people "know *giri*" and that only 30 per cent of the sample as a whole offered a "technical" definition of the term, that is, one corresponding to the "original" meaning of *giri*. The author's attempts to relate contemporary concepts of *giri* to the contemporary scene are on the whole far more defensible than are his comparisons of modern concepts of *giri* to the original.

In a series of valuable appendixes three questionnaires used in the study with marginal persons are presented and so are the results of a series of TAT pictures and some "autobiographies of the future," which contain extremely suggestive data. There is also a very good annotated bibliography of works in Japanese on youth and the family.

While Stoetzel assumes responsibility for the preparation of this report, he acknowledges his debt to a great number of field collaborators. Critics of team research who fear sacrifice of depth for extensive coverage should be reassured, for Stoetzel has managed to weave a diversity of materials collected by a variety of individuals into a valuable finished product.

ROBERT S. SMITH

Cornell University

Anthropology in Administration. By HOMER G. BARNETT. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1956. Pp. viii+196. \$5.00.

Anthropologists, in the United States at least, have moved cautiously and comparatively recently into "action" fields. Not until World War II, when anthropologists en masse were called on for a wide range of services, was "applied" anthropology legitimized, so to speak, in the eyes of most professionals. Since that time, however, this phase of the discipline has moved ahead vigorously amid much discussion of pros and cons, possibilities and limitations, ethics and tactics.

This short book offers to a scholar in another discipline, as well as to an administrator, a survey of the achievements and the controversial features of applied anthropology. Though it concentrates particularly on the work of anthropologists in cross-cultural contexts, and notably the administration of minority groups at home and peoples of dependent territories overseas, the general framework of discussion is relevant to other fields of application, as in industry, education, or social work. The author, a professor at the University of Oregon, is well qualified to give such a report. On the one hand, he is a theorist noted for his disciplined work in the culture change field: his recent volume on *Innovation* is an outstanding exercise in theoretical virtuosity. On the other, he carried for two years the responsibilities of staff anthropologist in the United States Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, directing the work of a cadre of field anthropologists vis-à-vis both the administrative staff and the Micronesian peoples.

A first chapter on "Knowledge and Policy" gives a world-wide review of the uses of anthropology in administrative settings. By and large, anthropologists have had three roles: "that of the contracted specialist on short-term employment, that of the permanently attached technical officer, and that of the administrator." Chapter ii, "Pride and Prejudice," opens up vigorously the typical problems of anthropologist-administrator relationships. Their contrasting interests make for difficulty in working together. The role of scholarly aloofness and that of practical decision-making tend to be at odds. The images each group has of the other make for distrust. Anthropologists supposedly dabble in the exotic, lean toward cultural perpetuation, communicate in jargon, and possibly "go native"; administrators are bureaucratic, expect quick short-cut answers, and may possi-

bly be agents of "colonialism." Moreover, some of the educated indigenous persons, sensitive about "backwardness," may be suspicious of anthropological inquiry. The applied anthropologist, apart from the hazards of a government job, may also feel that his academically rooted fellows treat him as of lower status, engaged in an occupation which uses technical information of the science but is more that of a well-informed administrative employee and citizen.

The rest of the book is largely a case study of how, in the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, American anthropologists and administrators have tried to so gear their relationships as to make applied anthropology work. Chapter iii, "Consultants and Executives," shows the various devices by which the United States Navy and later the Department of Interior authorities have used anthropologists as consultants and staff members—giving them status involving some detachment—to foster objective research and also mediation between government establishments and the Micronesian peoples. Chapter iv, "Means and Ends," shows with examples the various activities of anthropologists in research, intermediation, forecasting, and implementing of policies. They are seen supervising elections, settling leadership disputes, investigating land tenure, and directing resettling of the Bikini people. Barnett's outstanding personal contribution of developing a community center in the disorganized former Japanese capital at Koror in the Palau is reported sparsely. A last chapter on "Pros and Cons" branches out into wider questions of anthropological responsibility and participation in decision-making. The point of view of "neutrality"—that the anthropologist has accountability only for accurate technical information—is critically examined.

The strengths and weaknesses of combining the anthropologist and administrator functions in one person are likewise brought out. Other possibilities of grappling with the ethical problems are reviewed (e.g., such a code as that of the Society for Applied Anthropology and aligning recommendations with the choices and aspirations of the group to be affected). "The most difficult issue that the scientist in government faces," Barnett says, "is his social responsibility." In the Trust Territory the anthropological personnel frankly recognized that the administrative authorities, in making the difficult changeover from Japanese to American

supervision, were heavily dependent on advice. They acknowledged their role in manipulation and accepted the moral responsibilities involved. Subject to contractual obligation, they were always free to leave if administrative lines of action had been repugnant to them.

FELIX M. KEESING

Stanford University

Bureaucracy in Modern Society. By PETER M. BLAU. New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. 127. \$0.95.

In recent years there have been numerous books and articles on bureaucracy in trade unions, in political parties, and in industrial organizations and even a number of bold sallies into the field of political science in the form of studies of the civil service and public administration. Much of this literature, however, is straightforward reporting of research and either does not raise theoretical problems or accepts uncritically the simple opposition between bureaucracy and democracy suggested by the work of Michels and Max Weber. What has been lacking is a systematic and critical presentation of theory and research.

Blau's short study is an excellent contribution to systematic analysis. The author begins by examining the nature and conditions of bureaucracy, then considers the bearing of recent research upon theory, and finally discusses in a stimulating chapter the problems which the extension of bureaucratic organization raise in a democratic society.

In dealing with theory, Blau naturally begins with Max Weber's analysis of bureaucracy, but he criticizes it both explicitly and implicitly. His explicit criticisms are that Weber concentrated upon the formal structure of bureaucracy while neglecting those informal aspects which research has shown to be of vital importance in the operation of large-scale undertakings and that he exaggerated the efficiency of bureaucratic administration. Implicitly, a large part of the book is a criticism of Weber, whose pessimistic views about the consequences of the spread of bureaucracy Blau obviously does not share. This criticism might well be made more specific. Weber's analysis of bureaucracy was only a part of his study of the rationalization of modern life, and the problems with which he dealt were formulated on the basis of a social

philosophy strongly tinged with romanticism and expressed a protest against the disenchantment of the world. A different social philosophy would provide a different ideal type and thus a different formulation of the problems; this is indeed what Blau, to some extent, supplies.

The chapters dealing with informal organization, the processes of change in bureaucratic structures, and bureaucratic authority bring together and assess the conclusions of much recent research. They are informative but perhaps unduly selective in the issues discussed. For instance, Blau emphasizes the possible significance of informal organization in increasing bureaucratic efficiency; he does not discuss informal organization as one of the means used in the conflict between workers and management or, in a wider context, as a response to, and compensation for, the impersonal character of work and authority in modern industry and administration. Again, in examining the structure of authority, Blau deals only with the problems which arise within a limited range of the hierarchy and are strictly functional, that is, connected with the operations of the undertaking. There are other problems, perhaps more important in the long run, which emerge from the interweaving of functional differentiation and the broader distinctions of social class.

But these are criticisms of detail, and the author might well reply that he did not have the space in which to deal with all aspects of each problem. As an introduction his book is extremely valuable, and I hope that he and others will go on to discuss at greater length some of the interesting themes he touches upon here.

T. B. BOTTOMORE

*London School of Economics
and Political Science*

Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences. By PITIRIM A. SOROKIN. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1956. Pp. viii+357. \$10.00.

Sorokin has many interesting and disagreeable things to say about the present state of sociology or of the "psychosocial disciplines"—a term that permits him also to lambaste psychology from time to time. As is well known from his many previous works, the author is bitterly opposed to the use of natural science as a model in sociology. In the present volume he

attacks psychological tests, the questionnaire-interview technique, quantification of qualitative data, "mathematical sociology," the experimental methods of small-group research, etc. Many of his criticisms are astute; one can only regret that he makes them in a deplorable manner, for dubious reasons, and for the wrong audience.

The manner is rather demagogic than scholarly. One might recommend this book to students of propaganda as a case study in the tactics of prejudice. The devices employed are too numerous to catalogue fully; we mention as examples the use of ironic labels, for example, "amnesia" for the alleged failure of contemporary sociologists to acknowledge the contributions of their predecessors; the coining of burlesque, derogatory terms such as "quantiphrenia" and "metromania" for alleged "obsessive" concern with quantification; tendentious incongruities such as characterizing scholars as "apostles" or "devotees," implying unscientific cultist attitudes; frequent use of irony and ironic quotation marks, e.g., "the 'discoveries' of our 'pioneers' . . ."; strategies of caricature in which the position of the opponent is exaggerated or oversimplified; dramatic sarcasm; mock modesty; and plain invective.

More serious in its consequences is the strategy of selecting extreme views and representing them as typical (e.g., the work of Dodd or Zipf), or of alluding to writers whose work is marginal to the social sciences as if they were in the center (e.g., J. Q. Stewart), or referring to such quackeries as "dianetics" and astrology as in the same universe of discourse as the social sciences (p. 98).

Complementary to this invidious selection is the author's omission of almost all reference to sociologists who do not adopt the "positivistic" viewpoint, his disregard of the current constructive debate on methods and theory, and his nearly complete failure to acknowledge the many able sociologists who have made similar, and often better, criticisms of the same natural-science conceptions. The one outstanding authority cited in support of the views expressed is Sorokin himself. Approximately a third of all the footnotes are citations of his own works, to which the reader is referred again and again for "further substantiation" or "elaboration."

The "Integral Sociology" offered by Sorokin as a saving alternative has been described by him in more than a dozen volumes in recent

years. A brief outline of it is concentrated in the last three chapters, with the result that the author's theoretical position is somewhat concealed in the polemic of the first ten chapters. We might recommend that students unfamiliar with Sorokin's work read this book backward. The present psychosocial disciplines are a corrupt product of a dying sensate culture. They have themselves contributed to the evil conditions of the world by undermining the great values—God, truth, love, beauty, etc. (chap. xiii). Their "negativism" and "triviality" are due to their failure to acknowledge any but the "sensory" aspect of social reality and the "sensory channel" of knowledge (sense perception—observation). They have fatally neglected "intuitional cognition," without which they can neither aspire to genius and creativity nor appreciate the genius among them. Unfortunately for subscribers to Sorokin's program, the "intuitional theory of cognition" leads to a cognition of the "true reality" which "cannot be expressed in any words" but is "unutterable" and can be only symbolized or "intuitively communicated by merging the minds of the communicants" in the manner of Yoga (chap. xii). Sociologists are likely to be more impressed by the distinction Sorokin makes (but has often made before) between "congeries" and "systems" and the different conditions these set for research and prediction (chap. xi).

A number of passages indicate that Sorokin considers himself to have been treated shabbily by American sociologists—categorized as an "armchair theorizer," plagiarized by his immediate colleagues, disowned by his students, and disregarded as researcher, theoretician, and prophet. If Sorokin is no longer regarded as a creative power in sociology, it is because of the increasingly irrational and ideosyncratic character of his work, not because of any conspiracy against him. Professional isolation is the fate invited by any man who builds private systems of thought outside the collaborative development of the science to which he is nominally attached. If personal and professional difficulties have pushed Sorokin along this divergent route, this is to be regretted; but there is nothing that most of us can do except evaluate his work on its merits.

Fads and Foibles is not an appeal to sociologists but an attack upon them. The derogations and ridicule in this book can be interpreted only as an appeal to third parties against sociology as a science and a profession. The distorted pic-

ture presented here of the problems, methods, and achievements of American sociology and the demagogic charge that its "negativistic theories" have "tangibly contributed to the present degradation of man" (p. 303) are a disservice to our discipline from which only the enemies of rational social inquiry can possibly benefit. This self-destructive act is a pitiable climax to a distinguished career.

DONALD HORTON

University of Chicago

Why Families Move: A Study in the Social Psychology of Urban Residential Mobility. By PETER H. ROSSI. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. x+220. \$4.00.

Research monographs are the proper children of academic man. This one was jointly sponsored by the Institute for Urban Land Use and Housing Studies and the Bureau of Applied Social Research, both of Columbia University, but was carried out under the able direction of Peter Rossi. Few studies are as carefully designed and executed, and few research persons are able to exploit available data to such advantage. It can properly be a subject of pride.

The study is thought of as having two major objectives: to "produce an example of how modern social research methods can be employed in the study of residential mobility" and the drawing of generalizations about the social psychology of such movement. The study fulfils these objectives in a scholarly way.

Survey techniques are used to collect data from respondents in four Philadelphia residential areas representing combinations of high and low residential mobility and high and low socioeconomic status. This survey design permits the investigation of the influence of mobility independent of socioeconomic status and vice versa. It also permits both area and individual comparisons, though at the sacrifice of inference for a universe of all-Philadelphia urban families. Rossi recognizes the value of both types of data.

Several interesting examples of seeming contradiction between individual and unit relationships are reported; for instance, families rather than single persons are the most mobile segment of the population in an area of high mobility with a sizable proportion of single persons. This advances theory about both aggregates and individuals. The study also provides good ex-

amples of how the correlation among "objective characteristics" can be substantially increased with the use of attitude-opinion data. For example, while mobility status is partly a function of tenure status, an index of mobility inclinations further differentiates each tenure group. The fact that the "social psychological variables" yield this kind of discrimination is given considerable emphasis. Unfortunately, the analysis does not show the degree to which the social-psychological variables contribute to the prediction of residential mobility, but the utility of attitude-opinion data in the study of residential mobility, however, is adequately demonstrated.

The many substantive generalizations on residential mobility are the major contribution of the study to sociological literature. However, motivation is assumed to be the primary basis for residential movement. Generalizations within this framework, therefore, refer to a social system permitting considerable individual freedom to choose. The actual situation was a fair approximation of it, even though a fairly tight housing market existed at the time. It is conceivable, nevertheless, that an economic depression or a planned economy could substantially impede free choice. As the author recognizes, too, the generalizations of this study probably do not hold for special populations such as ethnic groups, public housing residents, etc.

If by a methodological contribution one means that a method is developed which is of value to other studies in other problem areas, then this study fails to offer it. The rule that codes should exist prior to a research study, Ogburn's advice to set up dummy tables before data are gathered, and the exhortation to have a theoretical model are all presented here. They are not new. The author is to be commended, however, for carefully following the rules of survey practice and research analysis. Few studies can lay claim to such careful application and to such rewards in substantive results.

The study uses a number of simple indexes which those studying residential mobility should find useful. These include a "Complaints Index"; and a "Mobility Potential Index," which, when taken together, yield considerable discrimination among movers who are first discriminated against as renters and owners. An "Index of Incompatibility" likewise is useful as a summary measure.

Ecologists will be pleased with the tables which show the high discriminatory power of

simple census variables from ecological theory. Thus Table 3.2 shows that single variables such as household composition and tenure status have high discriminatory power and that their combined discrimination is potentially even greater (Table 5.5). The social psychologist likewise should be interested to find that attitudes toward housing yield further discrimination among respondents who already are differentiated by the highly discriminating census variables. The methodologist may worry about problems of validity, reliability, and prediction, but these are recognized within the boundaries of this study.

ALBERT J. REISS, JR.

Vanderbilt University

Culture and Mental Disorders. By RALPH LINTON. Edited by GEORGE DEVEREUX. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1956. Pp. vii+139. \$4.50.

This posthumous book, edited by a former student and friend of the author, discusses the relative importance of culture and physiology in the development of psychoses and neuroses. Interesting, although admittedly meager, data concerning the incidence and characteristics of these disorders in primitive societies are interpreted within the general framework of Linton's conception of culture and personality. Written informally in the author's typically lucid style and filled with suggestive examples, the book is thought-provoking and enjoyable.

There are three chapters—"Culture and Personality," "Cultural Influences in Neurosis and Psychosis," and "Hysteria in Cultural Perspective." The first is devoted largely to a summary of Linton's basic ideas, a brief description of the techniques which he developed in collaboration with Kardiner, and criticisms of the approaches of Sapir, Benedict, and Mead. For readers already familiar with the author's general orientation, the remaining two chapters will be of greater interest.

Evidence is presented to support the already widely accepted view that the form in which mental disorders are manifested is largely determined by culture. Two primitive psychoses—"Witigo" and "Koro"—are shown to be closely related to local beliefs, and specific hysterical symptoms are similarly linked to cultural contexts. The incidence of psychoses in parts of

Africa is discussed, with suggestions as to specific ways in which a culture may encourage or discourage particular symptoms.

Less firmly grounded is Linton's speculation that damage to the nervous system may underlie all psychosis and neurosis. In support of this, he mentions that the fundamental types of psychosis found in the West seem to occur also in primitive societies. The evidence as far as neurosis is concerned is less impressive: the fact that many people go through experiences which make only some of them neurotic is taken to indicate a physiological basis for neurosis, with the culture merely providing the precipitating stresses and influencing the particular form of the disorder. Two experiences, however, may be "the same" from the outside observer's standpoint, yet radically different from the standpoints of the individuals involved. Much more evidence is needed, as Linton himself acknowledges.

The interpretations of the facts presented are exceedingly speculative. The genesis of disorders is discussed in relation to only one theory of personality formation—that of Devereux—and, even though Linton's ideas do not seem logically dependent on this theory, other contributions in this field are largely neglected. Neuroses other than hysteria are almost completely ignored. Despite these shortcomings, the book may provide valuable insights for sociologists interested in the relation between culture and personality, as well as in the specific problem of mental disorders.

MAURICE N. RICHTER, JR.

Leonia, New Jersey

Health, Culture, and Community: Case Studies of Public Reactions to Health Programs. Edited by BENJAMIN D. PAUL with the collaboration of WALTER B. MILLER. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1955. Pp. 493+viii. \$5.00.

Most of the sixteen cases reported here are vain attempts, in many parts of the world, to gain acceptance for readily available improvements in health and medical practices. Failure is attributed to divergent beliefs about the nature of disease and its treatment, vested political interest, traditional expectations governing healer and patient relationships, or poor teamwork in the agency of change itself. In each, an individual trained in one of the social

sciences was on hand to reconstruct what had happened—and, in several instances, to keep systematic records from the beginning of the program. At times the author of a case reports in his capacity as a researcher, and at other times as a participant in introducing the change, and one of the interesting things is the evidence on how difficult it is to keep these roles apart.

The book is a major contribution to the slowly mounting records of experience with programs of technical assistance. But, apart from its usefulness as a guide to the application of social science to practical problems, it is of real interest as a source of sociological data.

Many of the cases report what students of mass communications identify as "campaigns"—short-run attempts to influence opinions, attitudes, or actions. That their targets are, in general, members of other cultures makes things slightly more complicated but, at the same time, shows how much research can learn from a wide variety of social science disciplines engaged in the study of influence. The emphasis on culture—that is, on traditional ways of seeing and doing things—is familiar, but the equally strong emphasis on elements of social structure as aids or impediments to communication and innovation is particularly welcome.

The stress on social roles and relationships will also interest those who study comparative social organization and the professions. The medical magician of India, for example, who stands low in the hierarchy of healers, is compared to the pharmacist of the West, who purveys techniques that are "popular, mechanical and impersonal." To command real respect, a healer must have more spiritual qualities. The constraints upon the minister and the psychiatrist in America in the exercises of mental-health counseling functions are contrasted. A very interesting study of a clinical team in which the duties of the public health nurse were changed at one point, permits an analysis of her role as an intermediary between doctor and patient. One of the strong points of the book, in fact, is that it focuses not on the "receiving" social system alone but on the social organization of the agents of change as well, and then upon the interrelations between the two.

It appears that "Western"-trained doctors treating their "native" patients are hampered by such things as (1) magical beliefs; (2) notions of the appropriateness of certain doctors for certain diseases and for certain people (depend-

ing upon age, sex, social class, etc.); (3) the custom of relatives not to hand the sick person over to the doctor for treatment as an isolated individual; (4) the patient's expectation that the doctor is all-seeing, that he will display predictive powers and offer a "guarantee"; (5) the desire for the doctor's "own" medicine; (6) the desire for an enduring rather than a brief, service-oriented relationship; (7) the recognition of social class differences between doctors and patients which the doctor is not expected to overlook; (8) the fact that a patient is likely to have three or four doctors at the same time.

All these circumstances, presumably, are in sharp contrast to Western medical practice. But research into the doctor-patient relationship in the United States would surely reveal many similar elements, even in our scientific culture. One suspects that Western-trained doctors in underdeveloped areas may "forget" how they and their patients back home actually behaved. The active resistance reported in case 2 to the mental-health education campaign in a Western Canadian community parallels some of the "native" cases in many ways.

More important, however, is the fact that there is something for us to learn from the relations between native healers and patients at the same time that they learn from us. Our present "native" emphasis on the interrelations between patient and family is a good example. Case 11, concerning a mental-health project in a Boston suburb, puts it even more strongly: "We assumed that troubles ran in families and the critical persons in a disturbed equilibrium are not necessarily those who first present themselves." More generally, it is interesting to see how we are beginning to take seriously—at least in the field of psychotherapy—some of the consequences for therapy of such things as the "appropriateness" of the therapist, the therapeutic function of payment, or the desire for an enduring relationship and the like.

The central recommendation of the authors of a number of the cases is that a desirable technological innovation need not be accompanied, on its journey abroad, by the ideology or pattern of social relations in which it was originally imbedded. Doctors, for example, should not insist at first on convincing anybody but themselves that what they are doing is science but ought to accept the cultural definition accorded them as saints, philanthropists, or powerful allies of powerful spirits and, as far

as possible, act accordingly (pp. 133, 233, 261).

Several cases imply or report that new programs, profiting from earlier mistakes, have already been put into the field. But one such report leads the reader to wonder whether earlier problems are really being solved or simply circumvented in the new projects. For example (p. 373), a project, it is stated, was set up in Pedro Leopoldo precisely because difficulties discovered in working in Chonin would not be encountered there.

The editor has provided excellent continuity for the book, and important cross-references, in his brief introduction to each case; and the Russell Sage Foundation is to be commended for its continued support of such explorations of the applicability of social science.

ELIHU KATZ

University of Chicago

Eros and Civilization: A Philosophical Inquiry into Freud. By HERBERT MARCUSE. Boston: Beacon Press, 1955. Pp. xii+277. \$3.95.

On the occasion of Freud's hundredth birthday, Lionel Trilling celebrated his conception of biology as a safeguard against the tyranny of culture (*Freud and the Crisis of Our Culture* [Boston: Beacon Press, 1955]); Stanley Edgar Hyman celebrated his new dispensation of a tragic view of life ("Freud and the Climate of Tragedy," *Partisan Review*, spring, 1956); and Alfred Kazin celebrated his "gift of conviction," which, like the artist's, shows us a piece of reality no one else has seen ("Portrait of a Hero," *Partisan Review*, spring, 1956). Marcuse's book is a social philosopher's estimate of Freud as social philosopher. No more, for that matter, than Trilling, Hyman, and Kazin, does Marcuse proceed as a participant in the 1956 rites. He is directed by his own "gift of conviction," with which he interprets Freud's psychology in the light of his much more fragmentary metapsychology. Crucial is the conviction that "the psychoanalytic liberation of memory explodes the rationality of the repressed individual," so that the "*recherche du temps perdu* becomes the vehicle of future liberation" (p. 19). An extraordinary ideal! Yet it is an "extrapolation" (p. 35) from Freud's conception that in the child—that is, in the unconscious—freedom and necessity are identical. And this truth is discovered by memory.

Thence comes the cognitive function of memory and consequently its therapeutic role: its liberation from repression by the "reality principle," which contrasts freedom with necessity.

From Freud's writings Marcuse extrapolates two distinctions which tradition, though it affected Freud less than most men, prevented him from recognizing in their full force. One is between the "reality principle" as such and the "performance principle." The performance principle is *not* universal, having characterized Western civilization but hardly "primitive" (or Eastern) cultures, and it need not characterize the future Western (or world?) society. The other, implied by the first, is between a civilization without repression and one without "surplus-repression" or "the restrictions necessitated by social domination" (p. 35). Freud did not envisage the latter. He continued the history of Western philosophy. At least since Aristotle, the dominating Logos of this philosophy has been the "logic of domination," not of "gratification"—the performance principle, not the pleasure principle. But protests against this philosophy have been made, most explicitly by Nietzsche and the idealistic aesthetic philosophers, especially Schiller. They have been directed against the taboo placed by the performance principle on sensuousness, the "enemy of reason"; but the archetypes of Orpheus and Narcissus show that the rebellion antedates Western philosophy. And, today, work guided by the performance principle has created the possibility of abundance, thus giving the lie to Freud, who tended to consider the struggle for existence unalterable. Idealistic and materialistic critiques of culture agree on abundance as the prerequisite for abolishing repression or, rather, surplus-repression. At the instinctual level, the task is the reconciliation of the reality principle and the pleasure principle, the "self-sublimation" of sexuality into Eros and the "sensualization" of reason, so that work relations (as against the relations of alienated labor) become eroticized and morality becomes libidinous. At the sociological level, non-repressive civilization "is utterly incompatible with the institutions of the performance principle and implies the negation of this principle" (p. 218). Yet Marcuse wonders how civilization can generate freedom when unfreedom has come to be "part and parcel of the mental apparatus" (p. 225). His answer is not more than the expression of his conviction that, while utopias may be unrealistic, the conditions for a free

society are not, but are a matter of reason.

The scope of this book and the knowledge shown are magnificent, the sense of dedication inspiring. The unanswered questions—foremost that of the author's fundamental attitude toward contemporary Western culture—the omissions and obscurities, and his failure to connect some of his ideas with those of other writers are of minor importance. The "Epilogue," a "Critique of Neo-Freudian Revisionism," shows Marcuse in an angry mood, very different from that of the book itself. It was preprinted (*Dissent*, summer, 1955), and the book is probably a surprise to those who read the Epilogue first, as the Epilogue must be to readers who come to it after the book. It has led Erich Fromm, its chief target, to call Marcuse a nihilist in the guise of a radical and to a further exchange between Marcuse and him (*ibid.*, autumn 1955, and winter, 1956). Quite aside from the question of the correctness of particular interpretations of Freud, the Epilogue and its sequence distort Marcuse's work, which otherwise is great in both its literal and its symbolic truth.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

Labor-Management Relations at the Plant Level under Industry-wide Bargaining: A Study of the Engineering (Metal-working) Industry in Birmingham, England. By MILTON DERBER. Champaign, Ill.: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1955. Pp. 130. \$2.50.

This report includes a brief outline of the historical development of the relationship and the scope of collective bargaining between the Engineering and Allied Employers' National Federation and the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions and the roles of national and local officials in national negotiations; a comparative study of the functions, responsibilities, and consequences of union-management interaction within the national framework; and the author's discussion of inferences and conclusions. The monograph reports the author's findings of a six-month study in Britain, in which he tried to gain an insight into the impact of industry-wide bargaining on local establishments. The study had to be confined to a single community and to a small sample of establishments within it. The data

came from primary sources—documents, interviews, and direct observation.

The study suggests that industry-wide bargaining does not have to be so inflexible as is often assumed. A high degree of standardization of labor conditions directly affects production cost. But in relation to the rate for the job and the amount of overtime work, the system permitted variations and did not appear to remove labor conditions from the area of price-product competition. On most, if not all, non-wage issues little effort was made to achieve uniformity. A national balance of power, which, as the survey indicates, may have been reached at least temporarily after 1950, appeared to make compromise more likely. The national system also appeared to contribute, within certain limitations, to a reduction of potential conflict in the local establishments. Despite pressures to conform to national standards, the system did not appear to impair competitiveness and efficiency, and the establishments varied greatly in the quality and tone of the relations between labor and management. Local unions continued to exercise important functions. Other observations refer to the tendency to insulate the local system against intervention by governmental or private consultants or city politicians; to the general acceptance, on both sides, of the present system—the most serious problem centering around the degree of managerial freedom in decision-making; and to the impact of the system on more or less prosperous firms.

As the author points out, a six-month study can, at best, afford a starting point for a discussion of whether certain objectives can be effectively achieved within different organizational structures. The author doubts whether, with the exception of the national grievance machinery, the English system has created a greater degree of uniformity than has establishment and company bargaining supplemented by federal legislation in comparable American industries. These and other questions raised in this monograph deserve further attention.

DAISY L. TAGLIACCOZZO

Chicago, Illinois

Human Relations in Interracial Housing: A Study of the Contact Hypothesis. By DANIEL M. WILNER, ROSABELLE PRICE WALKLEY, and STUART W. COOK. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955. Pp. xv+167. \$4.00.

That the sampling survey provides an effective technique for testing specific hypotheses concerning human behavior is well demonstrated by this excellent model of a research monograph. From the clearly formulated set of hypotheses, through the careful construction of a focused research design, to the collection and systematic analysis of the data, the research proceeds in a professional and workman-like way to investigate the major sociological problem of the effect of contact upon attitudes. It makes a fitting sequel to a similarly well-done study by Deutsch and Collins (*Interracial Housing: A Psychological Evaluation of a Social Experiment* [Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951]) and is the second of a program of studies of intergroup relations by the Research Center for Human Relations at New York University.

Basically, the problem studied is the effect of proximity upon the attitudes of white housewives toward their Negro neighbors. Secondary factors investigated include initial attitude, the influence of social climate, the effect of varying proportions of minority-group members, and the dimensions of attitude undergoing change. In general, the findings substantiate those of Deutsch and Collins, of decreasing prejudice with increased contact. The proximity of the white family to the Negro family is the most significant factor. The findings on the relative effects of integrated versus segregated housing are inconclusive, but the authors offer several good explanations for not rejecting the hypothesis that integration does more to improve relationships.

The study design, unfortunately, is *ex post facto*. The attitudes of the respondents were not determined before they entered the housing project. However, an extremely detailed analysis was made of items indicative of initial attitudes, and it is reasonable to assume that the observed differences were not due to them. The interpretation offered of the strong effect of proximity is that closeness leads to greater opportunity for interaction, which develops a higher degree of functional interdependence, which, in turn, results in making more friends and developing more favorable attitudes. There is very little transfer of this favorable attitude from specific Negro neighbors to Negroes in general or to other minority groups. The positive relationship between contact, social climate, and attitude leads the authors to conclude that these variables act upon each other as both cause and effect.

While the study has many limitations in generalizability (i.e., all respondents were women; the housing projects contained only a small percentage of Negro families), the analysis is sophisticated, the conclusions are carefully qualified, and the theoretical importance of the findings is stated briefly and without overelaboration. It is unfortunate that the small number of cases prohibited any detailed analysis of *which* individuals were more likely to be affected by social contact, or an analysis of the Negro members of the project. However, one must often choose between the restricted study of a limited set of hypotheses versus a broader survey of more general hypotheses. The present project has chosen the latter alternative and done it well.

EDWARD A. SUCHMAN

Cornell University

Estructura social de la Argentina ("The Social Structure of Argentina"). By GINO GERMANI. Buenos Aires: Editorial Raigal, 1955. Pp. 273.

Despite its defects, Germani has possibly made the greatest contribution in Argentine sociology to date. Generally speaking, Latin-American sociologists have been reluctant to employ empirical or statistical methods in their social analyses, but this seems now to be changing. Whether or not the book went to press after the end of the Perón regime, there is an objectivity unique in Argentine social studies in the last dozen years.

The first half of the book is devoted to demography. Apparently, his is almost the only analysis of the Argentine population. It is based largely on the national censuses of 1869, 1895, 1914, and 1947.

The second part of the book deals with socioeconomic factors or what might be called "social structure." Germani's analysis of stratification into low, middle, and high is based principally on occupational categories and has been influenced by American and British materials on this subject. He writes of business and industrial organization and the problem of bureaucracy. Status is related to one's identification as *autonomo* or *dependiente* (self-employed or employee) and to age, sex, family position, region, and national origin. He investigates recent changes in the class structure as affected by trends in economic structure and immigration.

The last part, as a form of appendix, summarizes data on literacy and intellectual capacities, including I.Q. differentials in Argentina. Finally, there is an enlightening chapter on political ecology, with emphasis on class and occupational influences.

Generally, the second half of the book appears to be more original and sociologically mature than the first. The limitations of the work, especially for the American reader, are its repetition of already known definitions and its brevity, which make it only an introduction to social structure. Gaps indicating possibilities for future research are investigations of orientations within Argentine culture and especially of the subcultures. More discussion of regional variations and the role of national groups in institutional life of the country would have been valuable.

Although the work contains useful bibliographic notes, it is surprising to find no mention of Carl Taylor's *Rural Life in Argentina*. Not least among its assets are its clearly readable tables. The book is a distinct contribution to Latin-American sociology.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON

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Toward Understanding Germany. By ROBERT H. LOWIE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. viii+396. \$6.00.

Anthropologists who are turning from studies of preliterate tribal people to more comprehensive investigations of modern nations and states must face the problem of which of their techniques to use. Since anthropologists hunt the total culture, or parts of a culture in relation to the whole, the appropriate weapon will be more like a shotgun than a rifle. Variety of techniques provides the wide angle of fire which assures a bountiful catch—in the present instance a multidimensional view of German society. Social classes, rank, and family are discussed in detail but not treated as isolated topics. Other topics include democracy, Nazism, and the relations between Germans and Jews.

The Germany of Lowie's report is neither the political nor the cultural state but is the whole area where German is spoken. While recognizing that regional, as well as social, barriers exist between those who speak "Hochdeutsch" and those who speak one of the

several German dialects, Lowie sees greater unity in the common language than in any other criterion. Using a broadly comparative method and analyzing historical trends, he draws on historical sources, novels, essays, newspaper reports, and family memoirs in building up a composite picture of German society. Lowie discusses the development of each class in Germany and its counterparts in Austria, Switzerland, England, and France, and only after that does he consider present-day manifestations of class in Germany.

Lowie re-examines the hypothesis that many of Germany's social difficulties may be traced to its paternalistic family structure. For this he makes use of two surveys of family life made by others, one urban (Berlin) and one predominantly rural, published, respectively, in 1948 and 1930. From the analyses of these data he concludes that neither patriarchalism nor parental tyranny is as characteristic of German families as we have been led to believe. Writing in 1948, Bertram H. Schaffner found the German family patriarchal-authoritarian, but David Rodnick in the same year reported it to be matriarchal-authoritarian. Regional differences in culture and religion, as well as those between people of rural and urban background, make the picture more complicated than Lowie indicates.

When he comes to discuss the German Jews, Lowie is caught on the horns of a dilemma. On the one hand, evidence bearing on anti-Semitism in Germany goes back to the first dispersion of Jews into western Europe. On the other, an equally large amount of material indicates that, at least since Lessing's time, the well-educated, acculturated, upper-class Jew was accepted as an equal by those classes in whose interest it was to do so and by the greater part of the intelligentsia. Lowie shows conclusively that the treatment accorded the "common Jew" in Germany was part of a culture pattern extending over the whole of western Europe. He also documents at length the acceptance of the acculturated Jew, which continued until the advent of the Nazis, and persisted in rare instances in the face of Nazi opposition. Yet the reader is left with the feeling that the writer doth protest too much—for Lowie includes among the "accepted Jews" many who had been baptised and converted to Christianity, even (p. 312) the great grandson of Abraham Mendelssohn, who gave up Judaism and whose children espoused Chris-

tianity and married Gentiles. This would perpetuate the myth, "once a Jew, always a Jew," beyond the Nazi definition, "one grandparent of four."

In a study such as this, which aims at presenting the sociocultural background of the German people, the traditional tools of the anthropologist are inadequate. To "cover" a nation—or a people—as numerous and diverse as are the Germans, some sort of systematic sampling is expected. The haphazard use of data from informants, a few waitresses, taxi drivers, children, and university students, but mostly professional people and university faculty members, is interesting but not enough. Lowie recognizes this, of course, and supplements it with documentary materials.

The author has succeeded in showing which aspects of German culture are common to the culture of western Europe and which seem to be peculiar to Germany. He has done this in a comparative historical framework which may be commended for its thoroughness. Such a diachronic study of a major segment of western European culture calls for breadth of scholarship. When the cultures of Britain, France, Italy, and Spain are also studied from the comparative historical point of view, he says, we shall be able to divide western Europe into cultural subdivisions more meaningful than those provided by political and linguistic boundaries.

BERNICE A. KAPLAN

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Remarriage: A Study of Marriage. By JESSIE BERNARD. New York: Dryden Press, Inc., 1956. Pp. xii+372. \$3.75.

When Burgess and Wallin developed a new hybrid, a cross between a monograph and a textbook, with their *Engagement and Marriage*, they drew some protest. Now Jessie Bernard cites it as a justification for hers. I trust that this type of hybrid will not prevail in sociological writing. Despite the claims of publishers who wish to make a monograph as a textbook, the product is neither fish nor fowl.

The Preface (p. vii) states: "Professional colleagues who are not interested in the non-monographic materials will be able to select out of the contents the parts which constitute the original contribution of this book." Yes, but

it is not easy. Troublesome is the fact that the traditional components of a research report—the hypotheses, the sample, the methods, the findings, and the discussion—are scrambled. Thus the distribution of remarriages by previous marital status in two populations (Table I, p. 9) appears even before the nature of the sample is described.

Remarriage embraces essentially three sets of material: census data, intensive case studies, and 2,009 cases gathered by questionnaire completed by informants intimately acquainted with the remarried persons. The methods are only partially and sketchily described (p. 350), and the schedule of questions is not given, although these can be reconstructed, at least in part, from the tables which appear throughout the book.

It is a pity that the scientific contribution has been subordinated to the effort to produce a textbook, for this is the first book-length study of remarriage, and it adds much to our knowledge. Clearly and interestingly written, it includes a summary of the ways in which remarriages are institutionalized in various cultures; the extent and nature of remarriage in the United States, as disclosed by mass statistical data; separate, detailed analyses of the widowed and the divorced, who comprise the remarried population; selective factors in remarriage; the problems of adjustment, both for mates and between parents and children; and the success of remarriages.

The book closes with an incisive chapter on implications for social policy, for the theory of personality, for prediction, for the theory of social class, for an aging population, for counseling and education.

M. F. NIMKOFF

Florida State University

Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico. By J. MAYONE STYCOS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. xv+332. \$6.00.

In studying rates of population growth in the so-called "underdeveloped" areas of the world, demographic sociologists have usually relied upon census information for data and on traditional demographic techniques as analytical tools. The Indianapolis study and the work of the late Paul Hatt in Puerto Rico are pioneer efforts at a fresh start.

The study reported in this book is concerned

with variables like family structure, intra-family communication, culturally defined sex roles, and patterns of socialization and uses them to account for resistances to the use of contraceptive techniques among lower-class Puerto Rican families. To this extent the study is a continuation of Hatt's study, and Hatt's data are frequently cited.

The extremely small sample, i.e., seventy-two couples, will provoke serious question, although studies based on samples as small or even smaller have added significantly to our knowledge and understanding. Though Stycos shows that he is aware of this and other problems, he leaves a number of questions either unsolved or inadequately treated and at times implies a higher level of generality than the sample justifies.

Actually, this is a pilot study, the initial phase of research in which Reuben Hill, Kurt Back, and Stycos are collaborating. It is perhaps unfair to consider the book apart from the total study, but Stycos points out that it was published before the larger project was complete because of the urgent need of Puerto Rican officials for information, even though limited. However, the pilot study appears to be more valuable as an aid in designing a larger study than as a self-sufficient analysis of lower-class fertility.

The study's chief interest lies in its attempt to relate the variables previously mentioned to fertility in a transitional society; but, because of the sample's size and composition, none of the findings can be considered as more than suggestive. Also, there is an unnecessarily diffuse theoretical orientation. All levels of theory are represented: the gross organizing concepts of demographic transition, the effect of specific institutional structures, and much more subtle and Freudian concepts of sexual motivation. Further, the treatment of some of the theories is much too spotty. Perhaps it would have been wiser to concentrate on family and motivational theories.

ARNOLD S. FELDMAN

University of Delaware

Some Facts about Family Planning in Japan.

By the POPULATION PROBLEMS RESEARCH COUNCIL. ("Population Problems Series," No. 12.) Tokyo: Population Problems Research Council, Mainichi Newspapers, 1955. Pp. 120.

Third Public Opinion Survey on Birth Control in Japan. By the POPULATION PROBLEMS RESEARCH COUNCIL. ("Population Problems Series," No. 13.) Tokyo: Population Problems Research Council, Mainichi Newspapers, 1955. Pp. 38.

During the decade since the war, Japan has exhibited sharp declines in both birth and death rates. Prior to her defeat, Japan espoused the cause of large families and expanding population, but since the war smaller families and the idea of controlling population have grown increasingly popular.

The trend toward smaller families has been implemented by family planning, the story of which is recounted in the two booklets under consideration. The first, *Some Facts about Family Planning in Japan*, by Minoru Muramatsu, of the Institute of Public Health, describes the efforts to encourage family planning that have been made by official agencies and non-governmental groups.

Third Public Opinion Survey on Birth Control in Japan, by Tatsuo Honda, of the Population Problems Research Institute of the Ministry of Welfare, gives results of surveys made in 1950, 1952, and 1955. The three surveys show, among other things, a decreasing proportion of parents intending to depend upon children in their old age; an increased sense of responsibility toward children and an increasing desire for smaller families; some reduction of the opposition to contraception (with data on the prevalence of various techniques) and some increase in opposition to abortions; and an increase in the proportion of couples in the "age group requiring the contraceptive" from 19.5 per cent in 1950 to 34 per cent in 1955.

CLYDE V. KISER

Milbank Memorial Fund

The Psychology of Industrial Conflict. By ROSS STAGNER. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956. Pp. ix+550. \$8.00.

Stagner has attempted a very difficult task which should interest psychologists and other social scientists concerned with the study of industrial conflict. As the editors of the recent

volume, *Industrial Conflict* (Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues), point out, the emphasis of too many psychologists in this field has been applied and narrow in scope. Stagner does much to rectify the situation. That he does not succeed entirely is perhaps an indication of the complexity of the problem and the enormous amount of work still to be done.

The first six chapters are devoted to perception, motivation, frustration, and aggression—the key psychological concepts. The discussion of leadership and individual behavior in groups in the next two chapters is somewhat more social-psychological. In chapter ix there is an admittedly abbreviated treatment of the institutional environment in which the individual operates, covering such topics as goals, experiences, and frustrations. The remainder of the volume is an application of principles to some aspects of industrial conflict, such as union and management tactics, collective bargaining, and the strike. In the final two chapters Stagner examines and proposes principles which should lead to co-operation and peace.

Stagner is strongest in the early sections of the book, where he confines himself to the general development and properties of the psychological concepts. He is weakest whenever he tries to explain industrial conflict or peace solely in terms of individual motivation, frustration, and perception. Another shortcoming is that, despite the expressed view of the direct questionnaire as a "method of limited value" (p. 139), Stagner relies heavily on data from such studies but does not always present them adequately. Captions are frequently confusing, raw figures and percentages are not always differentiated, and—perhaps most serious—the sample size or base is often not given. In addition, these data from other studies are usually presented without any evaluation of the adequacy of the sample, the questionnaire, the analysis and the interpretation.

Though a gallant effort, which should certainly spur needed thinking and research by all social scientists interested in this area, the volume is a less useful text for most students in the field than the SPSSI volume mentioned above.

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THE MARINE RADIOMAN'S STRUGGLE FOR STATUS

JANE CASSELS RECORD

ABSTRACT

Labor solidarity can be breached not only by jurisdictional disputes, ideological differences, and personal rivalries but by struggles for status. The merchant-marine radio operator, marginal man of a hierarchical shipboard society, used his union as an instrument of upward mobility to dissociate himself from common crew members and rise into the officer ranks. Not satisfied to write officer privileges into its collective-bargaining contracts, the union successfully sought congressional confirmation of the higher status, only to have its members continue to encounter something less than full acceptance by deck and engineering officers, organized in separate craft unions.

The merchant marine has a hierarchical tradition. Even in the days of the sailing ship, men of the sea found themselves stringently divided and subdivided into occupational and social groupings. There was, of course, the major division between officers and crewmen. Not to be overlooked, however, were the substrata. Below the captain or master, the apex of shipboard society, were various grades of deck officers—first mate, second mate, and so on. Below the corps of licensed officers the crew were differentiated as petty officers, able seamen, and ordinary seamen. Social status¹ implications of occupation were subsequently reinforced by government licensing and rating of maritime personnel and by a chain of command which extended from the

captain down through the mates and petty officers to the deck sailor. Away from shore the ship became a governmental unit, authoritarian in character. A man's craft determined not only the social stratum to which he was assigned but also his status within the political hierarchy.

When steam replaced sail in the nineteenth century, another craft cluster came aboard and had to be fitted into shipboard society. The new engine-room staff, though itself soon stratified along familiar maritime lines, was accommodated by elongating rather than widening the social ladder. Two new rungs were added: the first for engineering officers, just below captains and mates; the second for firemen, oilers, and other crewmen, just below the deck sailors. The lowest rung of all continued to be occupied by the galley staff and cabin boy, fore-runners of the modern stewards crew. The latter, of course, expanded greatly as more emphasis came to be placed on the comfort of passengers and crew.

When trade unionism came to the maritime industry, the major groups chose to

¹ "Social status" is not used here in contradistinction to social class. In the sense that upward mobility into officer rank is open to the enterprising seaman and that frequent use is made of the opportunity, the strata of shipboard society conform to Weber's definition of social classes. "Status," however, is the term commonly used in the maritime industry to connote social rank and the appurtenant privileges.

organize separately. On the West Coast, where the first stable unions occurred, the deck sailors, the firemen, and the stewards had formed three craft unions by 1901. Forerunners of the present officer unions also reach back into the nineteenth century. An antecedent of the National Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots (usually referred to as the MMP or the Mates) was established for deck officers in 1887; the Marine Engineers Beneficial Association (MEBA or Engineers) dates from 1875. The pattern of labor organization which emerged in the maritime industry merely formalized a work-force segmentation which rested on craft and status and therefore antedated unions. Over the years, however, the unions themselves had a tendency to institutionalize and preserve old barriers.

With the assimilation of the engine-room staff, the structure of shipboard society remained essentially undisturbed for several decades, until, on the eve of World War I, technological innovation added yet another craft, namely, radio operators. Radio was still in its infancy in 1910 when the United States government began to require passenger liners to be equipped with it. The gadget—and its operator—was at first looked upon with considerable skepticism and disdain by the ship's company. The coming of the radioman gave rise to frictions beyond those emerging from the usual hierarchical rigidities. One sees something of this as he listens to a veteran pilot nostalgically recall the old days when a sailor could sign aboard a ship bound, say, for the Spice Islands and know that the destination would not be changed in mid-ocean. "A man who wanted to have himself a wing-ding in the Islands could be sure that there would be no blasted radio message six days out, changing course for Japan." The implication for the captain's position is clear. By putting him within reach of company officials at all times, radio had the effect of reducing his sphere of authority, which had been virtually unlimited once the ship left port. It would be surprising indeed had the new instrument not been viewed

with some hostility and had not the hostility extended to the man who operated the instrument.

Once again a new group had to be fitted into the social ladder. The radioman found it difficult to place himself in shipboard society. Any hierarchical system exhibits a certain rigidity toward the latest arrival; he is always a problem until his proper niche has been found. On some vessels the radio operator was treated as a member of the crew; on others he had many officer privileges. Sometimes he ate with the deck sailors; sometimes, at the captain's table. The size and location of his sleeping space varied greatly from ship to ship. The radioman thus became a kind of seagoing platypus, straddling the great divide between officers and crewmen, with no clear self-image and no firm status.

One of the first tasks which the revitalized unions of radio operators set for themselves in the 1930's was to win full officer status for their members. The Marine Division of the American Communications Association (ACA), a CIO affiliate which represented the great bulk of seagoing radiomen, succeeded by the 1940's in inserting the following clauses in most of its collective-bargaining contracts:

Each Radio Officer shall receive the same courtesies, privileges, and food uniformly accorded *Licensed Watch Officers*.

On cargo vessels, the Radio Officers shall eat in the *Officers'* mess. On Passenger vessels, when separate *Officers'* mess is not provided, the Radio Officers shall be accorded the same privilege of eating in the Salon as is accorded *Licensed Watch Officers*.

Each Radio Officer on passenger and cargo vessels shall have his own individual room for living quarters, provided, however, that on passenger vessels where more than three Radio Officers are carried *and licensed officers are required to share rooms*, the second and third assistant Radio Officers may also be required to share a room.

The rooms, facilities maintained therein, the painting and general appearance, condition and comfort of the room shall be maintained at a level *comparable with the quarters of licensed*

watch officers.

The Radio Room and the Radio Officers' quarters shall be cleaned and painted, bunks made up, and linen and towels changed by personnel other than the Radio Department, *in the same manner as these functions are performed for the ship's licensed officers.*²

These contract provisions, however, far from solving the problem of the radioman's position in shipboard society, served only to point up the ambiguity more sharply. Though enjoying officer privileges, he still lacked the official status of an officer. The official identification of a maritime man lay in the kind of papers issued him by the Bureau of Marine Navigation and Inspection (BMNI, now part of the Coast Guard). The BMNI issued officers' licenses to deck and engineering officers, registration cards to ship's doctors and pursers (who are classified as staff officers, as distinguished from the line officers, who are licensed), and certificates of service to all others. Thus the radioman's official status was the same as that of the deck sailor, the fireman, or the steward. To be sure, the radio operator had to be licensed by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) before he could obtain a BMNI certificate; but the FCC license carried no officer status: it merely certified the applicant as a competent technician.

To remove this deficiency, the ACA, beginning in 1937, was instrumental in the introduction of a series of congressional bills to grant BMNI officer licenses to radiomen. In hearings on these bills, ACA representatives, joined in later years by spokesmen for the AFL Radio Officers Union, admitted that their members already had virtually all the external trappings of officers, as written in their union contracts; what they were after was something less tangible, something that they repeatedly referred to as "status," "recognition," or "acceptance."

² "Agreement between American Communications Association and East Coast Dry Cargo and Passenger Ship Companies, June 14, 1946," secs. 30, 31, and 32, in part. (Italics mine.) These clauses were standard.

What we want is just that the radio operator be officially a radio officer . . . we are not classified as officers, but we are called radio operators, under the different names—"sparkers," sometimes, or "Marconi men," or whatever it is, but no official title at all . . . we are just a cog in the wheel, just a human being on board; that is all.³

The marginality⁴ of the radioman in shipboard society is further indicated by the following statements:

What kind of animals are we in the eyes of the law. We are licensed, but we cannot be listed as licensed officers. Certainly we cannot be listed as unlicensed men, so we are set up as a class apart in a crew of a ship.⁵

Our work consists primarily of handling ship's business, which is transmitted to us from the home offices. . . . This business must, of necessity, be transacted through the officers of the vessel. Our not having official recognition as officers ourselves, makes this very embarrassing at times.⁶

All other men who have charge of a watch, or are responsible for the operation and control of the vessel, have been given official recogni-

³ Testimony of an ACA representative (Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, *Hearings on H.R. 3052* [76th Cong., 1st sess. (Washington, D.C., 1939)], pp. 24, 26).

⁴ The concept of the marginal man as one who "lives in two worlds but is not quite at home in either" was developed by Robert E. Park *et al.*, who suggested, incidentally, that the marginal man is inordinately sophisticated, "civilized," and insightful (see Park's *Race and Culture* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950], pp. 51, 354-55, 376; and David Riesman, *Individualism Reconsidered* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954], "Marginality, Conformity and Insight," pp. 166-78). In connection with several studies the author has extensively interviewed leaders of practically every maritime union and has been impressed with the peculiar degree of urbanity, wit, perceptiveness, and sense of detachment displayed by radio union officials. The academician is apt to establish rapport with these men to an extent not likely in the other cases. This may be pure coincidence; it is merely noted in passing.

⁵ Subcommittee of Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, *Hearings on H.R. 4067 et al.* (79th Cong., 1st sess. [Washington, D.C., 1945]), p. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 86.

tion so that they may enforce discipline and have obedience from those who are under their orders while on watch. We do not have that same authority at the present time.⁷

I have had over 20 years' active service as a radio operator on American ships and believe I can understand the feeling of shame, ignominy, and failure felt by many American radio operators when it is brought to their attention they are sailing under false colors when wearing an "officer's" uniform without having the legal right to it. . . . The travelling public seems to think well of us and invariably expresses surprise to learn of our peculiar position in the ship's complement. . . . We are very tired of living a lie.⁸

Yes! Sparks . . . has been treated as every thing from combination deck hand to chief operator on the giant ocean liners, and has lived every place on board a ship, practically speaking, from the chain locker to his own private suite and bath. . . . Due to the fact that radio officers have banded together in an effective union they are now accorded, to an increasing degree, their just due, as an officer and a gentleman. . . .⁹

. . . the radiomen . . . are in a highly confidential position of trust, yet their [*sic*] is a hesitancy on the part of other shipboard officers to accept radiomen as full-fledged officer brothers in full.¹⁰

In spite of not having achieved full acceptance, the radio operator's "off-duty hours are spent with the ship's officers. If he invited crew members into his quarters,

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 86-87.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 88-89. Just prior to World War II a bill was introduced to permit radiomen, along with licensed deck and engineer officers of the merchant marine, to wear on their uniforms the officers' insignia of the Naval Reserve. To this the Navy emphatically objected because the "public at large would consider anyone wearing the insignia to be an officer," when in reality the radio operator had an official status comparable to that of the enlisted sailor. The implication here was that the bill would permit these marginal radiomen to "pass" as officers when they were on leave (*Hearings on H.R. 3052*, p. 5).

⁹ *Hearings on H.R. 3052*, p. 38.

¹⁰ *Hearings on H.R. 4067 et al.*, p. 89.

or if he went aft and mingled socially with the crew, he would lose his job."¹¹

When I went to sea I had the feeling on board ship that I was neither fish nor fowl. . . . [This bill would give radiomen] a status so that there could be no question about anyone else's attitude toward their position or *any feeling of their own* as to whether or not their position was spelled out firmly and concretely. . . .¹²

The radio unions consistently rejected all compromise proposals that their members be designated staff officers, since this would be "lowering the status from what we presently have aboard ship." Their representatives made it clear that they wanted to be identified with the line officers—that is to say, with the navigation and operation of the ship rather than with peripheral functions. "At any time when a ship is in danger, the radio officer becomes perhaps the second most important man aboard ship, and there are occasions when he is the most important [e.g., in shipwreck]."¹³

In 1948, more than a decade after the first such bill was introduced, Congress finally amended the Merchant Marine Act to require the Bureau of Navigation and Inspection to license radio operators as ship's officers, along with mates and engineers.¹⁴ His shipmates might continue to call him "Sparks," but the radioman had at long last erected an official partition between himself and the common sailor. He was now an officer and a gentleman; it said so not only in his collective-bargaining contracts but also on the slip of paper given him by the BMNI.

Real status, however, is not entirely a matter of official designation. Transition from marginality to full officerhood de-

¹¹ Subcommittee of Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, *Hearings on H.R. 1036* (80th Cong., 1st sess. [Washington, D.C., 1947]) p. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 68. (Italics mine.)

¹³ *Hearings on H.R. 4067 et al.*, pp. 38, 47.

¹⁴ *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. LXII, Part I, pp. 232-34.

pendent upon changes in the minds of the other licensed officers and, for the radioman, upon a new self-image flowing from the changed perspective of his colleagues. That it would take more than an act of Congress to insure these alterations became apparent from two subsequent developments. The first had to do with proposed mergers of officer unions; the second, with a jurisdictional dispute between the Mates and the leading radio officers' organization.

Soon after the new licensing law was passed, the marine radiomen seceded from the American Communications Association, primarily because of political differences.¹⁵ They first sought merger with the MEBA, a fellow CIO union; but the Engineers were unreceptive. The radio operators then established a separate organization, the American Radio Association¹⁶ (ARA or Radio Officers), within the CIO. In 1950 the Mates and the Engineers began a series of discussions concerning a possible merger of the two groups. There were the usual hurdles which such proposals must clear, such as the vested interests of two union officialdoms and other institutional impediments. Added to these was the question of affiliation, since the MMP was in the AF of L and the MEBA in the CIO. The original plan of merger was eventually discarded in favor of a "mutual assistance pact" including semiannual joint meetings of the two executive committees, co-operation in contract demands and contract enforcement, and concerted legislative efforts. The national memberships ratified the pact overwhelmingly in August, 1953.¹⁷ Significantly, the Radio Officers received no invitation to any of the talks which took place over three

years; nor were they invited to become a party to the mutual assistance pact.¹⁸

The second development, the jurisdictional dispute between the MMP and the ARA, was touched off by a technological innovation called the radiotelephone. The latter presented a real threat to the "job security" of ARA members; already radiomen have been replaced in Great Lakes shipping, where distances do not exceed the existing effective radius of the instruments. ARA officials, alert to the immediate implications for coastal shipping—and to the portents for overseas runs as longer-radius transmission became feasible—were anxious to secure clear-cut jurisdiction over radiophones as soon as possible.

On the West Coast a number of shipping lines had already installed the new equipment on some ships for use when the vessels were near shore. During negotiations for the 1951 West Coast contract, the ARA asked the Pacific Maritime Administration (PMA), bargaining agent for the shipowners, for a special bonus of ten dollars per month wherever the phones were placed in the radio room (commonly referred to as the "radio shack"), the argument being that the new equipment meant more work for the radio staff. The PMA granted the bonus; however, the contract clause setting forth the "customary duties" of radiomen carried a signal change in wording. The previous agreement, executed in 1948, had given to ARA members operation and maintenance of "all radio communications"; the 1951 contract said "all radio-telegraph communications," thus leaving jurisdiction over the radiotelephone undefined.

By the spring of 1952, after the ARA convention resolved to seek sovereignty over

¹⁵ The ACA was subsequently expelled from the CIO for alleged Communist domination.

¹⁶ Note the use of the word "Association" rather than "Union." Avoidance of the latter is characteristic of officer unions: e.g., the *National Organization of Masters, Mates and Pilots* and the *Marine Engineers Beneficial Association* in contrast with most of the non-officer groups: e.g., the *Sailors' Union of the Pacific* and the *National Maritime Union*.

¹⁷ *Marine Engineer*, August 31, 1953, p. 1.

¹⁸ In checking through the various hearings on bills to grant officer licenses to radiomen, the author could find no instance in which spokesmen for the MMP or MEBA appeared in support of the radio unions. There were supporting statements from the CIO Maritime Committee, to which the MEBA belonged, but no separate appeal from the MEBA itself, though the National Maritime Union, another Maritime Committee affiliate, made separate appeals.

the new equipment, most of the West Coast lines that had adopted radiophones had elected to instal them on the bridge or in the captain's stateroom, management being motivated, at least in part, by a desire to avoid the ten-dollar bonus which would have accrued to the radioman had the phones been placed in his department. Now, however, the ARA demanded that the instruments be transferred there. The ship-owners refused, protesting the added wage costs and claiming that the ARA had ceded jurisdiction over the phones by virtue of the amended contract language. The MMP contended that the phones should remain on the bridge because they were an aid to navigation. Things came to a head when the ARA called a work stoppage in June, 1952. After a few hours the PMA agreed to take the controversial equipment off the ships until the dispute over it could be decided. A settlement was reached, after protracted three-way negotiations, in April, 1953; the MMP formally renounced jurisdiction over the operation and maintenance of "any radio or electronic communication devices on American Fleet vessels."¹⁹

There was nothing in the development of a jurisdictional dispute which indicated *per se* the existence of a status issue between the deck and radio officers; technological innovation can cause border trouble between any two unions. But in the articulation of this particular dispute there was a strong suggestion of antagonism which reached beyond economic rivalry. A concern for the protocols of status was reflected in one captain's statement that he was "not going to run down to any [blank] radio shack every time I want to use the phone." Radiomen, in discussing the issue, were wont to minimize the importance of the captain's role in the operation of the ship, now that navigation has come to depend so heavily on electronic devices—radar, loran, etc. "Actually, you could almost run a ship

with an automatic pilot. If any of the mechanical equipment goes on the blink, the Radio Officer is the only guy who can fix it. So, looking to the future, who's the most important man aboard?"²⁰

This kind of rivalry was sometimes aired in public; for example, during congressional hearings. One representative of the AFL Radio Officers Union told of being radioman on a ship caught in fog.

For about 2½ days I had to navigate that tanker to San Francisco. . . . I did not get any sleep. The whole responsibility depended on the radio department. . . . [On another ship] the gyroscope stopped. . . . The second mate, whose duties include taking care of the gyroscope, looked all over it and tightened all connections and cleaned up everything. That exhausted the limits of his ingenuity. The chief engineer went into it with instruments [as] adapted to straightening out that trouble, as they would be to the repair of a fine watch. . . . Well, eventually it came back to me to do something about it.²¹

That the deck officers were aware of such sentiments on the part of radiomen was evidenced by the remark of a former captain, speaking in behalf of management, which opposed issuing officers' licenses to radio operators: "After awhile they will claim we do not need a captain; that the radio operator can run the ship."²²

In seeking officer status, maritime radio operators used their unions as vehicles of upward mobility rather than as instruments of labor solidarity. That their driving aim was to secure for themselves a rung above common seamen in the ship's social ladder is made clear by the testimony of an ACA official at the 1939 hearings. Unless officer status could be written into law, he claimed,

²⁰ Both quotations are from personal conversations with union representatives during the dispute.

²¹ *Hearings on H.R. 1036*, p. 49. The prestige of a workman may be an extension of the prestige of the mechanical equipment he commands. Just as some of the disdain for his new gadget rubbed off on the radioman in the early days, his worth in the eyes of his shipmates rose with the complexity and usefulness of his equipment in a later period.

²² *Hearings on H.R. 3052*, p. 22.

¹⁹ Letter from Captain J. M. Bishop, national secretary-treasurer of the MMP, to W. R. Steinberg, national president of the ARA, dated April 27, 1953 (copy in ARA files).

there would be no surety that the radioman's privileges, won through collective bargaining, might not at some future time be taken away from him, in which case he would be

forced to change his quarters to those among the crew . . . at the present time the radio operator eats with the officers' mess, or with the passengers on passenger ships. In the future, we have no guaranty he might not be forced to eat with the unlicensed personnel. I mean there are all these things which we want to guarantee.²³

When congressional committee members expressed difficulty in comprehending the union's preoccupation with official status, the response of the ACA representative was: "I do not see why the committee should look askance at attempts of individuals to better their status, to obtain a position which would give them greater prestige."²⁴

There is nothing new in the fact that a group of American craft workers perceived the trade union as an elevator into the middle classes. Nor is the maritime industry distinguished by the fact that its crafts form an occupational hierarchy which reflects itself in social stratification. But the maritime worker is the captive of his occupational status to an inordinate degree. He must live as well as work within the structure of shipboard society for long periods of time. The pattern of his life, on duty and in free hours, is a function of craft standing to an extent not characteristic of most jobs. True, the hod-carrier is outranked by bricklayers both on the job and in the eyes of the larger community; but he goes home in the evening to sit at the head of his own table. Where the sailor sits—indeed, what he eats—may depend on his craft designation. In

his leisure time the shoreside worker can, by his choice of dress and equipment, lose his occupational identity in the impersonality of an urban society. The compactness of the shipboard community, on the other hand, makes every man's identity known to his shipmates; as for the passengers, the insignia of the seaman's uniform label him plainly for all to see.

On most scores radiomen have demonstrated a considerable feeling of solidarity with their maritime colleagues. They made common cause with deck sailors, firemen, stewards, longshoremen, and others in the great strike of 1934. The ARA's predecessor was active in the Maritime Federation of the Pacific, a coalition of water-front unions during the 1930's. Radio operators have an impressive record for joining other coalitions and backing fellow unions on strike. The political disposition of the ARA leadership and much of the membership is in the liberal tradition. The radioman's feelings were therefore not unambivalent toward the quest for officerhood. This is indicated by the defensive tone of the following statement: "There is no greater class-conscious group than seamen and, although radio operators have been the most democratic and friendly of all, they have been forced to fall in line with the fetish of rank in order to avoid humiliation."²⁵ Considering the over-all record of the union, the ARA's peculiar preoccupation with status can perhaps be fully understood only with reference to the stringency of the hierarchical structure in which its members have lived and moved and had their being and to the far-reaching implications of occupational designation in shipboard society.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

● SACRAMENTO, CALIFORNIA

²⁵ *Hearings on H.R. 4067 et al.*, p. 90.

ORIGINS OF AMERICAN OCCUPATIONAL ELITES, 1900-1955¹

STUART ADAMS

ABSTRACT

Analysis of trends in vertical occupational mobility can be given greater precision by restricting informants to clearly delimited occupational groups and by using North-Hatt origins of informants as a base line for measurement. Use of this procedure on five occupational "elites" in four regions of the United States discloses several distinctive patterns in vertical mobility. These include a tendency for mobility rates to diminish in a westward direction; nation-wide contraction of rates of mobility into some occupations during the depression; regionally specific contractions of mobility rates during periods of changing educational requirements in an occupation; and a tendency for "elite" occupational origins to converge on mean working-force origins during the last fifty years.

One striking characteristic of recent studies in vertical occupational mobility is that they reflect current economic conditions. The field studies of the 1930's, for example, produced a literature heavy with emphasis on crystallizing social structures and narrowing channels of upward mobility; but in the following years of prosperity sociologists have tended to discover that the American class system is still open and that opportunity at the apex is as great as ever.²

Both findings appear to be reasonable, since capacity to change position in the social structure has important economic correlates. It also seems reasonable, however, to believe that mobility rates may be showing some effects of "irreversible" processes in the social system. Several such processes have been noted in recent decades: the passing of the frontier, the increasing

differentiation of social structures, the virtual cessation of immigration, the decline of old motivational patterns, and the emergence of a "new" American character. These are all relatively massive processes, each capable of producing effects which might not be wholly obscured by fluctuations in the gross national product.

The apparent absence of such effects in mobility rates may conceivably be attributed to counterinfluences, such as rising levels of education, equalization of economic opportunity, and a growing need for elite skills. The alternative possibility is that the negative findings are largely a consequence of insensitive techniques of investigation. The exploratory character of current research in mobility makes the latter an especially plausible hypothesis.

In the attempt at the precise measurement of vertical occupational mobility reported here, two relatively commonplace procedures were used.³ Attention was first focused on high-status or "elite" occupations—in which, presumably, signs of chang-

¹ The research reported here was made possible in part by assistance from the Ohio State University Development Fund. The writer is also indebted to the department of sociology, University of California at Berkeley, for the use of its facilities in the West Coast phase of the study.

² For examples of this fluctuation in estimates of mobility in the United States compare (1) Robert and Helen Lynd, *Middletown in Transition* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937), and Gideon Sjoberg, "Are Social Classes in America Becoming More Rigid?" *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 775-83, or (2) W. L. Warner and J. O. Low, *The Social System of the Modern Factory* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1947), and William Petersen, "Is America Still the Land of Opportunity?" *Commentary*, XVI (1953), 477-86.

³ A number of papers on special aspects of this study have appeared elsewhere. For representative items see, by the writer, the following: "Real and Nominal Origins of Selected Occupational Elites," *Research Studies of the State College of Washington*, XXIII (1955), 121-29; "Business Size as a Factor in Business Leader Mobility," *Ohio Journal of Science*, LIV (1954), 360-64; and "Trends in Occupational Origins of Physicians," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 404-9.

ing mobility should first become evident. Then an occupational prestige scale—the North-Hatt scale⁴—was adopted as the basic measuring instrument. These procedures appeared to offer several advantages in the derivation of sensitive and meaningful indexes of occupational origin. Such indexes, in turn, could easily be reinterpreted as rates of vertical occupational mobility.

The subjects of the study were approximately twenty-five hundred members of five occupations: (1) business leaders—defined as owners or principal executives employing one hundred or more persons; (2) physicians; (3) attorneys; (4) salaried and independent engineers; and (5) high-school and college teachers. Not all these occupations are customarily designated as “elite,” but each is well above the mean status of the average United States male worker as measured on the North-Hatt scale.⁵

Data on the social histories of the informants were collected between 1947 and 1955 in four regions. In three—the Northeast, the Midwest, and the West Coast—systematic samples of members of the occupations were reached first by mailed questionnaire, then by follow-up interviews with random samples of non-respondents in the mail canvass. In the fourth region—the Great Plains area—only the occupation of attorney was sampled. In this area, as in the two regions to the east, the sample of attorneys was reached by personal interview exclusively. On the West Coast, attorneys

were sampled by the typical mail-and-interview procedure.

Sampling was restricted to two middle-sized cities in each region with the exception of the West Coast, where the sample site of all but one occupational subgroup was a large metropolitan area. This was a sample of college teachers, which was drawn from each of the several units in a state university system. The sample cities were chosen for representativeness of the occupational distribution of the urban male labor force in the states where the cities were located. The metropolitan area, located centrally on the West Coast, was chosen primarily for its accessibility.

The final group of informants numbered approximately 60 per cent of the original sample lists. Mail returns amounted to about 45 per cent, and interview returns roughly 15 per cent of the lists. The 45 per cent returns were relatively uniform across the regions sampled by mail, with a slight tendency for percentage of returns to increase in a westward direction. There were, on the other hand, conspicuous differences in returns by occupation. Lowest returns were by business leaders, ranging from 35 to 40 per cent, while the highest were by college teachers, with a return of about 60 per cent.

Significant differences between mail and interview returns were found only in the eastern regions, and there primarily in medicine and business. Differences between the two types of returns diminished progressively in regions to the west, and on the West Coast discrepancies on key variables were negligible in law, medicine, and business. No interviews were undertaken in engineering and teaching on the West Coast, since mail returns in these occupations had shown relatively little bias in the eastern areas. In the Midwest, no business leaders were interviewed because of pressure of time. However, interview returns from business leaders in regions to the east and west made it possible to obtain certain adjusted values for the Midwest by interpolation.

⁴ Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, “Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation,” *Opinion News*, 1947, pp. 3-13. This scale consists of prestige scores for common occupations, with values ranging from 33 to 96. Assignment of a prestige score to the occupation of an informant’s father provides a numerical value for the “occupational origin” of the informant. These North-Hatt origin scores may then be manipulated statistically to obtain mean origin values for groups of informants or to ascertain trends in mean origins among several groups of informants.

⁵ The average American male worker in 1950 had a mean score of approximately 60 points on the North-Hatt scale. This may be compared with 93 for physicians, 86 for attorneys, 84 for civil engineers, 79 for instructors in public schools, and from 82 to 88 for various categories of “business leaders.”

For all regional subsamples where both mail and interview returns were obtained, working samples were constructed by weighting the interview component before combining interview and mail returns. The weighting factor was the reciprocal of the fraction of non-respondents interviewed in the follow-up—roughly one-fourth to one-third. Subsamples consisting exclusively of interview returns and the mail returns from engineers and teachers on the West Coast were taken as adequate representations of the populations from which they were drawn.

In the analysis of the data, interest centered mainly on two relationships: (1) the trend in occupational origins of each group in the time covered by informant age differences and (2) regional differences in those trends within each group. The first relationship provided an index of mobility rates over time; the second, an index of mobility rates by geographical regions.

To facilitate analysis, the origin of each informant was expressed as a numerical value, derived by referring the father's principal occupation to the North-Hatt scale. Occupations not listed specifically were scored by analogy. As has been shown elsewhere, the North-Hatt scale appears to have good intergenerational stability;⁶ hence its use in scoring occupations over a fifty-year span is warranted empirically. No serious error seems to arise from use of the instrument as an interval scale. This feature of the scale has the advantage that it provides automatic adjustment for minor changes in the composition of the labor force.

As a correction for major changes in the composition of the labor force, i.e., those which alter the mean origin of those in the labor force significantly over time, it was considered necessary to adjust for secular trend in origins of males in the labor force in the four sample regions. However, the

absence of suitable data by region led to substitution of the national trend in origins of males in the labor force as the base for all regions. This basic trend was obtained by scoring each of the Bureau of the Census occupational groupings by the mean North-Hatt score for occupations in that group, computing the mean score for the male labor force in each ten-year period and using these means to construct a linear trend line for the period from 1910 to 1950. This is, properly speaking, the trend in occupational *status* of the male labor force, but occupational *origin* may be assumed to be a parallel trend for a population of such magnitude. With the regression coefficient of this trend, .05, as a correction factor, it was possible to adjust the raw North-Hatt origin trends of the sample groups so as to measure movement in relation to the mean origin of males in the labor force.

The first point of interest in the analysis was the variation in occupational origins of the several elites in time. Variations were ascertained both as regression coefficients and as graphic representations of trends in cohort origin means. In each case the summary statistics were computed so as to show the trend in relation to the mean origin of males in the labor force. Table 1 shows the pattern of regression coefficients for the several occupations over the four sample regions.

Since a negative coefficient signifies a decline in origin scores with time, the values in the table indicate a general trend toward lower origins among members of the occupations studied. This is equivalent to stating that in the last fifty years there has been a broad movement toward increased vertical mobility into them. The data may also be interpreted as showing that the origins of the elites are tending to converge on the mean origins of males in the labor force.

For some of the occupations under consideration, the values in Table 1 are not satisfactory representations of the actual trend in mean origins. A more realistic picture is available in the curves of mean origin

⁶ See the writer's "Trends in Occupational Origins of Business Leaders," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 542-48, for an elaboration of this point.

shown in Figure 1, which are based on means derived from five-year groups of informants classed by date of birth. To reduce fluctuations arising from sampling error, the plotted values are either ten-year or fifteen-year moving averages. The mean number of informants per trend line in the figure is 139 with interviews unweighted and 173 with interviews weighted.

Figure 1 conveys some impression of a general decline in origins over time, although perhaps not so consistently as might be inferred from Table 1. A number of other patterns are also evident in the origin curves. One noteworthy trend is shown by the independent professionals—attorneys,

in the early 1900's. In law a similar tendency may be observed with respect to time of lowest origins; a minimum is reached in the West Coast area some thirty years after the Northeast. Among salaried engineers the peak in origins in the Northeast lies outside the limits of the smoothed curve, but the peaks in the Midwest and West Coast curves come in the early and late 1890's, respectively.

A third point of interest is the suggestion in the curves of origin of the engineers and business leaders in the two eastward regions of a reaction to the depression of the 1930's. In both groups of curves there is a cresting of origins in the cohorts which were most

TABLE 1
REGRESSION OF NORTH-HATT ORIGIN SCORES ON
TIME, BY OCCUPATION AND REGION*

Occupation	West Coast	Great Plains	Midwest	Northeast
Physician.....	+.003	.....	-.293†	-.144†
Business leader.....	-.063	.....	-.095	-.059
Attorney.....	-.082†	-.091	-.032	+.043
Engineer, salaried.....	-.154†	.....	-.037	-.179†
Teacher, high-school.....	-.032	.....	-.274†	-.244†
Engineer, independent...	-.020	.....	.....	.....
Teacher, college.....	-.146†	.....	.....	.....

* Average *N* by occupation and region (interviews weighted), 173.

† Coefficient of regression significantly lower than zero, at .01 level.

physicians, and consulting engineers. In the last two decades some movement toward higher origins has occurred in each of these professions in all the regions sampled. The magnitude of the movement varies with region, being maximal in the east and falling off more or less regularly toward the west.

A second notable tendency is apparent mainly in medicine, in law, and among salaried engineers. The tendency is that of phase displacement in the origin curves. In each region recruitment into these occupations appears to have gone through distinct cycles which occurred at different times and in predictable sequence in the several regions. The origin curves for physicians, for example, indicate that this profession was recruited from the highest origins in the Northeast in the late 1880's, in the Midwest in the middle 1890's, and on the West Coast

likely to have been entering their occupations in the depression years. The crest for business leaders occurs several years earlier than for engineers, implying that the critical ages for gaining a foothold are several years apart for the recruits in these two fields. The absence of phase displacement in these crests indicates that the cause operated simultaneously in the several regions and hence is of a different character from that responsible for the crests and troughs in the curves for physicians and attorneys.

A final point of interest in Figure 1 is the idiosyncratic features of the curves of origin for the West Coast, primarily in the data on business leaders, salaried engineers, and high-school teachers. The curve for business leaders shows an absence of cresting for the 1900-1909 cohort; it also shows rising origins at a time when the two other regions experienced decline, i.e., during the last

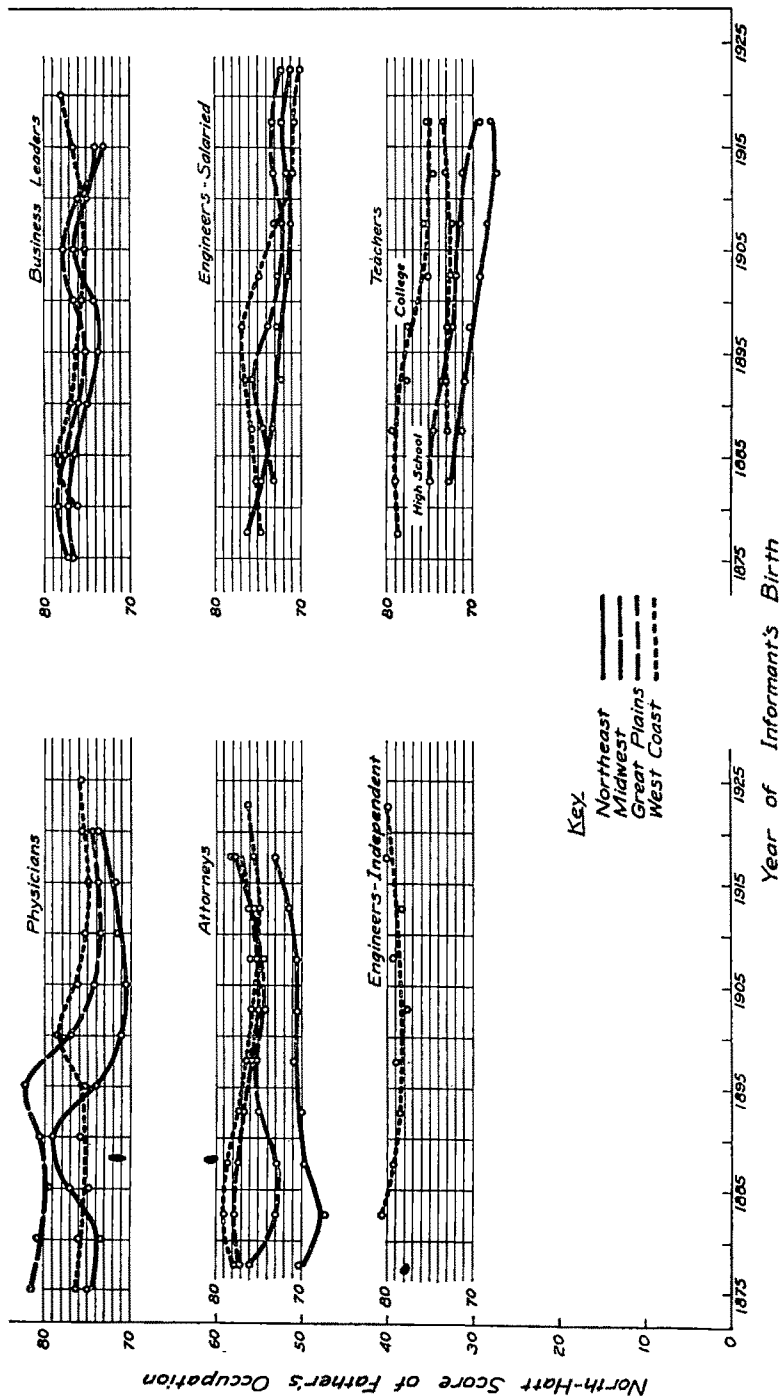


FIG. 1.—Trends in North-Hatt origins of selected occupational elites, 1900–1955

fifteen or twenty years. The curve for engineers is of interest primarily for its failure to crest markedly during the depression, and the curve for high-school teachers for its reversal of the pattern for teachers in the two regions to the east. In two of these occupations, at least, it appears that trends in West Coast mobility are qualitatively different from those in regions to the east.

One aspect of the origin curves which merits special consideration is the relationship between the regional curves within each occupation. Invariably the curve for the Northeast lies in the lowest mean position in

analogy in the trend of attorney means. The two factors most clearly associated with low origins—high density of educational institutions and high proportion of foreign-born—are less characteristic of the Plains than of the other regions studied. Furthermore, high-status fathers of attorneys in the Plains sample had appreciably more male offspring than equivalent fathers in the samples of attorneys of the Northeast and Midwest. Hence birth-rate differentials, as well as accessibility of education and proportions of second-generation immigrants, operate in favor of the highest occupational origins in this region.

The engineering and business means,

TABLE 2
ORIGIN MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS, BY OCCUPATION AND REGION

OCCUPATION	WEST COAST		GREAT PLAINS		MIDWEST		NORTHEAST	
	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ	M	σ
Physician.....	77.4	8.2	78.7*	...	77.7	10.4	74.3	9.9
Business leader.....	76.7	7.7	77.5*	...	77.3	7.0	76.5	7.9
Attorney.....	77.0	7.6	77.8	7.4	76.4	8.3	71.8	10.9
Engineer, salaried.....	74.4	8.3	74.4*	...	74.3	7.9	73.9	6.1
Teacher, high-school.....	74.2	9.0	74.2*	...	73.6	8.6	71.7	8.9
Engineer, independent.....	80.2	6.0	....	....	....	....	....	....
Teacher, college.....	77.3	7.4	....	....	....	....	....	....

* Extrapolated from values in regions to the east.

Figure 1. The curve for the West Coast, on the other hand, appears to lie in the highest position. This pattern suggests that mean occupational origins tend to rise in an east-to-west direction.

To throw further light on this possibility, origin means for the several occupations were computed by region, as shown in Table 2. Values for the four occupations which were not sampled in the Plains were obtained by extrapolation from values to the eastward, the attorney means serving as a system of reference.

The regional means show a general trend toward higher values in a westerly direction until the Plains area is reached, followed by a decline on the West Coast. The assumption that the four other occupations, like law, reach their highest origins in the Plains may at first appear gratuitous. This assumption seems more reasonable upon examination, however, even apart from the

which showed some common characteristics in the temporal curves, show further similarities in the regional data. The origins of the two occupations exhibit less variation between regions than do those of the three other occupations and, in particular, less of a tendency to decline sharply in the eastern region.

There are no readily apparent clues as to the probable trend in origins of college teacher and consulting or independent engineer which might be found if these groups were to be sampled in regions to the east. The most plausible assumption is that the independent engineers would parallel the business leaders in origin, while the college teachers would follow a trend like that among physicians and attorneys.

The foregoing analysis has shown that mobility into the upper occupational strata of this society is a fairly complex phenome-

non. Within the five occupations studied, at least three patterns of mobility have been distinguished. The first is a simple movement toward lower origins—i.e., gradually increasing vertical mobility. This is the most general trend evident in these occupations. The second is a transient cresting phenomenon—an abrupt rise, followed by an equally abrupt decline to former levels of origin. This may occur simultaneously throughout an occupation or, more typically in the present case, be displaced chronologically across geographical regions. In the latter case the displacement is invariably in an east-to-west direction. The third pattern is that exhibited by the independent professions—a period of decline followed by a gradual movement toward higher origins in recent decades.

The present report is not intended as a definitive explanation of the phenomena observed here. However, provisional interpretations are offered of some of the tendencies.

The most general process observed—the broad movement toward lower origins—probably has a fairly ready explanation: the demand for high social and technical skills is outrunning reproduction in families in the higher social strata, and the growing deficiency is being met by recruitment of abler individuals from lower strata. Downward retraining is being facilitated in the present era by the growing accessibility of education, standardization of cultures across strata, equalization of incomes, and similar tendencies.

There are undoubtedly several reasons for the variations in trends as between the salaried and independent professions. One is variability in criteria of admission to the occupation—a factor probably reflected both in mean level of origin and in fluctuations in origin as the criteria of admission are modified. A second reason is the differential in effective need for the types of skill involved. Engineering and teaching are professions whose growth is more rapid than the rise in general population; law and medicine are not. The disparity in rate of growth found among the professions ap-

pears to be mirrored in the divergent patterns of their trends in origin in recent decades.

Shifting values and declining motivation to enter the independent professions also appear to be involved in the diverging trends. This may be one aspect of the growing desire for the "secure" job—the salaried professional job or managerial position—which is allegedly becoming characteristic of college graduates, particularly in eastern communities.⁷ There may also be a growing disinclination on the part of American youth to commit itself to the long pull of medical or legal training in view of the expanding number of attractive alternative careers.⁸

As in the case of the occupational differences in trends of origin, there are probably several reasons for some of the striking regional differences, the two principal explanations being, probably, again differences in the availability of education and in proportion of foreign-born persons in the population. The latter seems especially important in the Northeast sample, and there particularly in the independent professions. The children of foreign-born parents exhibit relatively high motivation toward these professions and achieve professional status in numbers significantly higher than the social status of the family would appear to warrant.

Within the Northeast, also, discrimination in employment appears to enter into

⁷ As an example, "Class of '49," *Fortune*, 1949, pp. 92 ff., reports a survey in which only 2 per cent of "U.S. college Seniors" state that they are "going into business for themselves," in contrast to 75 per cent or more of the Seniors in two universities in the Southwest.

⁸ In "Not Enough Medical Students," *New York Times*, May 29, 1955, p. E9, an investigation into reasons for the "steady decrease in number of applicants to medical schools throughout the nation over the past five years" is discussed. The principal findings: "unwillingness to undertake the long training; adverse publicity given the profession by advocates of government control; lack of sufficient financial support; fear of excessive requirements of military service; desire to marry early and rear a family; attractive industrial jobs and increasing opportunities for earning a good living earlier in life in other scientific fields."

the significant differences between mean occupational origins. The failure of origins of engineers and business leaders to show an appreciable falling-off there may be attributed to the inability of members of minority groups to enter these fields as readily as law, medicine, or teaching.

The phenomenon of cresting in the temporal curves of origins appears to have two principal causes: depression and rising requirements for entrance. Depression apparently shifts some candidates for a profession who have low status into other careers, leaving a permanent hump in the curve at the location of the cohort most directly affected. Rising entrance requirements apparently operate in much the same manner, with rising standards of living and increasing accessibility of education acting to reduce origins to the previous level once more. Among the occupations studied, business and engineering are evidently most susceptible to cresting because of depression. The remaining occupations, on the other hand, show no evidence of a similar cresting but appear to be quite sensitive to rising professional standards. Engineering is the only one of the occupations which shows what may be interpreted as definite reactions to both influences.

The most conspicuous reaction to altered training requirements appears in the medical profession, which experienced a drastic lifting of standards at the turn of the century. A less conspicuous example is the West Coast high-school teacher: the requirement of five years of training apparently produced a moderate rise in their origins in the last two decades. The effect of the requirement has probably been augmented by good salaries and aggressive recruiting. The rise, interestingly enough, has brought the origins of high-school and college teachers in this area into relatively close juxtaposition.

Phase displacement or staggered cresting of origin curves suggests a link between mobility rates and the order in which a given social form emerges in the several regions. This phenomenon is clearly evident only

among physicians, attorneys, and salaried engineers, but there are suggestions of it among teachers and business leaders. It may be explained by the formal or informal requirements for entering these occupations. New requirements usually involve some rise in occupational origins. In so far as the requirements are likely to originate in older communities, then diffuse gradually into the newer, a systematic displacement from east to west should result.

The rise in origins of business leaders on the West Coast during the last two decades is perhaps the least explicable of all the trends in origin in Figure 1. Prior to a detailed analysis of parental histories, place of birth, education, migration, job histories, types of firms managed, and other personal data, it is possible only to infer that selective factors analogous to those acting on the West Coast high-school teachers have given a unique character to the recruitment of the business leaders there.

In conclusion, it appears to be possible, by use of the procedures employed in this study, to derive highly sensitive and meaningful indexes of occupational origins of specific working groups. Examination of such indexes for the subject groups discloses significant differences in occupational origins and in vertical mobility rates between geographical regions, occupational groups, and chronological periods. The indexes also reveal several patterns of vertical occupational mobility probably relevant to occupations other than those here considered.

Perhaps the most general of these patterns is the trend toward lower occupational origins—higher rates of vertical mobility—during the past half-century in most of the occupations studied. Within this general trend there are two subsidiary patterns: transient fluctuations in trend in origin, occurring either simultaneously in all regions or displaced chronologically, east to west, and emerging countertrends, consisting of sustained movement toward higher origins in some occupations in recent decades.

Many of the transient fluctuations in origin may be non-recurrent, particularly if programs of professional training have become stabilized and also if there are no more serious economic depressions. The probable duration of the countertrends, which have emerged primarily in the independent professions, is difficult to predict. Since these upturns appear to be largely the result of shifts in personal motivation rather than increased restrictions on entrance into the independent professions, they might be expected to continue until popular values change or until there is some provision of additional incentives to enter training or to seek a career in the affected professions.

The continued decline in origins in the salaried professions, which comprise the great bulk of professional workers, suggests that vertical mobility rates are continuing

to rise in this society. At the same time, the behavior of the independent professions seemingly indicates that the rate of increase is diminishing, although perhaps only temporarily, in the current decade.

During the period under observation in this study, origins of individuals in high-status occupations have tended to converge on the mean origin of males in the labor force. The rate of convergence has possibly declined in the last two decades, but, as a summary judgment, the process is continuing. Two major effects seem to be implied in this convergence: access to high-status or elite occupations appears to be growing easier in this society; and there may be a concomitant reduction, if not in the vertical dimension of the American class structure, at least in variability in status within that structure.

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THE AMERICAN INDIAN IN TRANSITION: REFORMATION AND STATUS INNOVATIONS¹

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ABSTRACT

Following the establishment of reservations, tribal societies in the Northeast, the Plains, and the Pacific Northwest of the United States passed from a phase of restoration of the past to reform of the self and of the social and cultural order. The social and ceremonial systems of three reformations—the Iroquois “Great Message” or “Longhouse,” the Pacific Northwest “Shakerism,” and the Plains “Peyotism”—reveal an egalitarian striving for social approval and the introduction of a relatively new set of statuses. The anxious striving to renew the self seems to confirm the significant connection between personality development and social opportunity proposed in role theory.

American Indians in the United States offer an interesting and unique opportunity for the study of status systems under special conditions of conquest. Although vanquished and concentrated on reservation lands, Indians generally were not enslaved but treated as sovereign peoples whose rights were defined and protected by treaties or other negotiated agreements.²

However, American policy toward the Indian has been at best ambiguous, if not morally and psychologically ambivalent. At times a sentimental concern for the proud Indians' fate has prevailed, but more often they have been pushed, pulled, and kicked to accept a citizen's rights and duties. Only under Commissioner Collier did the policy take account of the realities of the personal, social, and cultural issues of the “Indian problem.”³

Taught to listen with obedient respect to the Great White Father, the Indian alternately found himself punished, loved, or simply rejected. To the confusion in his relations with the Great White Father was

added a drift into poverty, possibly even extinction. Moreover, the civilizing pressure to rid him of his Indian ways and “socialistic personality” simply intensified the social and cultural disorganization that followed settlement on the reservations.

If the hypothesis of role theorists concerning personality development is in any way correct, then American Indians should react to disorganization with anxious strivings to renew the self, and any effort to brighten the self should be correlated with the social image reflected by the “generalized other”; for a healthy flexible personality demands the fusion of the inner, personal “I” with an esteemed social “Me.”⁴ To complete the hypothesis, then, the Indian must seek to change both the self and the social and cultural order.⁵ This paper examines three Indian movements of reform, originating, respectively, in the Northeast (Iroquois Great Message), the Pacific Northwest (Shaker-

¹ Funds contributed by the Committee on Research, College of Arts and Sciences, University of Arkansas, are gratefully acknowledged. This paper is adapted from one presented at the annual meeting of the American Anthropological Association, Boston, November, 1955.

² The legal aspect of American-Indian relations is ably summarized by Felix Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1945).

³ The aims and accomplishments of this program are summarized by Laura Thompson, *Personality and Government* (Mexico, D.F.: Gráfica Panamericana, 1951).

⁴ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); M. A. Elliott and F. E. Merrill, *Social Disorganization* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934); see also the Neo-Freudians, Karen Horney, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1937), and Abram Kardiner and Lionel Ovesey, *The Mark of Oppression* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1951).

⁵ For special studies that emphasize the disorganization of reservation life and anxious concern about the self see Homer Barnett, “Personal Conflicts and Cultural Change,” *Social Forces*, XX (1941), 164-76; Gordon Macgregor, *Warriors without Weapons* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946); Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph, “White Pressures on Indian Personality and Culture,” *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (1951), 17-22. The substantive data of these and other anthropological investiga-

ism), and the Plains (Peyotism), in the light of role theory.⁶

STATUS: PERSONAL AND SOCIAL MEANING

Social and cultural disorganization of greater or lesser degree usually overtakes peoples subjugated by others. Where sharp contrasts divide the economies of indigenous peoples from technologically advanced conquerors, conquest usually shatters the former's social and economic order, reducing them to near-pauperism. This certainly holds for American Indian hunters and collectors and even for limited producers, like the eastern horticulturists in the United States. Indian holdings were inexorably diminished to make way for the multi-exploitative activities of the white American.

Admitting the disastrous effect of a broken economy upon the social order, the problem of status in Indian societies following conquest seems to have been complicated by the special quality of socioeconomic relations in the native societies prior to defeat and settlement upon reservations. In those early days Indian societies experienced the pleasures of an expanding economy in which trade wealth and war plunder were converted into the social currency of prestige. Trade and plunder weakened the established measures of status and sensitized people to the virtues of a hard-won personal achievement.⁷ In such an individualizing

context strong social and psychological bonds fuse self with status achievement, for, without public acclaim, there is no real self-realization in the individualizing context and, without achievement, there can be humiliation and ridicule but no public acclaim. This is the logic of association in a self-favoring milieu, which Riesman has aptly dubbed "inner-directed" to emphasize the self-discipline essential to achievement.⁸

The unitary quality of the self-status configuration in an encouraging social environment lends probability to the thesis that status frustration here will be felt intensively as ego anxiety. Life on the reservation undoubtedly involves status frustration, although not of the whole population equally. Status frustration is more pronounced in younger men. Women can maintain their status by virtue of the timeless domestic routine. And older men who have fulfilled status requirements according to aboriginal specifications are able to command public respect both within and without the society. But young men in the Plains had to endure ridicule and outright humiliation. When they conducted raids on other reservations, they were led off to jail by their white mentors, and the booty was returned to the enemy. In the reservation environment, status in the society was not lost, but actual memberships were sharply curtailed. The status of warrior was present and respected

tions seem specially pertinent to the marginal-man hypothesis first proposed by Robert Park, "Human Migration and the Marginal Man," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXIII (1927), 881-93, and amplified by Everett Stonequist, *The Marginal Man* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937).

⁶ The structural-functional equivalences of these Indian reformations have been treated in Fred Vogel, "The American Indian in Transition: Reformation and Accommodation," *American Anthropologist*, LVIII (1956), 249-63.

⁷ The "individualizing" effects of long-term acculturation upon native societies have been described by Margaret Mead, *The Changing Culture of an Indian Tribe* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology," No. 15 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1932]); Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); and Richard Thurnwald, *Black and White in East Africa* (London: G. Routledge & Sons, 1935). It is more difficult, of course, to

assess the tempo and extent of this social and psychological process in historic situations where native societies still possess a measure of self-direction. But see, for the Plains, Clark Wissler, "Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture," *American Anthropologist*, XVI (1914), 1-25; J. Jablow, *The Cheyenne in Plains Indian Trade Relations, 1795-1840* ("Monographs of the American Ethnological Society," No. 19 [New York: J. J. Augustin, 1951]); Lewis H. Morgan, *League of the Ho-De-No-Sau-Nee or Iroquois* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1904), I, 66-73; James Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," *Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1930), pp. 150-56; Helen Codere, *Fighting with Property* ("Monographs of the American Ethnological Society," No. 18 [New York: J. J. Augustin, 1950]).

⁸ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950).

still, but effective techniques for attaining it were denied them, and youths now had to remain young men.

At this remove in time only inferential insights into the meaning of status and the degree of anxiety evoked by frustration can be gained from the patterns of behavior that developed immediately after the establishment of the reservations. Few young men seem to have followed the suicidal lead of a Dakota youth when jailed for a raid. Rather they sought to capture status by joining it. Using the established goods (horses, robes, shirts, and the like), they capitalized status by purchasing memberships in established fraternities, or they started up—largely by borrowing—fraternities boasting new dance routines and dress. Throughout, however, the model of the old was paramount to their behavior.⁹ Even those who enlisted as government scouts and agency policemen hovered about the fringes of warrior status. But in the case of the Indian police there is a definite suspicion that hostility rooted in frustrations was the ground for their loyal devotion to the profession, making it possible for them to disengage themselves affectively from their people and to shoot them down when duty called.

The phenomenon of "joining status" seems to run its course in the lifetime of young men who first grew up on the reservation. Before the process has long continued, however, and while the ashes of the past can be fanned into flame, men of vision arise, proclaiming a return to the ancient ways. They argue that the Indian should live as befits the success and personal dignity

⁹ The tendency to quantify native social and ceremonial patterns following establishment of reservations is best reported from the Plains, for which see Clark Wissler, *Ceremonial Bundles of the Black-foot Indians* ("American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers," No. 7, Part II [New York, 1912]), and *General Discussion of Shamanistic and Dancing Societies* (*ibid.*, No. 11, Part XII [New York, 1916]); Marvin K. Opler, "The Character and History of the Southern Ute Peyote Rite," *American Anthropologist*, XLII (1940), 463-78; Alexander Lesser, *The Pawnee Ghost Dance Hand Game: A Study of Culture Change* ("Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology," No. 16 [New York: Columbia University Press, 1933]).

achieved by the ancients—that this can be realized if the unwanted and hateful ways of the alien conqueror are cast off. Then the all-powerful Father-Creator, working in association with the creative spirit of the Indian people, will purify the world and restore its pristine qualities. Movements of this kind, fathered by prophets of protest, have followed the wake of the passing frontier with surprising frequency.¹⁰ But, while leaders voiced peaceful intentions, a precipitate military action, like a Tippecanoe or a Wounded Knee, usually put a quick end to the attempted restoration. Jarred anew by stinging military defeat, belief and hope in effective physical resistance slip from the minds of young and old alike, marking the end of a significant phase in Indian acculturation. The old is gone beyond recall.

What succeeds now is a new social and psychological configuration in which the self-that-failed fills the stage of individual and group consciousness. The battleground of human failure and success shifts from a struggle against external forces to a struggle against the self. Assuredly external forces that threaten are always there and must be met, but they are not now met with a mobilization of physical armament. The prophets of reform who come to herald the new day are men of peace, like Handsome Lake, teacher of the Great Message to the Iroquois. At a time when the "Shawnee Prophet" and Tecumseh were beating the drums for European destruction and Indian res-

¹⁰ James Mooney, "The Ghost Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1896), Part II, pp. 653-1104, still presents the best summary of Indian movements to restore the past. For tribal and areal treatments see Cora Du Bois, *The Ghost Dance of 1870* ("University of California Anthropological Records," No. 3 [Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939]); Lesser, *op. cit.*; Phileo Nash, "The Place of Religious Revivalism in the Formation of the Intercultural Community on Klamath Reservation," in Fred Eggan (ed.), *Social Anthropology of North American Tribes* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937), pp. 375-442; Leslie Spier, *The Prophet Dance of the Northwest and Its Derivatives: The Source of the Ghost Dance* ("General Series in Anthropology," No. 1 [Menasha, Wis.: George Banta Publishing Co., 1935]).

toration along Ohio war trails, Handsome Lake called for peace and personal moral reform.

Historically, movements of reform, like the Great Message of the Iroquois, Plains Peyotism, and Pacific Northwest Shakerism, may overlap attempts to restore the past, but their courses run later and much longer. Though definitely Indian, they are not tribal movements, for their followers extend themselves beyond the limits of tribal belief and practice. Supporting the universalistic extension of the self in the direction of Indian fellowship is a sense of humility and a striving toward mutual helpfulness, born of poverty, disease, and other threats to physical survival. Sickness, hunger, pain, and death evoke a sense of personal and group crisis. Leaders of Indian reformations voice a common desire to help their people and frequently by their very lives demonstrate a body renewed and a character transformed by miraculous intervention. In revelatory experience they have learned from God or his messengers the way out of the impasse. To believe in God's plan is the beginning; to follow the new path individually is to execute it, since each must learn the Creator's intent through his own special experience.

However, in following the new path, reformist leaders and their followers challenge the self, and in their denial of the present self they are moved to challenge the validity of the ancient path that produced it. To reformists many of the old ways are false, especially the religious beliefs and practices. They seek, then, not to recall the past but to reorganize and to reform it. Is it possible that the effort to reorganize and to reform the "Indian Way" is the social counterpart or projection of the personal struggle in which the individual reforms and reorganizes his self to attain public recognition?

The reformist, it is evident, is concerned with status, which he anxiously associates with personal development. Certainly, new status, or, at the very least, the fiction of new status, is a solid part of the reformative system. More important, however, is the introduction of new techniques for the achieve-

ment of status accessible to one and all. For anyone may lay individual claim to public recognition provided he can furnish *prima facie* evidence of a transcendent and purifying experience in which God's blessing has conveyed power and transformed body and character. Slotkin writes of the Menomini Peyote experience:

This revelation often takes the form of a mystical rapture with the Great Spirit himself. At other times the Great Spirit or one of his spiritual representatives reveals some religious or ethical dogma to the Peyotists; it "teaches" him "how to live right."¹¹

Whatever urgency social status may have for reformists, striving tends to be controlled or regulated by a sense of humility, so that, generally speaking, an egalitarian climate prevails. Laymen as well as leaders have their public moments, and on these occasions leadership seems to require a prefatory statement of personal inadequacy. In such context personal rivalry within a group of devotees is not much in evidence. A leader leads his public naturally and quietly, and his social stature is measured by the number of invitations he receives to conduct ceremonies. True, personal followings can and do develop within the reformative milieu, but even more significant is the way in which relationships within the ceremony itself emphasize personal worth and social equality.

This egalitarian structuring of personal-social relations in American Indian reformations seems to duplicate the sentiments of early Christians and the general organization of their leadership, as does the apparent dogma factionalism that develops.¹² Certainly humble equality is the recurrent theme in Christian movements that have sought to break the dominance and con-

¹¹ James Slotkin, "Menomini Peyotism," *American Philosophical Society Transactions*, XLII, Part IV (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1952), 569.

¹² These schismatic tendencies may be based in part on an acculturation differential within the society, for which see Fred Voget, "Acculturation at Caughnawaga: A Note on the Native-modified Group," *American Anthropologist*, LIII (1951), 220-31.

straint of bureaucratized Christianity. Here too in Christian revolt the path to recognition is by a personal validatory experience in which God has revealed the appropriate sinless behavior and pressed for a change in character.

Emphasis upon personal worth as defined by a transcendent Creator who legitimizes new behavior and induces changes in character may be the response usually followed by a people whose subordination has imbued them with a deep sense of personal failure. Perhaps this may explain the structural similarities in Indian reform and the early and later reform movements in Christianity and in various other movements, like the Hindu reformation led by Gandhi. Of course, for the American Indian it can be argued that the transcendent purpose of the Creator and his ethical way is a direct drawing upon Christian teaching. On the other hand, did not the Iroquois and the Plains nomads and the spirit-questioning tribes of the Northwest insist upon the experience of a personal guardian spirit? Is not this egalitarianism manifest in American Indian reformation but the persistence of deep-seated culture patterns? These questions are raised rhetorically, for they are too large and intricate to be answered here. However, the key to the solution probably lies in meaning and function rather than in form.¹³ American-Indian egalitarianism gives hints to its followers of special meanings and functions that go beyond the aboriginal or Christian configurations alone. The external condition of dominance and the internal condition of personal failure must be searched thoroughly before one may judge which has been the more influential.

Reformists, as has been said, challenge the old social order, especially the religious ceremonial system, for their own movement is basically religious and ceremonial. What, then, was the socioceremonial organization of the Iroquois, and how was it changed by Handsome Lake and his followers? What

changes were effected by Peyotists and Shakers in their ancient social systems?

THE OLD AND THE NEW ORDERS¹⁴

A hereditary organization of "civil" chieftains was the backbone of Iroquois society. The right to fill these titled positions belonged to some fifty family lines within the five charter tribes of the Confederacy. From women of the line came the right of descent and inheritance, and the Iroquois followed the logic of maternal descent strictly in the nomination of a successor to a sachemship. To the matron of the lineage went the right to nominate and to depose successors who failed to uphold tribal honor and traditional interests. A daughter's son, sometimes a toddler, was the usual choice, and, if the nominee was too small to understand and fulfil his duties, a maternal uncle acted as regent. Each chief had an assistant or sub-chief who advised and acted as a kind of messenger and liaison agent. He, too, was a matron's choice, acting as usual with the good counsel of other members of the lineage, male and female.

The most important functions of the hereditary sachems revolved around the maintenance of tradition, the raising-up of of new chieftains, the reception of emissaries, and the making of war and peace. For the most part they were executors of public belief and practice and can hardly be viewed as legislators. To a degree sachems carried out religious and ceremonial functions, too, but usually these operations were delegated to the Honondiont, persons specially qualified.

Thus hereditary political and traditional religious appointments constituted the hard core of the Iroquoian social order. When war followed trade and European political intrigue, the system made more room for individuals who demonstrated special ability in warfare and oratory. Women of outstanding character and wisdom also were elevated to

¹³ Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1936), pp. 401-21.

¹⁴ [Extended references to ethnographic reports upon which the following descriptions are based have been eliminated in the interests of brevity.—EDITORS.]

the honorific title of "Pine Tree Chief."

When Handsome Lake brought the Great Message to the Iroquois as the nineteenth century opened, he did not set out to overturn the established political and religious order. Himself a member of the hereditary group of counselors, Handsome Lake argued that God had appointed them to counsel and to help their fellow men. But now, in the twilight of Iroquoian power, these hereditary public servants were rapidly becoming a derelict group, easily suborned by rum and bribery. So it was with Handsome Lake: his career as a counselor-chief was more often distinguished by rum than by wisdom and oratory in the council house. But Handsome Lake suffered a prolonged sickness, and in a transcendent moment he learned what God willed and shortly was able to get up from his sickbed. When he called upon the chiefs to reaffirm their public commitments by supporting the new way, he was but acting out his personal reformation.

In the new religious order, then, hereditary counselor-chiefs were to work closely with the newly appointed "Keepers of the Faith," or Honondiont.¹⁵ Both types of officials are found in the old social order, but they operated now within a movement of religious reform in which the sacred and moral functions of leadership were stressed to the virtual exclusion of the secular. To these officers Handsome Lake also added two censors of public morals, whose functions in ancient days probably lay within the province of the Honondiont, or overseers of religious ceremonies.

For leaders of curing societies, shamans, and witches Handsome Lake had only bitter criticism. These and their organizations he would destroy. He would prune and reorganize Iroquois religious life and ceremony according to the Creator's will, retaining as his core the Great Feather, Personal Chant, Harvest, and Bowl Game ceremonies.¹⁶

Handsome Lake was unsuccessful in his effort to drive the "secret" curing societies

out of Iroquois life. But he did succeed in establishing his new religion on a firm basis, so that today what traces of ancient ceremony remain are blended with the Great Message. And, as secular counselor-chiefs have been shorn of significant functions, the "code" chiefs have grown in stature. If the social system of the Iroquois during the eighteenth century can be described as political first and religious second, after Handsome Lake the relationship was reversed. In the wake of the Great Message the chief's role has been redefined to accord with the personal and group reformation, and it attains real significance only within the movement. At the "head" are the teachers of the Great Message, who recount the sufferings and wisdom of the greatest prophet of them all, Handsome Lake, and who help the laity to understand the meaning of their worship and ceremony. Through the Great Message the Iroquois have been able to maintain a firm continuity with the social past and to invest it with contemporary meaning. What they lost in status associated with war, hunting, shamanism, and the like, they gained back through the Great Message. Self and social self remained united, but in a new context.

The Puget Sound area where Shakerism originated in the trance experience of John Slocum and developed under the proselyting leadership of Mud Bay Louis marks a sub-region of the Northwest Coast culture province. The emphasis on titled rank and elaborate distributions of food and gifts (potlatch) so characteristic of the Northwest focus appear in attenuated form among peoples like the Snohomish, Suquamish, and Duwamish. Yet people generally identified the titled rich, the inferior-titled poor, and captive slaves as distinguishable "classes" of their society.

Chiefs, usually hereditary, held special

¹⁵ I am especially indebted to Merle Deardorff for helpful information on the relationship between the Honondiont and the "Keepers of the Faith."

¹⁶ Merle Deardorff, *The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development* (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bull. 149 [Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1951]), p. 93.

titles and tended to hold as guardian spirits those associated with strong powers and wealth. All men sought guardian spirits, however, and it was through the special qualities conferred by their helpers that social personalities were largely determined—whether men were exceptional as hunters, fishers, gamblers, warriors, or seers. Special spirit guardians were reserved for those who would live a life filled with extraordinary danger and prestige. These men were the shamans, who cured by extracting worms and restoring souls, and who sometimes killed people for personal or public reasons. Shamans enjoyed demonstrating their distinctive powers in public “by making a stone or a belt or anything turn into a snake which moved.”¹⁷ Chiefs, shamans, and warriors were the truly outstanding public personalities in Puget Sound societies, and for each, as for the hunter and the fisher, the type of guardian spirit(s) was a *sine qua non* in the matter of personal prestige. However, social status conferred by titled heredity and validated by wealth distributions (potlatch) could not be side-stepped by those who would exercise continuous public leadership.

To potlatch was not only the right but also the special obligation of a chief, who upheld the dignity and honor of his people in intertribal competition. To a degree he was considered custodian of the land and of its resources, which must be guarded against trespass. He was also looked to first in organizing resistance to physical attack or a raid in retaliation. In the event a chief lacked the qualities essential to war, a temporary leader was quickly chosen from the warriors. However, only hereditary chiefs could integrate the total social personality in these societies, and, when the qualities of social leader, diplomat, and warrior were united in one person, as in the case of Siatl, a small people might influence a host.

John Slocum, the Shaker prophet, “died” in 1881 or 1882, and, when he revived, he

called for the building of a church. Here he would preach to the people, dwelling upon their sinful habits and calling upon them to confess and to follow the path that God had made for them.

Little is known of the Shaker organization immediately following the building of the first church at Church Point, Washington, but it apparently was rather informal. Converts to Slocum’s message carried the teaching and new healing technique back to their respective communities and held family and neighborly meetings in the homes. Then in 1892 the Shakers established a charter organization of their own with the friendly assistance of a Judge Wickersham. This action followed severe local criticism which linked the Shakers with the old spirit curing and the failure to secure a license for their church within the Presbyterian fold. Louis Yowaluck was named headman, and seven elders, including John Slocum, and five ministers were appointed and given certificates to preach.

In 1910 the church was reorganized and incorporated as the Indian Shaker Church of Washington. The new officers included a bishop, five elders, and a secretary and organizer, all of whom were to hold office for four years.¹⁸ Males and females of the Shaker Church were to be licensed as preachers upon payment of one dollar to the secretary. There is nothing in this administrative organization that even hints at some aspect of the native order. The model for this status system obviously is western and specifically Presbyterian, and its official function is the rehabilitation of the “Indian race in the state” of Washington and the Northwest.¹⁹

Open enemies of the shamans and spirit dancers, the Shakers wittingly or unwitting-

¹⁸ June Collins, “The Indian Shaker Church: A Study of Continuity and Change in Religion,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, VI (1950), 409.

¹⁹ From the Shaker articles of incorporation, cited by Erna Gunther, “The Shaker Religion of the Northwest,” in Marian W. Smith (ed.), *Indians of the Urban Northwest* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949), p. 61.

¹⁷ H. Haeberlin and Erna Gunther, *The Indians of Puget Sound* (“University of Washington Publications in Anthropology,” Vol. IV [Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1930]), p. 78.

ly found themselves on the side of their white brethren. And in their curing ceremony, which occupies an important place in the foreground of their practice, they carried on open war with believers in the old tradition. Miracle cures apparently are an important condition for participation, and in this respect the Shakers seem to perpetuate the old road to social distinction, the guardian spirit. However, in the new context it is much modified and reinterpreted. Their trembling practice and emphasis on prayer aligns them equally with Christian faith healers and those sects that lead to salvation through affect. Today some Shakers are finding an easy bridge between their faith and that of apostolic Christian sects, notably the Pentecostal.²⁰

Social status in Plains societies rested firmly on personal achievement, with a few notable exceptions like the Pawnee and Omaha of the prairie proper. Through war, hunting, curing, loving, fabricating, and wisdom men demonstrated their personal worth. In all this, success was the measure, especially the success that followed a raid against the enemy. And behind this success lay a powerful tutelary attained in youth or manhood. A sagacious warrior who piled victory upon victory was alive with the power essential to survive and to overcome. It was to these specially blessed that the Plains peoples turned for leadership. Band and tribal chiefs in turn relied upon the counsel of other warriors and men with prophetic insight to decide matters of war and peace and of the hunt. The social system was open, and only those who failed the measure were excluded.

Conquest dealt a severe blow to the warrior system in the Plains, and young men found the path behind the plow a difficult one. After failure to restore the past attempted in the Ghost Dance (1889-95), Peyote, the new Indian religion, spread with great rapidity. Followers of Peyote attacked tribal ceremonialism and attempted to supplant it with their own night-long ceremony. As in the case of the Shakers and followers

of Handsome Lake, they claimed to have learned a new way from God and to possess a curing technique that superseded older practice.

Throughout Peyotist ceremonial there are many traits reminiscent of ancient practices: a ground altar replete with star symbolism, smoke and tobacco offerings, fumigation of paraphernalia, individual power-singing, individual mystic experience, and the like. In the "Peyote Chief," "Drum Chief," "Fire Chief," and "Water Woman" echo ceremonial roles found in the traditional system.

What transforms these bare form resemblances with the past are the novel meanings and functions with which they are invested. Peyote is a "religion," not just a ceremony. Though Indian, it is not old Indian, for it supersedes that and incorporates forms and practices borrowed from Christianity. Peyote is also a way of mutual help, a technique for cleansing the body of disease, and an experience that remolds character. Basically, Peyote is a way of personal and social fulfilment that seeks to transcend the bonds of the ancients and of the conquerors alike. It is a synthesis of old and new—the creation of a novel social and cultural system to attain self-direction.

The organization of "churches" and the development of new administrative statuses within Peyotism first shows among the more acculturated tribes of the prairie around 1910. In 1918 numbers of these tribal organizations were affiliated with the Native American Church, founded at Oklahoma City and incorporated under the state laws of Oklahoma. Both the national and the local tribal charters provide for a president, a vice-president, and a secretary-treasurer, to which must be added a variable number of delegates attending the annual conventions. Among some tribal groups the borrowing from the American model has gone even farther to include "men's clubs" and "ladies' auxiliaries."²¹ Unlike the Shakers,

²¹ Weston La Barre, *The Peyote Cult* ("Yale University Publications in Anthropology," No. 19 [New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1938]), pp. 167-72.

²⁰ Personal communication from Erna Gunther.

however, who seem to fuse administrative and ceremonial functions, Peyotists tend to separate them under two sets of officials. It is this articulation of administrative with ceremonial officialdom, and not its compounding, that sets the Peyotist socioceremonial system apart from that of both the Shakers and the Iroquoian followers of the Great Message. Peyotists not only have accomplished a redefinition of ceremonial statuses but also have introduced a novel set of organizational statuses—single techniques emphasized by the Iroquoian and Shaker reformists to the exclusion of the other.

CONCLUSIONS

A comparison of three American Indian reformations (Peyotism, Shakerism, and the Great Message), each distinctive in origin, discloses an anxious concern for changes in the self, for legitimacy of the self, and for a responsive "public." A change in status also seems to be a vital feature of the struggle toward ego-fulfilment, which is manifested in two ways: (1) an egalitarian striving for a measure of social approval and (2) the introduction of a "new" set of statuses.

It is in the very structuring of relationships and roles within the reformatory ceremonial that a basic democratic climate generally prevails. Leaders and laity alike confess their personal inadequacy and unworthiness. They also stress humility in interpersonal relations and reach out to others by enunciating a principle of mutual aid. There is a common emphasis on the inner capital of the person—his freedom from disease and the quality of character. Through a transcendent experience in which the suppliant talks with God or his personal messenger, the individual tries to acquire a demonstrable power (for preserving and restoring health) and a change in character. By this validatory experience, involving as it does the supreme authority and source of power, individuals can attain a measure of control over the self and over external conditions, since they are no longer subject to the socioeconomic constraints usually associated with status systems. Perhaps control of the outer world under the banner of personal

and social reform may be a necessary projection if the individual is to complete the experience of inner change with social approval. At least this is suggested by American Indian reformations, where a critical turning inward upon the self is associated with a mission that would change others and the social order by which all are bound.

Besides the personalized democratic status configuration, all the reformatory movements exhibit a formal structure expressive of ceremonial and administrative leadership. Leaders of reform movements uniformly insist on the supersession of traditional status systems by the new order just as they assert the primacy of their revealed belief and practice over ancient ceremonial. They also assert the supremacy of their system over the dominant society. The actual form which these status innovations take is different for each of the movements analyzed: (1) a redefinition of native statuses and roles to accord with a revealed religious pattern (Great Message); (2) an introduction of new statuses and roles, largely administrative, drawn from the dominant society (Shakerism); and (3) a redefinition of some native socioceremonial statuses and roles conformant to the new religious pattern and an introduction of new administrative statuses and roles borrowed from the dominant society (Peyotism).

The proper significance of these formal status innovations probably lies in a number of directions, so far as the individual is concerned. Novelty, ambition, intensity with which native and alien traditions may be rejected, extent of acculturation, dissimulation and expediency—all may be involved. However, since these formal statuses are *interposed* between the old and the alien systems, it is not unlikely that they hold a scriptural meaning for both leader and follower alike. As "scriptural statuses" they would mediate and contribute legitimacy to the activities of the individual and of the group vis-à-vis the out-group, just as the egalitarian status configuration provides a basis for personal attainment and legitimacy within the group. One would conclude that, in a situation of contact-dominance,

STATUS, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND ANTI-SEMITISM¹

WALTER C. KAUFMAN

ABSTRACT

To test the relationship of concern with social status and the authoritarian personality with anti-Semitism, the SC scale (status-concern) was constructed. When the SC scale, with the California F (authoritarianism) and A-S (anti-Semitism) scales, was administered to 213 non-Jewish undergraduates, it was found that the specific attitude to status offers a more satisfactory explanation of anti-Semitism than does the ill-defined aspect of personality. The question is raised concerning existence of a more general status-achievement ideology, of which the attitudes expressed in the A-S and F scales are only a part.

Research based on *The Authoritarian Personality*² has been one of the most fashionable areas of recent social-psychological investigation. Yet it might well be concluded that the resulting *Continuities in Social Research*³ has shown this line of investigation to be at a point of discontinuity rather than continuity. The methodological critique by Hyman and Sheatsley⁴ has served to point out all too clearly the limitations in the applicability of the measures employed, particularly the F scale, which purports to measure "Fascist" or "authoritarian" tendencies. Furthermore, the relationship of the obtained scales to the underlying theory is tenuous at best.

Thus the hope that the California research would validate a genetic "dynamic" approach to the explanation of prejudice has not been fulfilled. Yet most of our attempts to explain such phenomena on a social-

psychological or sociological level have been in terms of some theory of personality, on the one hand, or on a historical-descriptive level, on the other.⁵ There appears to be deficient validation of such explanations, as well as defects in the testing of more limited or alternative relationships—"middle," if not "low, range" theory. It is the latter problem to which this paper is addressed.

One promising approach is in way of social stratification and mobility. Unfortunately, although there has been a considerable amount of writing and research on them, relatively little has been focused on the correlates of status and mobility and very little on their relationship to the problem of prejudice.⁶ Yet even in *The Authoritarian Personality*, frequent reference is made to the presumed relationship between aspects of social status and prejudice. Thus Frenkel-Brunswik, in her summary of the interview results of the California studies, describes the high scorer on the F scale as tending to use status as the primary criterion in appraising people and to evaluate

¹ Paper read at the annual meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society, Kansas City, April, 1956. The data were originally part of "The Relationship of Some Social Attitude Dimensions to the Authoritarian Personality" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Rochester, 1951). The author is indebted to Donald Foley, of the University of California, Berkeley; Scott Greer, of the Metropolitan St. Louis Survey; and Raymond Mack, of Northwestern University, for helpful suggestions in the preparation of this paper.

² T. W. Adorno et al., *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

³ R. Christie and M. Jahoda (eds.), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 50-122.

⁵ Cf. G. E. Simpson and J. M. Yinger, *Racial and Cultural Minorities* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), chap. ix.

⁶ Cf. R. W. Mack, L. Freeman, and S. Yellin, "Thirty Years of Theory and Research on Social Mobility" (Evanston, Ill.: Northwestern University, Department of Sociology, 1955; mimeographed); W. C. Bailey et al., "Bibliography on Status and Mobility" (New York: Social Science Research Council, 1952; mimeographed); and H. W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: A Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1953), 391-418.

others according as they appear to be a threat to his own standing.⁷

In his set of propositions dealing with intergroup tensions, Robin Williams points out the high value put upon mobility in American society and the concomitant relation of prejudice to changes in and threats to status.⁸ Greenblum and Pearlin, in their re-analysis of the Elmira survey, examined father-son occupational mobility, restricted to changes between manual and non-manual occupations. In this case, both the upwardly and the downwardly mobile were more prejudiced than the non-mobile.⁹ These findings were interpreted as showing that prejudice is a function of the insecurity of marginal (mobile) status groups. The study also showed that a "middle-class" identification of manual workers, whether downwardly mobile or not, was associated with more highly prejudiced responses.

Bettelheim and Janowitz, in their study of veterans, found occupational mobility, particularly rapid downward mobility, significantly related to prejudice. No direct relationships between actual occupational and income status and prejudice were found.¹⁰ The lack of relationship between "objective" measures of status (income, father's occupation) and prejudice was also found in the California studies.¹¹ However, the admittedly questionable validity of the information obtained, as well as the limitations of the sample, must be taken into consideration.

One of the few instances of a simultaneous test of several dimensions as related to prej-

udice is Srole's study relating anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice,¹² and the replication by Roberts and Rokeach.¹³ Both Srole's study and the replication found significant interrelationships among the three scales employed. In the former, for all but the college-educated sample, partial correlation analysis showed anomie to be the more important variable, the influence of authoritarianism on prejudice becoming negligible. This finding was not supported by the replication, in which each variable was held to be an equally important correlate of prejudice. Each study employed measures of status: education in the former, education and income in the latter. Both studies, using broader samples than the California researchers, found high status, particularly as measured by education, negatively correlated with authoritarianism and prejudice. Rokeach and Roberts found that, upon partialing, these correlations did not affect the relationships among anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice.

In most of these previous studies attitudes about status and mobility are inferred from variations in mobility and concomitant variation in prejudiced attitudes. In the present study the focus of attention was on the direct measurement of attitudes to status and mobility or status concern. Status concern may here be defined as the value placed on symbols of status and on the attainment of higher status. Specifically, it was hypothesized that the greater the concern with status, the greater the prejudice, in this case defined by a measure of anti-Semitism.

One of the aims of the present study was the construction of an attitude scale to measure concern with status. The following

⁷ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 476.

⁸ R. Williams, *The Reduction of Intergroup Tensions* (S.S.R.C. Bull. 57 [New York: S.S.R.C., 1947]).

⁹ J. Greenblum and L. I. Pearlin, "Vertical Mobility and Prejudice: A Social-psychological Analysis," in R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (eds.), *Class Status and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 480-91.

¹⁰ B. Bettelheim and M. Janowitz, *The Dynamics of Prejudice* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), pp. 55 ff.

¹¹ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 195 ff.

¹² L. Srole, "Social Dysfunction, Personality, and Social Distance Attitudes" (paper read before the American Sociological Society, Chicago, 1951); some of the findings are reported in Christie and Jahoda, *op. cit.*, and in A. H. Roberts and M. Rokeach, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 355-58.

¹³ Roberts and Rokeach, *op. cit.*

items were employed in the final questionnaire (the six-choice pattern of agreement and disagreement of the California scales was applied to each of the items):

1. The extent of a man's ambition to better himself is a pretty good indication of his character.

2. In order to merit the respect of others, a person should show the desire to better himself.

3. One of the things you should consider in choosing your friends is whether they can help you make your way in the world.

4. Ambition is the most important factor in determining success in life.

5. One should always try to live in a highly respectable residential area, even though it entails sacrifices.

6. Before joining any civic or political association, it is usually important to find out whether it has the backing of people who have achieved a respected social position.

7. Possession of proper social etiquette is usually the mark of a desirable person.

8. The raising of one's social position is one of the more important goals in life.

9. It is worth considerable effort to assure one's self of a good name with the right kind of people.

10. An ambitious person can almost always achieve his goals.

Pretests showed that these items, hereafter to be called the "SC scale," did not meet the 90 per cent reproducibility criterion for a Guttman scale.¹⁴ Inspection of the responses showed what might be termed a "quasi-scalable" pattern, in that no systematic error patterns were evident. The differences between means of high and low scorers were significant at the .01 level for each item, and the split-half reliability, corrected for double-length, was .78. Thus, although not strictly unidimensional, the SC scale does appear to have a reasonably consistent focus.

The other scales employed were a set of

¹⁴ L. Guttman, "The Cornell Technique for Scale and Intensity Analysis," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, VII (1950), 247-80.

fifteen items from the previously mentioned F scale and the A-S scale, measuring anti-Semitism.¹⁵ The correlation between the fifteen-item F scale and the original 30-item scale was .95. Hyman and Sheatsley criticize the intercorrelations built into the California scales by the similarity of items,¹⁶ and, although no attempts were made to enhance correlations by manipulation of items, it is probable that this criticism also applies to some unknown extent in the present study. Finally, it must be pointed out that the SC scale here presented partakes of another characteristic of the other scales, namely, that the attitudes tested are primarily platitudes.

The limitations of sampling and consequently of general applicability pointed out by Hyman and Sheatsley likewise apply to the present sample.¹⁷ For one thing, as Hatt demonstrated, patterns of ethnic attitudes vary by the social class of respondents.¹⁸ The sample in this study was 213 non-Jewish college undergraduates, a "middle-class" population comparable to most subjects in the California studies.

The highest correlation obtained in the present study is a correlation of .71 between the SC and F scales. The correlation between status concern and anti-Semitism is .66, which is significantly higher at the .01 level of confidence than the correlation of .53 between authoritarianism and anti-Semitism.¹⁹ The latter correlation is identical with the unweighted mean correlation between the F and A-S scales found in the California study.²⁰

¹⁵ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255 and 85.

¹⁶ Christie and Jahoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 70 ff.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 55 ff.

¹⁸ P. K. Hatt, "Class and Ethnic Attitudes," *American Sociological Review*, XIII (1948), 36-48.

¹⁹ $F = 10.99$, $p < .01$. For the test applied cf. P. O. Johnson, *Statistical Methods in Research* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1949), p. 54. The use of the F scale in addition to the SC scale in a multiple correlation does not increase the amount of A-S variance explained. An analysis of the B weights leads to the same conclusion, as shown by the partial correlation.

²⁰ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 263.

An analysis of the partial correlations sheds further light on the interrelationships of the variables. All correlations become lower, but two of the correlations remain significant at the .01 level. In each case, with the third variable held constant, the correlation between the SC and F scales is .57, the correlation between the SC and AS scales is .48, but the correlation between the F and A-S scales drops to a non-significant .12.

Corroborating findings from other restricted samples, father's income, occupation, and education were not significantly related to scores on the A-S scale.

To summarize: concern with status is more closely related to anti-Semitism than is authoritarianism, and the relationship between authoritarianism and anti-Semitism may be largely explained by their mutual relationship to concern with status. That concern with status is the dominant dimension is supported by most of the previously cited findings relating mobility and attitudes toward status to prejudice and revives the doubts about the significance of authoritarianism voiced by Srole. Some possible interpretations may be offered, although no definitive answers can be given on the basis of the findings here presented.

The first, and in many ways the most discouraging, explanation of the correlations is the platitudinousness common to attitude scales. Perhaps nothing more is being measured than a tendency toward clichés. The recurrent negative correlations between education and prejudice, authoritarianism, and anomie might be used to support the argument of variation in degrees of sophistication. However, the fact that high intercorrelations persist among the pertinent scales, even when education is held constant or the sample is relatively homogeneous, casts some doubt on this explanation.

Attitude studies such as the present one

are not well adapted to test the relationship of general traits of "personality" to specific attitudes, such as prejudice. The fact that a specifically defined dimension, concern with status, is more closely related to prejudice than is the universal trait of personality called "authoritarianism" does not automatically rule out personality as a factor. It may merely indicate that the shortest road to scientific significance is not by indirection, such as characterizes the miscellany of items on the F scale. The high correlation between the SC and F scales and the drastic reduction in the correlation between authoritarianism and anti-Semitism, when concern with status is held constant, lead to the conjecture that the F scale measures in a diffuse way the sort of attitude measured more specifically by the SC scale. Instead of a reflection of personality, the common element among these scales could very well be the function of an ideology of status achievement and maintenance.

If concern with status is indeed as important as contemporary sociologists think and as these findings indicate, there remains the problem of the inconclusive nature of research employing "objective" indicators of status and mobility. Presumably, attitudes such as those measured here are a function of the operation of social stratification as experienced by the respondents, but a closer empirical and theoretical connection needs to be made. Part of the problem probably arises from the relatively crude categorical measures of status commonly employed, which are far removed from the actual experience of the respondents, whereas attitude measurements are more directly interpretable as individual characteristics. It is in the bridging of this gap that research findings such as those presented here will assume greater theoretical relevance.

METROPOLITAN ST. LOUIS SURVEY

SOCIAL CHANGE, RELIGION, AND BIRTH RATES

ALBERT J. MAYER AND SUE MARX

ABSTRACT

While in 1920 birth rates in Hamtramck, Michigan, an immigrant Polish Catholic community, were much above the general United States population, by 1950 they were very similar. Although the pattern of decreased birth rates is familiar, Hamtramck is an interesting community for sociological study because of four concomitants of the high fertility of its residents: rural origin, foreign birth, low socioeconomic status, and Roman Catholicism. These attributes, however, did not prevent very rapid acceptance of control of births. Hypotheses concerning this rapid change in both attitudes and behavior refer to the general wish to be Americanized.

The process by which a population makes the transition from very high to low fertility rates is still largely unknown. It has been found in the Western world for a hundred and fifty years and is associated with industrialization and urbanization. It is supposed to take several generations before the large family is supplanted by the small.

A generally accepted proposition is that, if a people whose cultural background may be classed as traditional comes into contact with a fully urbanized and industrialized population, they will assimilate traits of the latter culture in an order inversely proportional to the strength and intensity of the attitudes and values which bear upon these traits. Superficial characteristics, such as clothing, manners, etc., change rapidly, but birth control, being highly associated with both the basic religious and family structures, will be very slowly accepted.

An example of acculturation is found in the Polish immigrant community of the United States, the subject of one of the most extensive studies ever made—*The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. The authors of it, Thomas and Znaniecki¹ with

others have led us to believe that this immigrant group would retain its traditional family values, including high birth rates, for many years after its arrival in this country.

Four qualities characterized the Poles in America: rural origin, foreign birth, identification with a religion which does not sanction active forms of birth control, and a standard of living associated with laboring and semiskilled occupations.

The Polish community of Hamtramck, Michigan, has provided a place to test the more general sociological proposition as well as the findings of Thomas and Znaniecki. A community totally inclosed within the city of Detroit, it stands as a landmark of the explosive industrial development of America. In the ten years following 1910, the automobile industry changed a suburban, largely farming community of 3,559 persons into a manufacturing center. Packed into the interstices between giant industrial plants were, and still are, the dwellings of newly arrived workers. By 1920, Hamtramck was a completely functioning city with a population of 48,615 predominately Catholic Polish immigrants.

● RURAL ORIGIN AND FOREIGN BIRTH

In 1930, when the community was at its largest, 38 per cent of the white population was foreign-born, and, of these, at least three-quarters were originally Polish. Of the native-born, 27,901, or 88 per cent, had at least one foreign-born parent, and, of these, a minimum of 22,797, or 80 per cent, were of

¹ William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927), pp. 1516-17; also Niles Carpenter, *Immigrants and Their Children* ("Census Monographs," Vol. VII [Washington: Bureau of the Census, 1920; Government Printing Office, 1927], p. 189); also Warren S. Thompson, *Ratio of Children to Women, 1920* ("Census Monographs," Vol. XI [Washington: Government Printing Office, 1921], p. 75).

Polish origin. Thus over 80 per cent of the white population was either of Polish birth or immediate descent. How much of this culture has been retained? A walk down Joseph Campau, the main street of Hamtramck, makes it apparent that if one knew only the Polish language, he would have no difficulty, even today, in communicating. The names of the stores, the signs, and the conversations are almost as frequently in Polish as in English. Little imagination is needed to realize how much more prevalent were the Polish language and Polish customs twenty-five years ago. Indeed, many residents of Hamtramck refer to Detroit as the "outside" and speak of Hamtramck itself as "little Warsaw."

Regarding the rural origin of Hamtramck's population, the only quantitative statement is that of Arthur Wood. He states that 83 per cent of the 1,247 applicants for citizenship by persons born in Poland gave their birthplace as a village or farm, while only 13 per cent claimed to be city-born.² Also a survey made in Hamtramck in 1915 reported:

The population (some 20,000 in 1915) is approximately 80 per cent Polish, 15 per cent German and the remainder largely Negro. Most of the Poles have come within ten years and are not yet citizens while a larger proportion neither speak, read, nor write English. They are hard working, hard drinking, thrifty people, originating in rural Poland. Characteristic of their origins are superstitions and low standards of living which are revealed in fatalism as to the care of the sick and abnormal, and in their personal relations.³

The last decade has seen a substantial decrease in the population of Hamtramck, particularly among white persons. Young people with small children have been moving to the new Detroit suburban areas of residence in the typical way. Their houses and flats are being taken over by Negroes, although the rate of replacement was not

particularly rapid until the last few years. However, many of these younger people still return for the important events of life; their marriages and funerals are held in Hamtramck as well as their church services.

RELIGION

Hamtramck is, by and large, a Roman Catholic community. Our data on fertility pertain to the whole white population, but the total number of white Protestant families is too small to justify calling the derived rates other than *Catholic* birth rates. There is much evidence to justify this.

That most of the population was, and still is, of Polish stock is a most important clue to religious affiliation. In 1955 Hamtramck had three Roman Catholic parishes, with a total membership of approximately 29,000 persons, or what would amount to 80 per cent of the local white population. However, not all persons of Roman Catholic background are included in the church registers, and Catholics living outside may, for many reasons, belong to one of the Hamtramck churches.

The Census of Religious Bodies in 1926 indicated that, of Hamtramck's total population, only 2,645 persons were reported as belonging to a church (the Roman Catholics did not report on Hamtramck in this census). Of these, 1,443 persons belonged to Negro churches and 734 persons to other Protestant churches, some of which could be Negro. On the other hand, in 1936, the Roman Catholic church did report on Hamtramck. Of the 18,787 reported, 16,126, or 95 per cent, were Roman Catholic.⁴ This, of course, does not preclude the possibility that Protestants in Hamtramck might have joined Protestant churches in Detroit or might not belong to a church at all. However, the almost total absence of Protestant churches within Hamtramck certainly sup-

² *Hamtramck Then and Now* (New York: Bookman Associates, 1955), p. 30.

³ Walter Kruesi, *Social Survey of Hamtramck* (publisher unknown, 1915).

⁴ Only 423 of the remaining 2,661 persons belonged to the Polish National Catholic church, which is not a Romanist body, while 1,773 belonged to Negro churches and 505 persons belonged to other Protestant churches, some of which may have been Negro.

ports the conclusion that there are very few local Protestants.

Further evidence, though not definitive, was secured by the classification of each birth as Protestant or Roman Catholic on the basis of the information contained on the birth certificate. The names of the parents, their birthplace, hospital, etc., were used to identify indirectly the religious affiliation of the parents. While this technique is undoubtedly crude, results were impressively in accord with the other data. In 1920, 94 per cent; in 1930, 94 per cent; in 1940, 96 per cent; and in 1950, 91 per cent of the births were classified as Roman Catholic.

In summary, it appears that, while no

1930 as seen in the United States census shows this economic segregation clearly. Of course, the nature of the classification "gainful worker" obscures the level of skill within the manufacturing category, but very small numbers appear in the classifications "professional service" and "clerical." Included in the professional category in 1920 were six clergymen, two dentists, seven lawyers, twelve doctors, and one engineer. As this was a community of almost 50,000 persons, it is obvious that professional needs were largely met outside the city or not at all. Data concerning employed persons in the labor force in 1940 and 1950 are a more valid indication of the occupational struc-

TABLE 1
TOTAL FERTILITY RATES BY NATIVITY, HAMTRAMCK AND
DETROIT, MICHIGAN, 1920-50*

YEAR	HAMTRAMCK			DETROIT		
	Total White	Native White	Foreign-born White	Total White	Native White	Foreign-born White
1920.....	5,767.5	4,293.0	6,331.0	3,019.0	2,468.5	4,151.5
1930.....	2,492.0	2,486.5	2,773.5	2,131.0	2,023.0	2,793.5
1940.....	1,759.5	1,872.0	2,062.5	1,829.5	.....	.....
1950.....	2,262.5	.....	.....	2,604.5	.....	.....

* Data on births were gathered from primary sources—birth certificates on file with the Hamtramck Health Department. Births were tabulated on the basis of residence, with the out-of-city births to residents located in the files of the Michigan Department of Health in Lansing. There was some initial underregistration in 1920, but during World War II a birth certificate was mandatory to obtain factory employment in Hamtramck and Detroit. Because of this, most of the non-registered were later postregistered. Birth totals for all years were checked against federal and local school census and national Office of Vital Statistics records. A high degree of correspondence and internal consistency was found. Population data came from the appropriate U.S. censuses.

single bit of evidence is conclusive, taken together the data clearly indicate that, at the very least, 90 per cent of the population is of the Roman Catholic faith.

OCCUPATION AND ECONOMIC STATUS

Dwelling units in Hamtramck are almost all frame one- and two-family houses, constructed with little regard for anything but the bare essentials of living and maximum utilization of land. They were frankly planned for sale or rent to workers with low incomes. The town was virtually without an upper or middle class. The special situation of Hamtramck, that is, its total inclosure within Detroit, does not allow for expansion. Therefore, the high degree of homogeneity as a working-class district has been maintained.

The occupational distribution in 1920 and

ture. Even in 1950 Hamtramck remains a predominantly working-class community, although some changes in the upward direction can be seen when the situation is compared with that of 1940. Part of this, of course, is a reflection of postwar prosperity and the general upgrading of job classification.

THE FINDINGS

Given the four traits, each usually associated with high fertility, one would expect local fertility to be initially high and to remain high for a considerable time, since the congeries of attitudes and values associated with each trait is thought to be deep-seated. However, fertility rates in the Hamtramck population declined greatly in a short time. If Hamtramck is a specific example of a general phenomenon of change in

birth rates, as we assume it to be, there may, after all, be no correlation between the depth of a value and the length of time needed for change. This decline in fertility must therefore be analyzed and related to the four conditions by which high fertility is supported. The essential findings of this study are shown in Table 1.

There was an enormous decline in the total fertility rate in Hamtramck between 1920 and 1930, and it was greater among the foreign-born than among the native. Beginning in 1940, the total fertility rate in Hamtramck was similar to Detroit's.⁵ It evidently took less than twenty years for Hamtramck to conform to the norm of the

accepted fertility controls almost as readily as the native-born.

Comparison with the foreign-born population of Detroit provides further evidence. While in 1920 foreign-born women in Hamtramck had a total fertility rate 35 per cent higher than the corresponding group in Detroit, only ten years later the two rates were the same. After 1930 fertility rates by nativity were not available for Detroit, but it is apparent that before their numbers in the childbearing years became small the nativity of mothers no longer was an important element in the differences. Since the foreign-born women were also of rural birth it can be concluded that this, too, did not

TABLE 2
AGE-SPECIFIC FERTILITY RATES BY NATIVITY AS A PER CENT OF 1920*
HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN, 1930 AND 1940 (PERCENTAGES)

AGE	TOTAL WHITE		FOREIGN-BORN WHITE		NATIVE WHITE	
	1930	1940	1930	1940	1930	1940
15-19.....	40	17	48	44	63	27
20-24.....	59	35	66	43	60	37
25-29.....	43	41	40	44	74	61
30-34.....	32	32	30	18	47	50
35-39.....	31	21	32	19	54	36
40-44.....	35	15	36	9	30	38
45-49.....	†	6	†	5	†	†

* Each per cent in the table is a proportion of the 1920 fertility rate of the same age group.

† Only a few births occurred to women in this age group.

larger community, despite the prevalence of so many attributes associated with high fertility. Why did fertility begin to decline almost as soon as the community was formed?

NATIVITY

In Hamtramck the total fertility rate of foreign-born women in 1920 was 47 per cent greater than the corresponding rate for native white women. Only a decade later all but 12 per cent of this differential had disappeared: by 1940 it was only 10 per cent. In 1950 there were so few foreign-born women in the childbearing years that fertility rates could not be computed. It can be concluded that foreign-born mothers ac-

cepted fertility controls almost as readily as the native-born.

Table 2 shows that changes in the marriage pattern are pretty well eliminated as a direct cause of declining fertility. The greatest reduction in fertility rates from 1920 to 1940 occurred in those age groups where the percentage of married women is high and relatively unchanging. This may not be true of the native women aged fifteen to twenty-four, where decline in birth rates might be due to a change in age at marriage. There seems to be only one possible cause for the decline—conscious, deliberate planning.

ECONOMIC LEVEL

Fertility and economic level are generally highly associated. In the absence of data on the economic level of all families by mother's age, the father's job, as given on the birth

⁵ Detroit's population includes large numbers of Catholics (35-40 per cent), Poles, and production workers.

certificate, was substituted;⁶ the average birth order was used as a measure of fertility. Admittedly, neither of these measures is precise, but, nevertheless, broad differences are apparent (Table 3).

If we compare the change in birth order from 1920 to 1950 by occupational categories, we note distinct patterns. From 1920 to 1930 the decrease in average birth order was not nearly so marked for the two lower occupational groups (laborer and semi-skilled) as for the two higher occupational

family size, little further decrease could normally be expected. By 1950 the decreases in average birth order in all four occupational groups were very slight except for the highest age groups.

In summary, the average birth order in the higher occupational categories decreased sooner than did that of the lower occupational categories. However, by 1940 the rate of decrease in the laborer and semi-skilled groups was greater than that of the other two occupational groups, possibly

TABLE 3
AVERAGE BIRTH ORDER BY AGE OF MOTHER FOR OCCUPATION OF HUSBAND
WHITE WOMEN, HAMTRAMCK, MICHIGAN, 1920-50

AGE OF MOTHER	UN- SKILLED	SEMI- SKILLED	SKILLED	WHITE- COLLAR	UN- SKILLED	SEMI- SKILLED	SKILLED	WHITE- COLLAR
	1920			1930				
15-19.....	1.28	1.31	1.28	1.00	1.25	1.03	1.00	1.08
20-24.....	2.39	2.12	1.83	1.66	1.75	1.70	1.17	1.39
25-29.....	3.51	3.53	2.83	3.42	2.96	2.97	1.69	3.06
30-34.....	5.19	4.80	5.89	5.18	4.81	4.29	3.33	4.07
35-39.....	6.12	6.70	7.25	6.38	6.57	6.34	3.50	4.50
40-44.....	9.63	9.60	11.41	....	10.05	7.44	4.76	11.00
No. of births.....	1,399	288	279	85	493	277	120	82
	1940			1950				
15-19.....	1.37	2.00	1.11	1.00	1.25	1.19	1.43	1.33
20-24.....	1.54	1.44	1.52	1.52	1.50	1.42	1.47	1.25
25-29.....	2.02	2.00	1.81	1.73	1.92	2.13	1.96	1.70
30-34.....	3.29	3.00	4.14	2.43	2.37	2.46	2.06	2.41
35-39.....	5.45	4.85	5.25	4.16	3.05	4.07	4.18	3.22
40-44.....	7.57	7.00	6.66	7.00	4.00	4.00	....	3.50
No. of births.....	434	134	141	80	185	270	203	159

groups; i.e., there is a time lag in reduction of births between the upper and lower occupational groups. However, by 1940 the decrease in both the skilled and the white-collar categories was not nearly so great as it was in the lower occupational groups or as it had been in the former in 1930. In fact, in the skilled group the average birth order increased for all age groups. Since the latter group had already reached greatly reduced

stimulated by the behavior of the skilled and white-collar groups.

RELIGION

The birth rates of Catholics and Protestants cannot be compared directly. We can only relate the Catholics of Hamtramck to the mixed population of Catholics and Protestants in Detroit. However, if we compare the total white population of the two communities over the entire period, we see that in 1920 the total fertility rate in Hamtramck was 92 per cent above Detroit; in 1930 it was 18 per cent higher; by 1940 it was actually 3 per cent lower than Detroit; and in 1950 it was 13 per cent lower.

It is quite evident that today the birth

⁶ Each birth certificate was classified, according to the father's occupation, in one of four broad occupational groups: laborer, semiskilled, skilled, and "white collar." The latter was a catch-all of the few persons in the white-collar, professional, and managerial occupations. In addition, a few jobs (less than 3 per cent for any period) were either not reported or could not be classified.

rate in Hamtramck is lower than the birth rate of the general white population in Detroit. Since no clear Catholic-Protestant comparison is possible, several interpretations can be suggested. The birth rate of Catholics in Detroit may be assumed to be about the same as that of Catholics in Hamtramck. If so, it follows that Protestants in Detroit have substantially higher birth rates than Catholics, which is difficult to believe, although not outside the range of possibility. Another assumption is that birth rates among Catholics in Detroit are higher than birth rates among Catholics in Hamtramck—a more plausible idea. The fertility ratio for the white population for Hamtramck for 1950⁷ was slightly lower than that of Detroit women (323 and 348 per 1,000 women, respectively)—facts consistent with the data obtained from the more precise age-specific fertility rates. Next, a group of census tracts comprising the nucleus of the west-side Detroit Polish community and the five census tracts in Detroit comprising another identifiable foreign-born group—the Italian Catholics—were found to have only a slightly smaller degree of ethnic concentration than did the Polish community of Hamtramck, thus making them fairly comparable with the latter.⁸ Fertility ratios among Italian Catholics and Polish Catholics in Detroit in 1950 were found to be slightly higher than those of Hamtramck (364 and 333 per 1,000 women, respectively), especially in the case of the Italian Catholics. The same results were found for 1940.⁹

⁷ The fertility ratio as used throughout this study is defined as the number of children under five years of age divided by the number of women fifteen to forty-four years of age. All fertility ratios used in this study have been adjusted by the method of indirect standardization for age of women. The standard population utilized was the 1940 Detroit white population.

⁸ The concentration of Italians in these tracts was not quite so great as among the Poles in Hamtramck. Of the total white population, 25 per cent was foreign-born, and, of the foreign-born, 59 per cent were of Italian birth.

⁹ Fertility ratios in 1940 were as follows: Detroit, 248; Hamtramck, 238; Polish tracts (Detroit), 258.

In summary, the available data, admittedly limited, indicate little relationship between religion and fertility rates. That is, although the two Catholic communities in Detroit had higher fertility ratios than those found in Hamtramck, they were not high enough to account for the fertility differential between the latter and the total Detroit population. Rather, other factors must be investigated in order to determine what groups are contributing the most to the birth rates in Detroit. For example, recent studies indicate that when religion is held constant, there is a *direct* relationship between economic level, by both income and occupation, and birth rates.¹⁰ Although not directly related to this paper, this is further evidence of the increasing lack of relationship between religion and fertility.

GENERALITY OF THE FINDINGS

There are no equally detailed data for Polish groups elsewhere; still there is a strong indication of a general decline in fertility among Polish immigrants (Table 4).

In 1940 and 1950 the fertility ratio in Hamtramck was neither outstandingly high nor outstandingly low. There is a considerable range to the fertility ratios, particularly in 1940, but Hamtramck was close to the center. Of course, the fertility ratio is a relatively crude index, and small differences are not necessarily real. The pattern seems clear, though; in 1940 the fertility ratios in each city were at one level, and in 1950 each had increased. The amount and proportion of increase was also within a reasonable range. We can conclude, although our evidence is not precise, that the fertility trends in Hamtramck were not the product of unique circumstance but, on the whole, were experienced in other Polish immigrant communities throughout the United States.

¹⁰ Albert J. Mayer and Carol Klapprodt, "Fertility Differentials in Detroit, 1920-1950," *Population Studies*, IX, No. 2 (November, 1955), 148-57. Much information was obtained from a study conducted by the Detroit Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. We are deeply indebted to Mr. David Goldberg for allowing us to examine the data in advance of publication.

On the other hand, we do not know whether this is true of such groups as the Italian and Irish Catholics. Analyzing them would be a method of holding religion constant, in order to determine the relationship between the national culture and fertility rates.

THE CAUSES OF DECLINING FERTILITY

As our statistical data do not tell us anything about basic causes or how the transition to small families was accomplished, we questioned representatives of each social agency operating in Hamtramck since 1925, as well as women who had raised families there during the 1920's. We

ly for the children, was possibly a far more powerful incentive to family limitation. Furthermore, the statements of those interviewed make it appear as a comparatively conscious and rational process.

The ease with which social change takes place is generally held to be dependent on the intensity of the attitudes and values associated with the cultural trait in question. However, this may also be related to the intensity of the attitudes and values associated with the conflicting and substituting traits. The avoidance of group ridicule, the desire to enjoy the higher standard of living of the reference group, the difficulty in supporting a large family at even subsistence

TABLE 4
FERTILITY RATIOS IN POLISH AREAS OF
SELECTED CITIES, 1940 AND 1950*

City	1940	1950
Hamtramck.....	238	323
Detroit.....	248	348
Chicago.....	212	330
Cleveland.....	218	340
Pittsburgh.....	271	393
Buffalo.....	257	328

* These cities were selected as being the principal centers of Polish immigration in this country. The age-adjusted fertility ratios were calculated for only those census tracts in them which contain at least the same degree of concentration of Polish-born as found in Hamtramck.

learned that the main inducement for the reduction of families was the difficulty of raising a large family on the then current wages of a factory worker. However, this situation was customary in Poland. Moreover, there were other groups in this country at the same income level who did not exhibit such a drastic reduction in births in such a short time. Rather, if we remember that, on the one hand, these people were attempting to become assimilated, while, on the other, they were constantly aware of the differences between themselves and the Americans "on the outside" (native-born Detroiters), it becomes apparent that the relative standard of living may have been a strong stimulant. That the wages of a worker might have been greater in Hamtramck than in Poland was not to the point. The proximity of a reference group with a higher standard of living, particular-

level, and the strong prejudice of Poles against accepting welfare funds were sufficiently powerful to make them prefer small families and resort to birth control.

This still does not explain how these changes took place. While interviewers from the social agencies agreed that there must have been deliberate birth control, none would admit that their agency had abetted the process. Thus no formal procedure for the dissemination of birth-control information existed. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that an individual social worker might have given information to Hamtramck women. Nevertheless, the desire for such information must have been strong if no easily accessible group was volunteering it. It would seem that the important pressure was exerted informally in the factory both by Poles living in Hamtramck who were to

some degree identified with native Detroiters and by the native Detroiters themselves. Thus the pressure to practice birth control came from within the community as well as from the reference group rather than from an organized source.

Furthermore, these pressures were

of a social agency might have stimulated this process even more, the informal in-group was, no doubt, an excellent substitute.

These facts demonstrate that predictions of the speed of assimilation or social change must reckon with the intensity of conflicting and substituting attitudes and values and

TABLE 5
FERTILITY RATES OF WHITE WOMEN BY AGE AND CITY
HAMTRAMCK AND DETROIT, MICHIGAN, 1920-50

AGE AND CITY	1920			1930			1940			1950 TOTAL WHITE
	Total White	Native White	Foreign- born White	Total White	Native White	Foreign- born White	Total White	Native White	Foreign- born White	
Ham- tramck total..	5,767.5	4,293.0	6,331.0	2,492.0	2,486.5	2,773.5	1,759.5	1,872.0	2,062.5	2,262.5
15-19....	96.1	53.8	167.8	38.0	33.5	80.7	15.9	14.3	73.1	31.9
20-24....	298.1	281.4	303.9	175.4	166.9	199.8	103.1	102.1	129.1	146.0
25-29....	266.9	180.1	279.2	119.1	127.2	110.0	109.8	108.6	121.9	136.0
30-34....	246.1	178.3	257.8	78.2	83.9	76.3	76.6	88.8	46.7	93.5
35-39....	177.9	106.0	187.0	57.1	57.3	57.0	36.7	38.1	35.6	38.9
40-44....	64.9	59.0	66.5	23.1	17.7	23.8	9.5	22.4	6.0	6.0
45-49....	3.5	.....	4.0	7.5	10.8	7.1	0.2	.....	0.2	0.2
Detroit total..	3,019.0	2,468.5	4,151.5	2,131.0	2,023.0	2,793.5	1,829.5	.....	.....	2,604.5
15-19....	60.0	52.5	92.3	49.7	47.2	64.3	27.1	.....	.....	46.4
20-24....	169.7	149.1	227.7	131.7	123.0	168.6	113.5	.....	.....	165.1
25-29....	154.1	127.6	207.6	118.1	107.2	141.8	112.4	.....	.....	157.7
30-34....	115.0	94.9	148.8	58.5	71.5	98.8	68.8	.....	.....	96.3
35-39....	72.8	49.6	105.9	49.4	41.7	60.3	34.4	.....	.....	44.6
40-44....	29.2	18.1	44.0	17.3	12.9	23.0	8.9	.....	.....	10.2
45-49....	3.0	1.9	4.0	1.5	1.1	1.9	0.8	.....	.....	0.6

abetted by the cohesiveness and solidarity of the community. On occasion, these qualities may present a formidable barrier to the transmission of new cultural traits. Nevertheless, once the new trait meets favor, they become highly effective in its rapid diffusion. In Hamtramck, once the values related to lower birth rates began to be accepted, the knowledge of birth-control methods could spread rapidly through the community. Although the formal sanction

the proximity of a reference group. Furthermore, the hypothesis is suggested that the change in values concomitant with this pattern of decreasing fertility rates to some extent requires a concentrated cultural community. It is very likely that Polish families living in native-white areas may exhibit a different pattern of birth rates due to a local difference in their self-image.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY

URBAN NEIGHBORHOODS AND INFORMAL SOCIAL RELATIONS¹

WENDELL BELL AND MARION D. BOAT

ABSTRACT

Interviews with men in four neighborhoods of different social type in San Francisco reveal that informal relationships within the neighborhood are fairly frequent and likely to be personal, close, and intimate. The frequency and the nature of informal participation vary with the economic and family characteristics of the neighborhoods. Compared to neighbors and co-workers, kin are generally more important in each neighborhood by all the measures of informal participation used. Formal group participation results in friendships for the majority.

Students of urban social organization have concerned themselves with several lines of investigation. The study of the city as compared to rural places or non-literate societies and the study of one section of the city as compared to others have been prominent among them. The two interests can be found in Wirth's classic article, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," in which, comparing the city and the country, he says: "Distinctive features of the urban mode of life have often been described sociologically as consisting of the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship, and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighborhood, and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity." On the other hand, he emphasizes the differences between urban neighborhoods when he says: "Persons of homogeneous status and needs unwittingly drift into, consciously select, or are forced by circumstances into, the same area. . . . The city consequently tends to resemble a mosaic of social worlds in which the transition from one to the other is abrupt."²

Recent writers have both questioned the

extent to which the city in general contains impersonal, anonymous, and secondary social relations and suggested that the differences between sections of the city should be considered in making generalizations about urban social relationships in general.³ Are anonymity, social isolation, impersonal relations, the decline in the importance of the kin group, the disappearance of local community life, and other alleged attributes of life in the city as contrasted with life in the country equally present in every section of the city? Are they characteristic of certain parts of the city and not of others? If the latter is the case, then generalizations contrasting urban with rural social relations need to be elaborated to include a *systematic*

¹ Revised version of a paper read at the annual meetings of the Midwest Sociological Society, Kansas City, Missouri, April, 1956. The first author wishes to express his appreciation to the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Stanford University Committee for Research in the Social Sciences, which provided the funds for the study, to Maryanne T. Force and the Surinder K. Mehta.

² *American Journal of Sociology*, XL (July, 1938), 20-21 and 15.

³ E.g., see Morris Axelrod, "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (February, 1956), 13-18; Donald L. Foley, "Neighbors or Urbanites?" (Rochester, N.Y.: Department of Sociology, University of Rochester, 1952) (mimeographed); Scott Greer, "Urbanism Reconsidered: A Comparative Study of Local Areas in a Metropolis," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (February, 1956), 19-25; Scott Greer and Ella Kube, "Urban Worlds" (Los Angeles: Laboratory in Urban Culture, Occidental College, 1955) (mimeographed); Morris Janowitz, *The Community Press in an Urban Setting* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952); Albert J. Reiss, Jr., "An Analysis of Urban Phenomena," in Robert Moore Fisher (ed.), *The Metropolis in Modern Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1955), chap. iii; Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (November, 1954), 276-83; and Gregory P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observations on the Social Psychology of City Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (July, 1954), 36-45.

analysis of particular urban conditions under which impersonal social relations arise most and those other conditions under which they arise least.

It is the purpose of this paper to contribute to the determination of such conditions by relating informal relations of urban residents to social types of neighborhoods. Specifically, male residents of four different types of neighborhoods are compared with respect to amount of socializing with neighbors, relatives, co-workers, and friends; the nature of informal contacts; the source of friendships; and the amount of personal relations in formal associations.⁴

status and high family status. Pacific Heights, with its high-rent apartment houses, is high in economic status and low in family status; and St. Francis Wood, with its high-rent detached houses, ranks high on both criteria. Each contains relatively few members of subordinate racial and nationality groups.⁵

A probability sample of males over the age of twenty-one was drawn from each census tract, and a total of 701 interviews was completed, mostly during the spring of 1953. The total number of interviews is about equally divided between the four neighborhoods, and the total response rate exceeds 85

TABLE 1
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES, BY FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION
IN ALL INFORMAL GROUPS

Frequency of Informal Group Participation	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
More than once a week . . .	44.2	50.3	55.3	45.8
About once a week	18.0	13.1	16.5	28.0
A few times a month	18.6	22.5	17.0	17.2
About once a month	8.1	3.1	3.5	2.4
A few times a year	6.4	6.3	6.5	4.8
About once a year	1.8	4.2	0.6	1.2
Never	2.9	0.5	0.6	0.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases	(172)	(191)	(170)	(168)

From an examination of the social area distribution of the census tracts in San Francisco as of 1950, four tracts were selected in which intensive interviewing was carried out. Each tract represents a different social type of neighborhood: Mission, a low-rent rooming-house neighborhood, is characterized by relatively low economic status and a relatively low score on the index of family status. Outer Mission, a neighborhood of low-rent detached houses, is of low economic

per cent.⁶

Table 1 reports the frequency of total informal group participation for each of the four neighborhoods.⁷ The majority of men in each of the neighborhoods get together with some informal group at least once a

⁵ For a discussion of social areas and the indexes of economic, family, and ethnic status on which they are based see Eshref Shevky and Wendell Bell, *Social Area Analysis* (Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955).

⁶ For further information concerning the selection and description of the sample see Bell, *op. cit.*, and Bell and Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *op. cit.*

⁷ The calculation involved the summing of the frequency of participation in four informal groups: neighbors, co-workers (outside of work association), relatives (other than those living with the respondent), and friends (other than those who are neighbors, co-workers, and relatives).

⁴ For other aspects of the study see Wendell Bell, "The Utility of the Shevky Typology for the Design of Urban Subarea Field Studies," *Journal of Social Psychology*, forthcoming; Wendell Bell and Maryanne T. Force, "Urban Neighborhood Types and Participation in Formal Associations," *American Sociological Review*, XXI (February, 1956), 25-34, and "Social Structure and Participation in Different Types of Formal Associations," *Social Forces*, XXXIV (May, 1956), 345-50.

week. In Mission 62.2 per cent, in Pacific Heights 63.4 per cent, in Outer Mission 71.8 per cent, and in St. Francis Wood 73.8 per cent of the men so report. Although the neighborhoods differ in economic and family characteristics, most of the men have fairly frequent informal social contacts.

Conversely, in every neighborhood *except* Mission, the rooming-house neighborhood, the proportion of men who have no informal associations is less than 1 per cent, and even in Mission only 2.9 per cent of the men have no informal contacts. Thus, whether a man lives in a cheap rooming-house area, an expensive apartment-house area, an area characterized by small detached houses and modest means, or one in which the dwellings are detached, large, and relatively expensive, he is very unlikely to be completely isolated. Axelrod⁸ and Greer⁹ report corroborating findings for Detroit and Los Angeles, respectively.

The neighborhoods of low family status contain somewhat larger percentages of men who get together informally about once a month or less.¹⁰ Mission contains 19.2 per cent who have few informal contacts compared to Outer Mission's 11.2 per cent, and Pacific Heights contains 14.1 per cent compared to St. Francis Wood's 9.0 per cent. Differences between neighborhoods by economic status at each level of family status are not statistically significant.

Table 2 shows the frequency of participation by type of informal group. Those men who report getting together informally with members of a given group "about once a year" or "never" will be considered socially isolated from it. A comparison of the neighborhoods of low family status with those of high family status at each level of economic status shows that social isolation from

neighbors and also from relatives varies inversely with family status.¹¹ The differences are in the same direction in the case of those isolated from co-workers but are not statistically significant. Thus the amount of family life in an urban neighborhood appears to affect the degree to which men are socially isolated from their neighbors and from their relatives, men living in neighborhoods characterized by relatively few children, many women in the labor force, and many multiple dwellings being more isolated from these groups than men living in areas characterized by relatively many children, few women in the labor force, and many single-family detached dwellings.

Comparing Mission to Pacific Heights and Outer Mission to St. Francis Wood will reveal any differences in social isolation from particular informal groups by economic status at each level of family status. No statistically significant differences appear when the economic status of the neighborhood and isolation from neighbors and relatives are considered. However, there is an inverse relationship between isolation from co-workers and neighborhood economic status.¹² Also, men living in neighborhoods of low economic status are more likely to be isolated from friends than are men living in neighborhoods of high economic status.¹³ These findings are consistent with those given by Axelrod, who reports similar relationships when relating individual measures of socioeconomic status to frequency of participation in informal groups.¹⁴

In Table 2 social isolation by type of informal group within each neighborhood can be seen. In Mission and Pacific Heights, the two neighborhoods of low family status, the ranking of the groups from least to most

¹¹ The sum of the chi squares in each case indicates $p < .01$, and the interaction chi square in each case is not significant.

¹² The sum of the chi squares equals 7.66, $p < .05$, and the interaction chi square is not significant.

¹³ The sum of the chi squares equals 13.93, $p < .01$, and the interaction chi square is not significant.

¹⁴ "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *op. cit.*, p. 17. Cf. Table 6.

⁸ Morris Axelrod, "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, 1953).

⁹ *Op. cit.*

¹⁰ The sum of the two chi squares equals 6.60, $p < .05$. The interaction chi square is not significant.

isolation is clear and is as follows: (1) friends, (2) relatives, (3) co-workers, and (4) neighbors. In Outer Mission and St. Francis Wood, however, the neighborhoods characterized by a relatively large amount of family life, relatives and neighbors each increase in importance as a source of informal contacts, so that isolation from relatives is not significantly different from isolation from friends, and isolation from neighbors is

not significantly different from isolation from co-workers. Isolation from neighbors and co-workers is, however, still greater than isolation from relatives and friends.

Although Table 1 shows that very few men have no informal contacts whatever, it can be seen from Table 2 that many are socially isolated from a given informal group. For example, the proportion of men isolated from neighbors is as high as 58.2 per cent in

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES, BY FREQUENCY OF PARTICIPATION
IN SPECIFIED INFORMAL GROUPS

Frequency of Participation by Group	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
<i>Neighbors:</i>				
About once a week or more.....	24.4	26.7	31.2	16.7
A few times a month.....	4.6	7.3	14.1	10.1
About once a month.....	9.3	5.8	8.8	16.7
A few times a year.....	3.5	8.9	4.7	23.2
About once a year.....	1.2	1.6	0.6	1.8
Never.....	57.0	49.7	40.6	31.5
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(172)	(191)	(170)	(168)
<i>Co-workers:*</i>				
About once a week or more.....	20.8	21.7	20.1	17.3
A few times a month.....	5.6	13.3	10.1	11.6
About once a month.....	11.1	8.4	14.7	16.0
A few times a year.....	13.9	21.1	16.8	25.0
About once a year.....	2.1	5.4	5.4	6.4
Never.....	46.5	30.1	32.9	23.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(145)	(166)	(149)	(156)
<i>Relatives:†</i>				
About once a week or more.....	33.1	29.8	45.3	42.3
A few times a month.....	10.5	14.7	13.0	13.1
About once a month.....	12.8	13.1	14.1	11.3
A few times a year.....	10.5	16.2	13.5	19.0
About once a year.....	7.5	11.5	4.1	6.0
Never.....	25.6	14.7	10.0	8.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(172)	(191)	(170)	(168)
<i>Friends:‡</i>				
About once a week or more.....	36.1	49.7	27.1	39.9
A few times a month.....	14.5	14.1	14.1	21.4
About once a month.....	15.7	12.6	21.2	11.9
A few times a year.....	11.0	13.6	18.2	14.3
About once a year.....	2.3	1.1	1.8	1.8
Never.....	20.4	8.9	17.6	10.7
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(172)	(191)	(170)	(168)

* Unemployed men omitted. Also excludes informal contacts at place of work.

† Relatives other than those living with the respondent.

‡ Other than friends who are neighbors, co-workers, or relatives.

Mission and even in St. Francis Wood reaches 33.3 per cent. Likewise, fairly large percentages of men seldom or never get together outside of work with their co-workers, the percentage reporting social isolation from this group varying from 48.6 in Mission to 30.1 in St. Francis Wood. The percentage isolated from relatives varies from 33.1 in Mission to 14.1 in Outer Mission, and the percentage isolated from friends varies from 22.7 in Mission to 10.0 in Pacific Heights. This undoubtedly reflects the geographical separation of work and residence, the segmentalization of *personal* rela-

and close than that which occurs outside it, each respondent was asked whether or not his associations with a particular group usually occurred at home. These responses are shown in Table 3. By this measure the more intimate contacts seem to occur with relatives and neighbors than with friends and co-workers, although one might question this in the case of neighboring, where physical proximity makes association at home relatively effortless.

In addition, each respondent was asked how many close personal friends he had in each type of informal group. As can be seen

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS USUALLY ASSOCIATING IN THEIR HOME
BY TYPE OF GROUP

Group with Which Respondent Associates in the Home	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
Neighbors.....	67.6 (74)*	72.9 (96)	81.2 (101)	79.1 (115)
Co-workers†.....	36.4 (77)	29.3 (116)	30.0 (100)	27.7 (118)
Relatives.....	84.4 (128)	82.2 (163)	81.0 (153)	88.3 (154)
Friends.....	41.6 (137)	43.7 (174)	50.0 (140)	50.0 (150)

* Numbers on which the percentages are based are given in parentheses.

† Unemployed persons are excluded.

tionships, and the resulting increase in freedom to choose one's companions in the city. In contrast, of course, many rural communities consist of persons who are neighbors, who are also kin, and who are also co-workers.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the findings in Table 2, however, is the importance of the kin group as a source of informal relations in each of these neighborhoods, corroborating Axelrod's comment: "The extended family may have lost its function as an economic producing unit in the city, but relatives continue to be an important source of companionship and mutual support."¹⁵

On the assumption that informal getting-together in the home may be more intimate

¹⁵ "Urban Structure and Social Participation," *op. cit.*, p. 17.

from Table 4, in each neighborhood well over half the men report that they have at least one close personal friend in each informal group, providing evidence that informal relations with neighbors, co-workers, relatives, or friends can hardly be described as impersonal.

By this measure of intimacy, co-workers provide more personal relationships than neighbors. Thus the comparison shown in Table 3 between neighbors and co-workers may not in reality indicate differences in degree of intimacy; that is, some men apparently do not see their co-workers in their homes, and yet the relationship is personal and intimate.

In considering both measures of intimacy of informal relations—the degree to which the home is the place of informal interaction and the extent to which close personal

friends are members of a particular informal group—it becomes clear that kin are more likely to provide intimate social contacts than neighbors or co-workers in each neighborhood.

Each respondent was asked how many persons from each group he could call on to take care of him if he were sick for even "as

nificant. However, there is no question about the fact that the kin are considered to be the most important in providing relationships that can be counted on in an emergency and that friends are more depended upon than neighbors or co-workers.

Consistent with the finding that men living in neighborhoods of high economic sta-

TABLE 4
PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS WITH ONE OR MORE FRIENDS IN THE GROUP
BY TYPE OF GROUP

Group Containing One or More of Respondent's Friends	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
Neighbors.....	74.3 (74)*	61.1 (96)	78.2 (101)	62.6 (115)
Co-workers†.....	89.6 (77)	72.4 (116)	85.0 (100)	79.7 (118)
Relatives.....	93.0 (128)	88.3 (163)	90.8 (153)	92.8 (154)
Friends.....	89.0 (137)	90.8 (174)	89.3 (140)	92.7 (150)

* Numbers on which the percentages are based are given in parentheses.

† Unemployed persons are excluded.

TABLE 5
PERCENTAGE RELYING ON AT LEAST ONE MEMBER OF THE SPECIFIED GROUP

Group on Which Respondent Relies	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
Neighbors.....	34.3 (172)*	29.3 (191)	44.7 (170)	39.9 (168)
Co-workers†.....	39.9 (145)	46.4 (166)	23.5 (149)	43.6 (156)
Relatives.....	70.9 (172)	83.8 (191)	81.2 (170)	85.1 (168)
Friends.....	59.9 (172)	65.3 (191)	52.7 (170)	73.2 (168)

* Numbers on which percentages are based are given in parentheses.

† Unemployed persons are excluded.

long as a month." By this measure the groups can be ranked according to reliance upon them as follows: (1) relatives, (2) friends, (3) co-workers, and (4) neighbors (see Table 5). Again the importance of kin as a source of ties that bind is evident. This order is maintained in every neighborhood except Outer Mission, in which co-workers seem less depended upon than neighbors. Also in Mission and St. Francis Wood the differences between reliance upon co-workers and upon neighbors are not sig-

nificant. However, there is no question about the fact that the kin are considered to be the most important in providing relationships that can be counted on in an emergency and that friends are more depended upon than neighbors or co-workers.

From the above data the important role of kin and friends in providing city men with close, personal, and intimate contacts seems fairly well established. However, the relative importance of neighbors and co-workers in relation to one another seems less

clear. Table 6 reports the percentage of men who report that, apart from the enjoyment they get out of it, their participation with neighbors or co-workers yields them certain material benefit. We interpret these percentages to indicate the tendency to be calculating or self-seeking and to exploit others. For such persons the association may be a means to some other end, not an end in itself. If this is correct, then it can be concluded that a calculating motive is more likely to enter into a man's relationships with his neighbors than into his relationships with his co-

workers. Taking the neighborhoods separately, however, these differences are not significant in the two neighborhoods of high economic status, although they are significant in the two where economic status is low.

Notice also from Table 6 that men living where economic status is low are more likely to be calculating in their relationships with neighbors than men living where economic status is high.

That the tendency to be calculating in relations with neighbors or co-workers gen-

TABLE 6
PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS BENEFITING MATERIALLY FROM
THEIR PARTICIPATION, BY TYPE OF GROUP

Group from Which Respondent Benefits Materially	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
Neighbors*.....	51.4 (74)†	32.2 (96)	55.4 (101)	33.9 (115)
Co-workers‡.....	18.2 (77)	25.0 (116)	21.0 (100)	28.8 (118)

* Includes only those who get together with neighbors.

† Numbers on which percentages are based are given in parentheses.

‡ Includes only those employed who associate with co-workers.

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF ADULT MALES MEETING ONE OR MORE FRIENDS
IN THE SPECIFIED PLACE

Place of Meeting	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
In the neighborhood...	30.2 (172)*	21.6 (191)	43.5 (170)	37.5 (168)
At work.....	58.3 (172)	55.3 (191)	61.1 (170)	57.6 (168)

* Numbers on which percentages are based are given in parentheses.

TABLE 8
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALE PARTICIPANTS IN FORMAL GROUPS
BY NUMBER OF FRIENDS

No. of Friends in Same Formal Groups as Respondent	Low Family, Low Economic Status (Mission)	Low Family, High Economic Status (Pacific Heights)	High Family, Low Economic Status (Outer Mission)	High Family, High Economic Status (St. Francis Wood)
Nine or more.....	51.2	56.0	55.5	61.3
Four to eight.....	22.1	22.0	16.0	19.3
One to three.....	9.9	8.0	14.6	7.1
None.....	16.8	14.0	13.9	12.3
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
No. of cases.....	(132)	(151)	(137)	(156)

erally is not great is indicated by the fact that only a relatively small percentage of men reported that they would discontinue their informal relations with neighbors or co-workers, respectively, if they *did not* receive any material benefits from them. More than 85 per cent of the men in each neighborhood either do not benefit materially from getting together with neighbors or co-workers or do not maintain such relationships primarily for "what they get out of it in the way of material benefits." We take this as further evidence that, in general, informal relationships with neighbors and co-workers, when they exist, represent primary, intimate, and personal relationships with little suggestion of exploitation.

Table 7 shows the relative importance of the neighborhood as compared to the place of employment as a source of "close personal friends." In each neighborhood a much larger percentage of men report having met one or more of their good friends at their place of work. This further supports the notion that neighbors are somewhat less important than co-workers in providing satisfying personal relations.

Also Table 7 further affirms the fact that a neighborhood is more highly organized and integrated through informal contacts if it is characterized by high family status; men in Outer Mission and St. Francis Wood are more likely to have met one or more of their good friends in the neighborhood than are men in Mission and Pacific Heights.¹⁶

To argue that the formal association is not an important activity in the city is to fly in the face of the obvious evidence. However, in spite of the great number of formal associations (businesses and government agencies were not included) and their generally widespread membership, the question arises as to just how impersonal and anonymous are the relationships. From Table 8 it appears that attendance at a formal meeting serves in part to bring men together in relationships of a primary nature. For example, over 51 per cent of the members of formal associations in each of the neighborhoods report that they have nine or more close personal friends who also are members. Conversely, less than 17 per cent report that they have no close personal friends in their associations at all. Thus most individuals find the formal association by no means as impersonal as often assumed.

In conclusion, the findings of this study are that the family and economic characteristics of an urban neighborhood may greatly influence the informal social relations of city residents. Other studies will no doubt demonstrate the relevance of other conditions of the neighborhood.

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¹⁶ The sum of the chi squares equals 17.67, $p < .01$, and the interaction chi square is not significant.

CURRENT POPULATION TRENDS IN LATIN AMERICA¹

T. LYNN SMITH

ABSTRACT

Since 1900 the proportion of Latin-Americans in the world total has risen from 2.7 to 6.5 per cent. A fundamental redistribution of the population is also under way, featured by a strong tendency to urbanization and a rapid extension of the frontier in southern Brazil, outward from Antioquia and Caldas in Colombia, and all along the eastern slope of the Andes from Bolivia to Venezuela. The whiter elements are increasing more rapidly than the darker, and larger proportions of adults are mating in accordance with legal and religious prescriptions.

It is now fairly well known that a demographic revolution is under way in Latin America. Although this lacks the newsworthiness of the frequent unseatings of the "ins" by the "outs," to which in the southern part of the Western Hemisphere the name "revolution" is generally applied, its implications are of far greater significance. The number of inhabitants, the distribution of the population, and even the basic bio-social characteristics of the people themselves are undergoing drastic changes.

THE GROWTH OF POPULATION

Since 1900 no other great world area has rivaled Latin America in the speed with which the members of the human race are increasing.² As nearly as can be ascertained, at the beginning of the present century the population of the Latin-American countries numbered approximately 43,000,000; by 1950 this figure had risen to 154,000,000 (see Table 1), and in 1956 it is probably about 172,000,000. Between 1900 and 1950 the proportion of the earth's inhabitants resident in Latin America rose from about 2.7 to 6.3 per cent. Or, to mention another significant index, between 1920 and 1950 the

population of the twenty Latin-American countries increased 73 per cent, as compared with 35 per cent on the earth as a whole, 23 per cent in the Soviet Union,³ and 43 per cent in the United States.

A rapid growth of population is characteristic of all parts of Latin America. Thus the latest estimates of the annual rate of population increase in Latin-American countries, as prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, include the following: Costa Rica (1927-50), 2.3; Cuba (1943-53), 2.1; Dominican Republic (1935-50), 2.5; El Salvador (1930-50), 1.3; Guatemala (1940-50), 1.2; Honduras (1940-50), 2.7; Mexico (1940-50), 2.7; Nicaragua (1940-50), 2.4; Panama (1940-50), 2.9; Argentina (1914-47), 2.2; Bolivia (1900-1950), 1.2; Brazil (1940-50), 2.4; Chile (1940-52), 1.5; Colombia (1938-51), 2.0; and Venezuela (1941-50), 3.0.⁴

We know, with some degree of precision, not only the rate at which the population of Latin-American countries is growing but also what circumstances are responsible for the changes. Let us consider these briefly. There are, of course, only three factors having a direct bearing upon the number and distribution of any population, namely, births, deaths, and migrations. Of these, as a rule, the first two are by far the most im-

¹ Prepared for presentation at the annual meeting of the Population Association of America, Ann Arbor, Michigan, May 19-20, 1956. The author is grateful to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for the grant making possible sustained study of population changes and movements in Latin America.

² Cf. T. Lynn Smith, *Population Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948), p. 372.

³ This figure for the U.S.S.R. is based upon the "allowances" for the population of Soviet Russia in the world population totals given in the *Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, 1953* (New York, 1953), p. 82.

⁴ *Ibid.*, Table 2, pp. 86-90.

portant; and, indeed, in Latin America very little of the phenomenal increase of population can be attributed to immigration. Even in Brazil and Argentina, which have received the bulk of the immigration to Hispanic America, the birth rate and the death rate are mainly responsible for the changes in the number and distribution of the population. In Brazil not more than 10 per cent

birth rate. For centuries the various Latin-American countries were characterized by exceedingly high birth and death rates. Women gave birth to children with a frequency close to that possible to the human organism, and the Grim Reaper cut them down in frightful proportions, especially during the tender years of life. All during the nineteenth century the birth rate in most

TABLE 1
POPULATION AND DENSITY OF POPULATION OF THE
LATIN-AMERICAN COUNTRIES, 1950

	Area* in Square Kilometers	Population	Inhabitants per Square Kilometer
North America.....	2,730,446	45,052,845	17
Costa Rica.....	51,001	800,875	16
Cuba.....	114,524	5,348,000†	47
El Salvador.....	34,126	1,855,917	54
Guatemala.....	108,889	2,788,122	26
Haiti.....	27,750	3,111,973	112
Honduras.....	153,226	1,368,605	9
Mexico.....	1,969,367	25,781,173	13
Nicaragua.....	148,000	1,057,023	7
Panama.....	74,010	805,285	11
Dominican Republic.....	49,543	2,135,872	43
South America.....	17,289,845	108,770,671	6
Argentina.....	2,794,015	17,196,000†	6
Bolivia.....	1,069,094	2,691,092	3
Brazil.....	8,516,037	51,976,357	6
Chile.....	741,767	5,809,000†	8
Colombia.....	1,139,155	11,000,000†	10
Ecuador.....	275,000	3,202,757	12
Paraguay.....	406,752	1,405,627	3
Peru.....	1,249,049	8,405,000†	7
Uruguay.....	186,926	2,050,000†	11
Venezuela.....	912,050	5,034,838	6

* Data on areas taken from the *Demographic Yearbook of the United Nations, 1949-50* (New York, 1950), pp. 74 and 76.

† United Nations estimate.

‡ Author's estimate of midyear population.

of the gain may fairly be attributed to immigration,⁵ and the proportion in Argentina can hardly be much higher. Nevertheless, there is a substantial movement of people from one Latin-American country to another, particularly from El Salvador to Honduras, from Nicaragua to Costa Rica, and from Bolivia to Argentina.

Essentially the demographic revolution in Latin America is due to a dramatic fall in the death rate without, as yet at least, a change of corresponding magnitude in the

Latin-American countries must have been as high as 40 or 50 per thousand; and the mortality rate must have been almost as great. From 20 to 50 per cent of the babies died before they reached their first birthdays.

Except for a recent and spectacular decline in the rate of reproduction which is taking place in a few of the more urbanized and industrialized parts, the fertility of the population remains high; in the bulk of the territory from Mexico to Patagonia birth rates are comparable to those of the United States in 1800. But, meanwhile, medical and sanitary measures based on the germ theory of disease have brought about a sharp and

⁵ Cf. T. Lynn Smith, *Brazil: People and Institutions* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1946), pp. 158-59.

sustained fall in the death rate. As yet the registration of deaths and the population counts are not sufficiently accurate to make it worthwhile to reproduce the reported data, but there can be no doubt that the death rates in all the countries have been greatly reduced during the twentieth century. Probably, in most cases, the reduction has been as much as 50 per cent, or from about 40 per thousand population to about 20. This tremendous decrease in the death rate with no corresponding change in the birth rate is the cause of the current rapid growth of population.

That no corresponding decreases in the birth rate have taken place is evident from an examination of fertility ratios calculated for the countries for each year for which census data are available. Only in Argentina and Cuba is there definite indication of a fall in the rate of reproduction: in Argentina the reported number of children under five years per one hundred women aged fifteen to forty-four fell from 67 in 1914 to 47 in 1947; in Cuba, from 62 in 1931 to 55 in 1953. In Chile, too, the fact that this index was only 52 for 1940, the only date for which data are available, probably means that the rate of reproduction is significantly lower than it was a few decades earlier.

One should not claim, on the basis of the following materials, that the birth rate actually is rising in most of the Latin-American countries. Improvement in the data is probably the more reasonable explanation.⁶ Nevertheless, the extremely high ratios of children to women are sufficient evidence for the proposition that no significant decrease in the rate of reproduction has been taking place. In the countries for which successive censuses make possible a comparison of the fertility ratios, the following changes are noted: Costa Rica, a rise from 69 in 1927 to 74 in 1950; the Dominican Republic, a rise from 78 in 1935 to 80 in 1950; El Salvador, no change between 1930 and 1950, with a ratio of 67 each year; Honduras, an increase from 57 in 1935 to 73 in 1950; Mexico,

an increase from 62 in 1930 to 68 in 1950; Nicaragua, a decrease from 72 in 1940 to 70 in 1950; Panama, a rise from 64 in 1940 to 75 in 1950; Brazil, an increase from 67 in 1920 to 71 in 1950; and Venezuela, an increase from 58 in 1936 to 77 in 1950. The ratios for the other countries, for which comparisons in time are not possible, also are very high, as indicated by the following fertility ratios: Guatemala (1940), 72; Haiti (1950), 50; Bolivia (1950), 68; Colombia (1938), 68; Ecuador (1950), 77; Paraguay (1950), 75; and Peru (1940), 72.

Unless new and unforeseen factors make their influences felt, there is every reason to expect that the present high rates of natural increase of population will continue for several decades. More and better sanitary provisions, greater attention to diets and especially improved practices in the care and feeding of infants, and a higher level of living for the masses are certain to result in further decreases in the death rates. Nearly all the countries have a long way to go before they can approximate the standards of life-expectancy which prevail in the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, or western Europe, but at least part of this gap seems certain to be closed. On the other hand, any great reductions in the birth rate are not to be anticipated in the immediate future. Eventually, urbanization and industrialization and a possible substantial rise in the level of living may produce results in Argentina, Brazil, Cuba, and some of the other countries comparable to those in other parts of the Western world; but the changes are likely to be neither swift nor spectacular. The forces currently in motion make it likely that during the decades immediately ahead the growth of population in Latin America will proceed at a pace considerably faster than that in other parts of the world. Between now and 1960 each year will probably add about 3,200,000 to the twenty Latin-American countries.

DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION

The population of Latin America also is undergoing a redistribution that merits seri-

⁶ Decreasing infant and child mortality may also be of some significance.

ous consideration. In part this is due to differentials in the rate of natural increase in various regions, but in no small measure it results from important streams of internal migration flowing from one place to another.

Rural-urban migration.—Probably most important is the general flow of population from the rural to the urban districts. From Mexico to Patagonia there is a rush of the common people from the country to the city, a movement strongly reminiscent of that in Europe and the United States since 1850. Although this tide of migration has just got well under way in most of Latin America, it is largely responsible for the present rapid growth of towns and cities. It bids fair to increase rather than decrease in the decades immediately ahead, and it alone would be sufficient to change materially the distribution of the population in a very short time.

As yet, generally speaking, there seems to be very little in the way of a reverse movement, that is, a compensating migration of people from the city to the country. However, in some places, and particularly in Peru, the migrants do not pretend to establish permanent homes in the coastal cities. There most of the rural-urban movement is of young Indians from the upper reaches of the Andes who go to the cities of the coast merely temporarily and, after from five to ten years in Lima or other towns, return to their mountain villages and hamlets. Nevertheless, the volume of the movement is such that a large proportion of the persons seen in Lima at any given time are migrants from the rural communities of the uplands.

Pushing forward the frontier.—In many places the important work of pushing forward the frontier continues with unabated energy and involves a set of internal migrations second only in importance to the rural-urban movement of population. This is going on in Brazil on the largest scale. The most important thrust there, and in fact the most important work of pushing forward the frontier now under way in South America, is taking place in the central part of the state of Goiás. There, in the very heart of

the continent, each year sees about 100,000 new arrivals engage in the task of transforming extensive areas of virgin forest and jungle into rice, coffee, and cattle fazendas. To the south, too, in the northern part of the state of Paraná a smaller but extremely vigorous group is engaged in the development of coffee fazendas where only untouched forests were to be found a few years ago. A third important attack upon the frontier in Brazil is taking place in the western part of São Paulo and southern Mato Grosso, a movement which has been going on feverishly for several decades and has contributed to making the state of São Paulo one of the most potent social and economic entities in Latin America. But the process of opening new farms and fazendas continues, with the movement to the western parts of the state of thousands of persons, including many Japanese, from the more developed sections of the east. On the frontier their numbers are swelled by other thousands from the German, Italian, and Polish settlements in southern Brazil. Clearing the forests and developing the farms are additional thousands from the state of Bahia and the northeastern part of Brazil.

These three thrusts make the much-publicized activities in the Amazon Valley pale into insignificance. (As a matter of fact, since the flow of surplus population from Ceará and the neighboring states was diverted to São Paulo in the early 1930's, the attempts to settle the Amazon have made little or no headway.)

Elsewhere in South America other gains are being made in man's struggle against the forest and the jungle; for example, the edging-forward of settlement in northern Argentina and the strenuous efforts to colonize the *montaña* of eastern Peru. But probably the most remarkable developments are in Colombia. Notable in the history of this country was the generation of a population of small farmers in the mountains of Antioquia and their rapid multiplication and spread to the south. In less than a hundred years they overcame the wilderness in the entire *departamento* of Caldas, making it

into one of the richest and most productive parts of the nation, and penetrated deeply into two others. At the same time there developed an independent, self-reliant, middle-class type of farming and living that might well be the envy of the remainder of Colombia as well as most other Latin-American countries. These people produce on small farms the highest quality of coffee in Colombia. That such capable frontiersmen have established farms and homes for themselves and their descendants without any outside help or stimulation is a puzzling social fact.

Unfortunately, the story of this conquest has never been adequately related, nor have the factors involved in its origin and development ever been carefully analyzed. The most illuminating observations that have come to the attention of this writer are those by Ramon Franco F. in his *Anthropo-geografía colombiana*,⁷ who describes the manner in which the productive energies of the people of Antioquia were bound by the large concessions of land given a favored few during the colonial regime and the equally vicious apportionment of public lands in feudal estates to a few prominent leaders in the republican epoch. Tremendous expanses of land were held in idleness, while the *terratenedientes*, by means of the vagrancy laws, impressed the *campesinos* into their labor gangs for compulsory service in clearing lands for cattle ranches. Then, to use Franco's own words in a literal translation, came "the colonizing overflow":

Then broke out the struggle between the *colonos* and the *terratenedientes*. The former based their claims to property rights upon labor and the latter upon a title. The pressure of the masses obliged the proprietors to cede lands for villages, initial cells of dominion which were like co-operative blocks for production, consumption, and defense. The new settlements increased the value of the surrounding property, but hindering their progress was the lack of roads or trails, for the narrow river bottoms were goat pastures, the difficulty of using waters on the sharp ridges where they located the plaza for reasons of strategic defense from wild ani-

mals, and the sackings which occurred during periods of civil war. During them Filadelfia, with its disadvantageous military situation, was sacked ten times.

The *departamentos* of Antioquia, Cauca, and Tolima, where each latifundium adjudicated measured thousands of hectares, generated the heroic avalanche of landless cultivators who colonized Caldas. From 1820 to 1840 the activity concentrated at two points: Salamina and Ríosucio. In the first of these the resistance of the proprietors was broken, and the government declared the territory free.

From two more thrusts were born Aranzazu, Filadelfia, Neira, and Manizales, a city which is the muscle and the brain, symbol of tenacity and audacity, and sparkling standard for her Colombian sisters. A new avalanche poured down to the east on the Quindío, about 1870, and through its impulse were founded Manzanares and Marulanda; Salento, Finlandia, Calarca, Circasia, Montenegro, Pereira, and Armenia; Libano and Villahermosa, Soledad and Sevilla, which proclaim how the Basque blood which courses through the veins of the Antioqueño predestines him to be also an unfatigable founder of towns and a fearless and illustrious colonizer.

This outburst of colonizing activities on the part of the Antioqueños and their descendants in Caldas during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth pushed the frontier back so far on so many fronts that further opportunities for new settlements are not readily at hand. Nevertheless, these people are among the most enterprising of all Latin America. They are multiplying at a phenomenal rate and pressing hard upon the local resources. Even though they are rapidly developing important industrial centers such as Medellín and Manizales, and although hundreds of thousands of them are migrating to all parts of the republic, one may be sure that they will not miss any reasonable chance to extend the limits of settlement within their own mountainous homeland. The forms which this is taking are interesting to the extreme.

The tumbled mass of mountains, parks, and valleys which constitute the heartland of the Antioqueño nucleus are already densely populated, and each year heavy erosion greatly diminishes the carrying capacity of the land. This drives the farming of the

⁷ (Manizales: Imprenta del Departamento, 1941), pp. 178-79. See also James J. Parsons, *Antioqueño Colonization in Western Colombia* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1949).

países, the local inhabitants, farther and farther down the steep mountainsides. Already they are pressing upon the listless and vegetative mode of life enjoyed by the Negroes and mulattoes who for many generations have had undisputed possession of the hot, humid, bottom lands in the lower valleys.

The same forces are pushing settlement to the north, to the very limit of the foothills where the last vestiges of the Andes give way to the Plains of Bolívar and the lowlands along the Sinu River. But the thrust to the south also continues and now is spilling over the dividing ridges to the Pacific slopes of the western cordillera, an area which has defied conquest for hundreds of years. On the headwaters of the Colima, especially, the hardy descendants of the Antioqueños are gathering their forces for an onslaught which may carry them to the Pacific within twenty years.⁸

In other parts of Colombia as well the occupation and settlement of the public domain has never been more rapid than at present. Although the manner in which the new lands are being brought under control leaves much to be desired, the fact remains that Colombians are swarming into previously neglected parts of the national territory in ever increasing numbers. Each time a new trail or road is opened into an inaccessible area, that section is deluged with *campesinos* seeking to carve out new farms and homes in the wilderness. Not infrequently the settlers have anticipated the local, departmental, or national authorities in making their way into hopelessly isolated sections and afterward appealing to the authorities for assistance in opening trails over which their pack animals could pass in plying between the clearings and the markets.

By and large, the eastern slope of the eastern cordillera is the elongated zone in which settlement is progressing the most rapidly in the second half of the twentieth

century. At dozens of points between the frontiers with Venezuela and Ecuador the population is surging over the mountains, cutting a way through the dense forests of the eastern slope and along the foothills at the base of the mountains and out onto the llanos, or broad plains, to the east. The Bogotá-Villavicencio salient is by far the most significant point of departure for these colonizing activities, but other strong spearheads of settlement are pushing out into the Sirará district in the north and the Sibundoy Valley and beyond in the south. In between, at dozens of other places, the frontier is being pushed forward in a concerted movement, changing the pattern of population distribution in Colombia.

These efforts in Colombia are being matched by the activities of the Peruvians in the *montaña* districts on the eastern slopes of the Andes, and less developed movements are getting under way in Venezuela and Bolivia. In Ecuador, however, the comparable stream of internal migration is to the west, from the high mountain valleys to the plain along the Pacific Coast.

CHANGES IN COMPOSITION OR CHARACTERISTICS

The trends in the numbers and distribution of the inhabitants of Latin America are matched by momentous changes in the basic characteristics of the people themselves.

Race.—Rapid change in the ethnic or racial composition of the populations of many of the countries of Latin America is among the most significant of the trends currently under way. In most of them, the proportions of the white or whitish elements in the population are increasing rapidly, while the colored elements (Indian and Negro) are coming to be of less and less importance among the masses of the people; if present trends continue, in the future the Indian, Negro, mulatto, and mestizo elements in Latin America will be far less important, absolutely and relatively, than now.

In part, the substantial changes in the racial composition of the Latin-American population is due to the immigration of Europeans, particularly in Argentina, Bra-

⁸ For some of the details of Antioqueño settlements on the Colima see Raymond Crist, *The Cauca Valley, Colombia: Land Tenure and Land Use* (Baltimore: Waverly Press, 1952), pp. 47-49.

zil, Chile, and Venezuela. However, another cause of demographic change is the differential rate of natural increase among the various social classes. In Latin America the upper-class families appear to have fully as many children as do the members of incipient middle classes or those of the lower classes, which make up the bulk of the population. In addition, the upper-class families save from the ravages of disease and malnutrition a far higher proportion of the children who are born. Since there is an almost perfect correlation between color and socioeconomic status (as one passes from the lower to the upper classes, the proportion of white blood in the population increases steadily), this means that the legal descendants of white parents consistently make up larger proportions of each succeeding generation. In addition, because of their superior social and economic positions, men from the upper (white or whitish) classes father a considerable portion of the children born to the women of lower social ranks. The net result of all this is that the population of Latin America is "bleaching" rapidly. This has been emphasized in my studies of Brazil,⁹ and, even though adequate statistical data are lacking for most of the countries, it is probably rather generally true.¹⁰

Rural-urban residence.—Throughout the long history of the countries to the south and east of the Rio Grande, the lion's share of the population has always been engaged in collecting, agricultural, and pastoral activities in highly rural surroundings. In the Spanish-American countries, of course, from the very first the white ruling classes have dwelt in towns and cities, but from the numerical standpoint the members of this class were always insignificant.

⁹ *Brazil: People and Institutions* (2d ed., 1954), pp. 160-61.

¹⁰ Thus in Costa Rica the proportion of whites in the population rose from 94.3 per cent in 1927 to 97.7 per cent in 1950. In Cuba the proportion of whites rose steadily from 66.9 per cent in 1899 to 74.3 per cent in 1943 and then fell to 72.3 per cent in 1953. In the meanwhile the proportion of Negroes fell from 14.9 per cent in 1899 to 9.7 per cent in 1943 and then rose to 12.4 per cent in 1953. The proportion of the yellow fell steadily from 1.0 per cent in

In the middle of the twentieth century, however, the forces leading to industrialization, commercialization, and urbanization are making themselves felt strongly throughout the length and breadth of Latin America. Established cities, and particularly the capitals, are literally bursting at their seams; and hundreds of villages are growing into the class of towns and cities. Buenos Aires with its 3,100,000 inhabitants in 1947 and Rio de Janeiro with 2,400,000, Mexico City with 2,230,000, and São Paulo with 2,200,000, all in 1950, rank among the fifteen largest cities in the world. Santiago has well over a million inhabitants; and Montevideo, Havana, Lima, Rosario, Caracas, and Recife all now have populations considerably over 500,000. Brazil alone now has thirty-two cities of more than 50,000 inhabitants, and there are twenty-six more in Argentina. Argentina, in fact, has one of the highest proportions of urban population among all the countries of the world. Although the data have never been assembled to reveal the complete picture, urbanization is undoubtedly stimulating a long series of important social and economic changes.¹¹

1899 to 0.3 per cent in 1953, as did that for the much more important mixed or mulatto group, which fell steadily from 17.2 per cent in 1899 to 14.5 in 1953. Possibly a recent influx of agricultural laborers from Jamaica and other islands of the West Indies helps explain the recent reversal in some aspects of the bleaching process. In the Dominican Republic, the country for which the data probably are the most satisfactory, the changes are much more dramatic. In that country the proportion of whites in the population rose from 13.0 per cent in 1935 to 28.1 per cent in 1950. This was accompanied by corresponding decreases in the proportion of Negroes from 19.5 to 11.5 per cent and of mulattoes from 67.5 to 60.4 per cent between 1935 and 1950, respectively.

¹¹ A series of compilations and computations, on which the writer presently is engaged, to determine the proportion of the population of each country residing in towns and cities of 2,500 or more inhabitants gives the following results (the data are for 1950, unless otherwise specified): Costa Rica, 27.5 per cent; Cuba (1953), 49.5 per cent; Dominican Republic, 20.9 per cent; Guatemala, 23.2 per cent; Haiti, 8.7 per cent; Honduras, 17.2 per cent; Mexico, 42.6 per cent; Nicaragua, 27.4 per cent; Panama, 29.8 per cent; Argentina (1947), 61.4 per cent; Bolivia, 24.9 per cent; Brazil, 28.9 per cent; Colombia (1951), 34.3 per cent; Ecuador, 27.1 per cent; Para-

Age.—As is the case in all countries in which the birth rate and the death rate both are very high, Latin America is characterized by a very high proportion of the young, comparatively few persons in the productive ages, and a very low proportion of the aged. Rare is the time and place in Latin America in which children of less than fifteen years of age do not make up at least 40 per cent of the population, and frequently the percentage is much higher. (In England or the United States the corresponding figure has been about 25 per cent in recent years.) On the other hand, persons above the age of sixty-five rarely constitute more than 3 per cent of the total population, while in France, Britain, or the United States they may comprise from 8 to 10 per cent of it. The social and economic implications of these data are many, of which it suffices here to mention that the average person of productive age in Latin America has about twice as many mouths to feed as does his fellow in the United States.

Changes in the age distribution are likely to be slow, and it probably will be many years before the present proportions of the young, the adult, and the aged will be materially altered. However, the falling death rate is having its effect, particularly in Argentina, southern Brazil, and a few other sections; and the trend will undoubtedly become evident in other parts of Latin America. In another quarter of a century, persons under fifteen years of age may not make up more than 30 or 35 per cent of all Latin-Americans, while the proportion of those of sixty-five years of age or more may rise to as high as 5 per cent.

Sex.—No very significant changes seem to be taking place in the proportions of the sexes in the Latin-American countries other than the reductions in the percentages of males in Brazil and Argentina brought about by increased restrictions on immigration. On the whole, the sexes have been equally balanced in the various Latin-American

countries for some time and seem likely to be so for some decades to come.

Marital status.—From the limited and in many ways unsatisfactory data Latin-Americans appear to be in a class by themselves in the extent to which they avoid contracting legal or religious forms of marriage. Even when the relatively large number of common-law marriages are included, the inhabitants of Latin America appear to shun permanent matrimonial ties. As compared with their fellows in Europe, in North America, or in the parts of Asia for which data are collected, at any given age they are less likely to be living in the married condition; and they are also more likely to live out their lives without ever mating according to legal or religious definitions.¹²

Census-taking must be considerably advanced and many studies made, with age carefully controlled, before accurate conclusions can be reached about the trends in the proportions classed as single, married, widowed, or divorced. For most of the Latin-American countries only recently have fairly adequate data been compiled, and most of them still await analysis. Nevertheless, as a working hypothesis, it seems fair to state that the mores governing mating in Latin America seem to be changing so as to conform with those prevailing in other parts of the Western world.¹³ In time marriage will probably become more popular throughout Spanish America and Brazil. Furthermore, as the death rate falls, or the length of life increases, smaller percentages of marriages will early be terminated by the death of the spouse, thus reducing the proportions of the widowed. Both of these will make for higher proportions of married persons in the population.

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¹² Cf. Smith, *Population Analysis*, pp. 136-37.

¹³ The decreasing proportions of illegitimacy of births supports this proposition. In Mexico, for example, the percentage of all births that were illegitimate fell steadily from 43.9 per cent in 1933 to 28.2 per cent in 1950 (cf. Julio Duran Ochoa, *Población* [Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1955], p. 72).

guay, 24.6 per cent; Peru (1940), 23.8 per cent; and Venezuela, 28.8 per cent. The corresponding figure for the United States is 59.0 per cent.

FARM RESIDENCE AND LEVELS OF EDUCATIONAL AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION¹

ARCHIE O. HALLER AND WILLIAM H. SEWELL

ABSTRACT

A hypothesis formulated by Lipset to explain the relatively inferior urban occupations achieved by farm persons was tested by comparing the occupational and educational aspirations of a rural and an urban sample. Among high-school Senior girls, neither educational nor occupational aspirations are significantly related to residence. Among boys, occupational aspiration is not, but educational aspiration is, associated with residential background and is not to be explained by intelligence. This indicates that the farm youth underestimates the importance of education in achieving an occupation. Lipset's hypothesis is only partially correct, and other hypotheses should be tested.

There is considerable evidence that farm migrants to the city have relatively low levels of occupational achievement. This was shown by an early study in Germany,² as well as by more recent studies in Stockholm, Sweden,³ and Oakland, California.⁴ In particular, the last-named research shows that the level of occupational achievement of farm-reared persons in a complex non-farm labor market is considerably lower than that reached by others. Lipset has tried to explain this, noting that rural people have relatively little access to colleges and

universities, that they go to relatively poor high schools, and that they encounter relatively few occupational alternatives. Consequently, he argues, the farm youth aspires to relatively low occupations and is not ambitious for the higher education he will need if he is to rise in urban society.

This explanation is as yet untested because there is no evidence to date that those reared on farms actually have lower educational or occupational aspirations than other people. The purpose of the present study is to present data testing Lipset's explanation.

The test of this proposition was made on a sample consisting only of persons who were completing their twelfth year of school. Those who had already committed themselves by entering college or employment could not be included, a requirement which eliminated all who were not full-time students. The test, of course, excluded those who were planning to go into farming, since non-farm occupations were the object of study. Because of differences in their vocational choices and educational aspirations, boys and girls were tested separately. The sample, moreover, was drawn from rich as well as poor farming areas and from large and highly industrialized cities as well as from smaller centers. Intelligence was controlled in testing relationships significant at the zero-order level because it has been found to vary consistently with occupational and educational aspiration⁵ and with

¹ This article reports the partial results of a larger study of talent loss directed by William H. Sewell and supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Wisconsin. The writers acknowledge the aid of the Wisconsin Student Counseling Center and the Numerical Analysis Laboratory of the University of Wisconsin.

² Otto Ammon, *Die Gesellschaftsordnung und ihre natürlichen Grundlagen* (Jena: Gustav Fischer, 1895), p. 145; cited in Seymour Martin Lipset, "Social Mobility and Urbanization," *Rural Sociology*, XX (September-December, 1955), 220-28. Part of Ammon's data is presented in Pitirim Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1927), p. 451, also pp. 414 ff.; and Pitirim A. Sorokin, Carle C. Zimmerman, and Charles C. Galpin, *A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology*, III (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1932), 531.

³ Gunnar Boalt, "Social Mobility in Stockholm," *Transactions of the Second World Congress of Sociology*, II (London: International Sociological Association, 1954), 67-73.

⁴ Lipset, *op. cit.*

rural-urban residence.⁶ The subjects consisted of approximately five thousand Wisconsin high-school Seniors, a random sample of one-sixth of the Seniors enrolled in public and private high schools in the state in 1947-48.⁷ This is the most recent year for which adequate data are available.

The dependent variables are levels of educational and occupational aspiration. Educational aspiration was judged from the answers to questions as to whether the student planned to attend college, when, and which college. Those planning to attend a regular four-year college-level course of training were coded as having high educational aspirations.

⁶ Ralph F. Berdie, "Why Don't They Go to College?" *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXI (March, 1953), 352-56; William Arthur Bradley, Jr., "Correlates of Vocational Preferences," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXVIII (1943), 99-169; Harold P. Carter, *Vocational Interests and Job Orientation* ("Applied Psychology Monographs," Vol. II [Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1944]); Joseph A. Kahl, "Educational and Occupational Aspirations of 'Common Man' Boys," *Harvard Educational Review*, XXIII (Summer, 1953), 186-203; T. E. Livesay, "Test Intelligence and College Expectations of High School Seniors in Hawaii," *Journal of Educational Research*, XXXV (January, 1942), 334-37, and "Test Intelligence and Future Vocation of High School Seniors in Hawaii," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXV (1941), 679-86; J. Richard Porter, "Predicting Vocational Plans of High School Senior Boys," *Personnel and Guidance Journal*, XXXIII (December, 1954), 215-18; Joseph Stubbins, "The Relationship between level of Vocational Aspiration and Certain Personal Data," *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XLI (1950), 327-408.

⁶ Sorokin, Zimmerman, and Galpin, *op. cit.*, pp. 266-93; Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), pp. 352-54; C. T. Philbad and C. L. Gregory, "Selective Aspects of Migration among Missouri High School Graduates," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (June, 1954), 314-24; and William H. Sewell and Bertram L. Ellenbogen, "Social Status and the Measured Intelligence of Small City and Rural Children," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (October, 1952), 612-16.

⁷ Data were taken from the records of the Wisconsin Student Counseling Service, which conducts the state's intelligence-testing program, and included the student's sex, intelligence quotient, residence, occupational choice, and plans regarding college.

Data for the second dependent variable—occupational aspiration—were taken from the answer to a question regarding intended vocation. The occupational choices of all persons planning to enter the non-farm labor market were assigned prestige ratings based upon the North-Hatt survey.⁸ Arbitrarily, only those choosing occupations with a prestige rating of 78 or more points on the North-Hatt Index were classified as having high occupational aspirations. This amounted to making the cutting point at the level of the public school teacher; those with high aspirations desired occupations with prestige at least equal to that of teachers.

Residence at the time the data were gathered is the independent variable. Only students residing in the open country whose fathers were farmers are classified as farm residents.

The control variable used was the student's intelligence quotient, taken from the Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Maturity.⁹ The raw scores of this variable were ranked from highest to lowest and then divided into three groups of equal size for each test of the hypothesis.

The null form of the major hypothesis is as follows: *There are no significant differences in the levels of educational and occupational aspiration of Wisconsin high-school Seniors from farm and from non-farm backgrounds.* This was broken down into four specific null hypotheses for testing, two within each sex group.

Hypothesis 1.—There is no significant difference between the levels of educational aspiration of farm and non-farm girls.

Hypothesis 2.—There is no significant difference between the levels of non-farm occupational aspiration of farm and non-farm girls.

Hypothesis 3.—There is no significant difference between the levels of educational

⁸ National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, IX (September, 1947), 3-13.

⁹ V. A. C. Henmon and M. J. Nelson, *The Henmon-Nelson Test of Mental Ability* (Chicago: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1942).

aspiration of farm and non-farm boys.

Hypothesis 4.—There is no significant difference between the levels of non-farm occupational aspiration of farm and non-farm boys.

Each hypothesis was tested separately by means of one of four two-way tables. A chi-square value was computed to assess the relationship of aspiration level to residence.¹⁰

¹⁰ The standard chi-square formula, $\chi^2 = \sum(f_o - f_i)^2 / ft$, is used for all bivariate tests of the null hypothesis. See, for example, G. Udny Yule and M. G. Kendall, *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* (13th ed., rev.; London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1948), pp. 413–33, esp. 416.

Finally, when the evidence permitted the rejection of any of the specific null hypotheses, a more rigorous test was made by adding the further control of intelligence.

As indicated by the data present in Table 1, the first null hypothesis cannot be rejected because $\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.06 < \chi^2_{t(1)}.05 = 3.84$. Hence the level of educational aspiration of girls planning to enter the non-farm labor market is not associated with residence.

Table 2 shows that the second null hypothesis, too, cannot be rejected, for $\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.12 < \chi^2_{t(1)}.05 = 3.84$. Thus level of occupational aspiration of girls planning to enter

TABLE 1

GIRLS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION, BY RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION	RESIDENCE		TOTAL	
	Farm	Non-farm	Per Cent	Number
High (college) (per cent)	34	41	39	1,168
Low (non-college) (per cent)	66	59	61	1,807
Total:				
Per cent.	100	100	100	.....
Number.	660	2,315	...	2,975

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.06 < \chi^2_{t(1)}.05 = 3.84 .$$

TABLE 2

GIRLS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION, BY RESIDENCE

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION*	RESIDENCE		TOTAL	
	Farm	Non-farm	Per Cent	Number
High (78 or more North-Hatt points) (per cent)	31	28	29	674
Low (77 or less North-Hatt points) (per cent)	69	72	71	1,679
Total:				
Per cent.	100	100	100	.....
Number.	501	1,852	...	2,353

* Excludes the undecided.

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.12 < \chi^2_{t(1)}.05 = 3.84 . \bullet$$

TABLE 3

BOYS' EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION, BY RESIDENCE

EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION	RESIDENCE		TOTAL	
	Farm	Non-farm	Per Cent	Number
High (college) (per cent)	43	54	52	1,150
Low (non-college) (per cent)	57	46	48	1,045
Total:				
Per cent.	100	100	100	.....
Number.	328	1,867	...	2,195

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 12.80 > \chi^2_{t(1)}.05 = 3.84 .$$

the non-farm labor market is not associated with residence.

Data for the third null hypothesis are presented in Table 3. Since $\chi^2_{0(1)} = 12.80 > \chi^2_{t(1),.05} = 3.84$, the null hypothesis must be tentatively rejected. The percentages indicate that farm boys are apparently less likely to have high educational aspirations than are other boys. However, in a more complete

Non-farm boys tend to have higher educational aspirations than do farm boys. Thus it must be concluded that, independent of intelligence, farm residence may inhibit a boy's desire for higher education.

The fourth null hypothesis cannot be rejected (Table 5 presents the data used in making this test), for the total chi-square value does not come up to the criterion:

TABLE 4
PER CENT OF BOYS WITH HIGH EDUCATIONAL ASPIRATION,
BY RESIDENCE AND INTELLIGENCE

INTELLIGENCE	RESIDENCE		TOTAL	
	Farm	Non-farm	Per Cent	Number
Highest one-third (IQ: 114-39) (per cent)	68	73	72	732
Middle one-third (IQ: 106-14) (per cent)	42	54	52	732
Lowest one-third (IQ: 57-106) (per cent)	24	36	33	731
Total:				
Per cent.	43	54	52	.....
Number.	328	1,867	..	2,195

$$\chi^2_{0(3)} = 10.95 > \chi^2_{t(3),.05} = 7.82 .$$

TABLE 5
BOYS' OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION, BY RESIDENCE

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATION*	RESIDENCE		TOTAL	
	Farm	Non-farm	Per Cent	Number
High (78 or more North-Hatt points) (per cent) . .	44	40	41	616
Low (77 or less North-Hatt points) (per cent) . .	56	60	59	904
Total:				
Per cent.	100	100	100	.....
Number.	181	1,339	...	1,520

* Excludes the undecided.

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.15 < \chi^2_{t(1),.05} = 3.84 .$$

test, intelligence was controlled while assessing the relationship of educational aspiration to residence. Table 4 shows the percentage having high aspirations in each intelligence-residence category. The null hypothesis was tested by computing a chi-square value of residence on educational aspiration in each of the three intelligence groups and then summing chi-squares and degrees of freedom.¹¹ Since $\chi^2_{0(3)} = 10.95 > \chi^2_{t(3),.05} = 7.82$, the null hypothesis must be rejected.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 426; see also George W. Snedecor, *Statistical Methods* (4th ed.; Ames, Iowa: Iowa State College Press, 1946), pp. 188-89.

$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.15 < \chi^2_{t(1),.05} = 3.84$. It must be concluded, then, that among the boys in the sample occupational aspiration was not associated with residence.

These findings clearly imply that residential differences in educational and occupational aspiration do not explain differences in the eventual occupations of girls.¹² More-

¹² Strictly speaking, there is no clear evidence that farm females achieve lower occupations than city girls. Given the increasing importance of women in the labor market, the relative occupations of farm and non-farm women will have to be determined before a complete theory can be formulated.

over, among boys, occupational achievement cannot be predicted from information on residence. Boys who live on farms desire to enter high-level jobs with the same frequency as do males who do not. However, boys from the farm have less interest in a college education than do others. This indicates that farm boys are equally aware of the occupational alternatives but not equally aware of their educational requirements.

While these findings provide some support for Lipset's hypothesis, they limit its applicability to boys and then only to their educational aspirations. It is possible that aspects of farm life other than those hypothesized may influence the farm youth's occupational achievement in the city. For example, if a substantial proportion of the youth who plan to enter farming find their aspiration blocked in early adulthood, then they will be forced to seek work in the towns and cities. Many of these, had they known, might have trained for superior occupations.¹³ Other hypotheses, too, as yet untested, might be advanced to account for the relatively low occupations of rural persons in the city.

The findings of this study must be applied elsewhere with care because they are derived from a well-educated population. In societies with a large folk or peasant population, educational and occupational aspirations of farm people may differ sharply from those of others. It may also be that in certain other regions of the United States there are greater differences in urban and rural social structure than in Wisconsin and that these differences may be reflected in sharper differences in aspirations than those found there. Moreover, better measures of the variables may yield higher correlations. Nevertheless, the study shows that the variables in Lipset's proposition have limited applicability. This suggests the need for additional research, especially on rural persons less well educated than those studied here.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
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¹³ Data on the influence of plans to go in for farming on plans for a college education will be presented elsewhere. See Archie O. Haller, "The Influence of Planning To Enter Farming on Plans To Attend College," *Rural Sociology* (forthcoming).

NEWS AND NOTES

University of Chicago.—The findings of the National Opinion Research Center's nationwide survey of family medical costs and voluntary health insurance were published in October, 1956, by the McGraw-Hill Book Company in a volume of the same title by Odin W. Anderson, director of research for the Health Information Foundation, with Jacob J. Feldman, senior study director of the Center. The Center has been commissioned to conduct a survey of Chicago's West Side, similar to that published in October, 1956, for Hyde Park-Kenwood as part of the city's conservation and renewal plan. The NORC will also do a survey of the "Skid Row" areas of Chicago. All three studies are under the direction of Donald J. Bogue, assistant professor of sociology. Under the joint sponsorship of the National Institute of Dental Research, the United States Public Health Service, the American College of Dentists, and the Zoller Memorial Dental Clinic of the University of Chicago, the NORC began in November a study of the factors associated with the extent of preventive practice by dentists.

Ethel Shanas has joined the staff of the NORC as a senior study director in charge of the current survey on the health problems of older people. James Coleman, assistant professor in the department of sociology, is research consultant to the survey.

Jack Elinson, a research associate in the department of sociology and senior study director in the NORC, has resigned to join the faculty of the School of Public Health and Administrative Medicine at Columbia University as research associate.

Otis Dudley Duncan, associate director of the Population Research and Training Center and Chicago Community Inventory, became a research associate in human ecology (associate professor) on January 1, 1957. On this appointment he will devote full time to research and to his duties as associate director of the Population Research and Training Center.

University of Cologne.—The *Journal* notes with pleasure that Professor Leopold von Wiese, whom the *Journal* is proud to number among its advisory editors, one of the best known of

German sociologists among his colleagues in the United States, was eighty years of age in December, 1956. His life as a scholar bridges the half-century between the first formative efforts in German sociology and the present, when sociology is beginning to be recognized as a discipline of university status, a development in which he has been very active. His influence is in the direction of making sociology an empirical science, his "system" being more a program of orderly research than a philosophy. Since his retirement five years ago, Professor von Wiese has been lecturing at several universities, including the University of Frankfurt, where he has offered a regular seminar in the Institut fuer Sozialforschung, commuting several times a month between Cologne and Frankfurt. He is very active in the Deutsche Gesellschaft fuer Soziologie and the International Sociological Society. To honor his birthday, his professional colleagues, especially the sociologists, are preparing a *Festschrift*, a special festive publication.

University of Colorado.—George Gamow, professor of physics, was presented on October 12 with the annual UNESCO award of the Kalinga Prize. This £1,000 (sterling) prize, endowed by B. Patnaik of Orissa, India, is intended not only to honor a science writer for an outstanding interpretation of science to the general public but also to strengthen scientific and cultural links between India and other nations.

Columbia University.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death on November 27, 1956, of Bernhard J. Stern, lecturer in sociology, at the age of sixty-two. Dr. Stern was born in Chicago, did graduate work at the London School of Economics and Political Science, and received his Ph.D. degree from Columbia University in 1927. He was then appointed assistant professor of sociology at the University of Washington, where he remained until 1931, when he went to Columbia. Between 1927 and 1946 he published four books on American medical practice.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Society will take place on April 13 and 14 in New York City at

the Hotel New Yorker. A special feature of the convention will be the address to the whole society of E. Franklin Frazier, recipient of the first MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society.

Elizabethtown College.—John Jasper Spurling of St. Albans, Long Island, New York, and formerly of Johnson C. Smith University, has joined the faculty as chairman of the sociology department. He is a graduate of Talladega College, the Graduate School of Arts and Science, and the School of Education of New York University.

Fisk University.—The *Journal* learned with regret of the sudden death of Charles S. Johnson, president of Fisk University, in October at the age of sixty-three in Louisville, Kentucky.

Eminent in research, education, and statesmanship, he was born in Bristol, Virginia. After receiving an A.B. in 1917 at Virginia Union University and a Ph.B. in 1918 from the college of the University of Chicago, he pursued graduate studies in sociology at the University of Chicago under Robert E. Park, Albion W. Small, and William I. Thomas, who recognized his ability and promise.

After an early start on his research career as director and investigator for a variety of organizations concerned with race relations, beginning with research for the Chicago Urban League (1917–19), he became director of the department of social sciences at Fisk University, where, from 1928 to 1947, he planned and organized a program of research in the field of race relations. The high standards he set attracted to his department at different times such eminent scholars as E. Franklin Frazier, Robert E. Park, and Edward B. Reuter. In 1943 he became director of the Julius Rosenwald Fund's program in race relations.

As president of Fisk University since 1946 he embarked on a new career as a leading American educator by still further raising the university's standards of scholarship and by vigorous support of research. Last year he brought to Fisk a distinguished group of leading scholars to celebrate the inauguration of a new building, the Robert E. Park Memorial Hall of the Social Sciences, for which he had secured the funds. On this occasion guests and colleagues honored his former teacher and colleague at a symposium on "Race Relations at the Mid-Century."

In recent years President Johnson was active and effective in the field of international relations. He participated in many international, governmental, and private organizations and conferences, such as the first UNESCO conference, the First Assembly of the World Conference of Churches, the Fulbright Board for Foreign Scholarships, and others.

His numerous publications earned him a high reputation for sound reasoning, skill in research, and able presentation of findings. Well known among them are: *The Negro in Chicago*, 1922 (as co-author); *The Negro in American Civilization*, 1930; *Shadow of the Plantation*, 1934; *The Negro College Graduate*, 1936; *Growing Up in the Black Belt*, 1941; *Patterns of Negro Segregation*, 1943; *Into the Main Stream*, 1946; and *Education and the Cultural Crisis*, 1951.

His achievements won him many awards and citations, such as the William E. Hormon Gold Medal in 1930 and the University of Chicago Alumni Citation of 1945 for distinguished public service, as well as honorary doctoral degrees from many American and European universities, among them his alma mater, Howard University, and Harvard, Columbia, and the University of Glasgow. In 1945 he became president of the Southern Sociological Society.

All who knew Charles S. Johnson were deeply impressed by his personality—always in command of himself, articulate in expressing his ideas yet eager to hear and understand others, relying on facts rather than feelings in the discussion of controversial issues, flexible and creative in facing new situations. He was the new type of social statesman, equipped to analyze and deal with perplexing and difficult problems of race and culture.

The Foundation's Fund for Research in Psychiatry.—A grant of \$3,682,000 from the Ford Foundation, to be expended or committed during a five-year period for the development of research personnel in mental health, has been awarded to the Fund. The selection of fellows and the awarding of research teaching grants will be the joint responsibility of the Foundation's Fund for Research in Psychiatry's committee on fellowships and board of directors. Members of the committee are Douglas Bond, Robert Holt, Robert P. Knight, H. W. Magoun, Neal Miller, and Ralph Tyler.

For a brochure describing stipends, fellowships, and research teaching grants write to the

Foundation's Fund for Research in Psychiatry, 251 Edwards Street, New Haven 11, Connecticut.

The Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health.—The Commission has announced a program of small grants to encourage graduate seminars (for credit or otherwise) on topics of relevance for mental illness or health. For 1957 a total of fifteen grants, up to \$750, to cover secretarial expenses, bibliographical work, publication costs, or other expenses, will be made through universities to individuals in departments of anthropology, psychiatry, psychology, social work, and sociology and to interdisciplinary groups. Priority will be given to seminars most likely to produce publishable reviews dealing with the literature on some significant problem in mental illness or health or in which reviews of the literature are undertaken to identify gaps in knowledge or to define promising new leads.

Applications by interested faculty people should give pertinent information about the purposes, personnel, and budgetary needs to the Joint Commission on Mental Illness and Health, 808 Memorial Drive, Cambridge 39, Massachusetts.

University of Kentucky.—Howard B. Beers, head of the two departments of sociology and rural sociology, and distinguished professor of sociology and rural sociology, has returned from a year in Europe, where he served as an adviser on agricultural extension evaluation in the organization for European Economic Cooperation.

Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, has returned after two years in Sweden, one of which was on a Fulbright appointment. He spent a year each at the universities of Lund and Uppsala and lectured at a number of Continental universities.

Ralph Spielman, visiting lecturer in sociology during 1955-56, has accepted a position at Ypsilanti State College, Michigan.

Buford H. Junker has been appointed visiting lecturer in sociology for 1956-57. Dr. Junker comes to Kentucky from a position as director of a study of private philanthropy in Indianapolis. He holds the Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago, having taught there and at Illinois Technological Institute.

Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, is on leave to serve as research director for Associates for International Research, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He was inaugurated

president of the Rural Sociological Society at the annual meeting.

Joy N. Query, a doctoral candidate at Syracuse University, has been appointed part-time instructor in sociology.

John R. Christiansen, who is a social science analyst in the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, United States Department of Agriculture, stationed at the University, has been appointed lecturer in sociology.

Robert Straus has been appointed to the staff of the newly created University of Kentucky Medical School as medical sociologist and professor of medical sociology. He also holds an appointment as professor in the department of sociology. He was formerly on the staff of the Upstate Medical Center, Syracuse, New York.

C. Milton Coughenour has joined the staff as associate rural sociologist. He holds the Ph.D. from the University of Missouri and was formerly on the staff there.

James N. Young, assistant in rural sociology, has been appointed assistant professor of rural sociology at North Carolina State College.

Graduate assistants in the departments this year are Harry Gracey, Janet Irving, Ross Lowes, Norma Brezeale, Young-Ja-Lee, and Emily Feltman. Charles Garth holds a Southern Education Foundation fellowship, and university graduate fellowships are held by Dorothy Kavanaugh and Austin Turk.

Willis A. Sutton, Jr., has been promoted to associate professor and elected to the graduate faculty.

John C. Ball has been promoted to an assistant professorship.

Merrill-Palmer School.—New graduate and postgraduate one-year programs of intensive research training in human development and family, designed to supplement graduate training in psychology, sociology, education, and home economics, are now offered to the student who wishes supervised research experience in an ongoing project or in one initiated by himself.

The program is directed by Irving Sigel, staff members being Lee Stott, Marian Breckenridge, Anton Brenner, Melvin Baer, Albert Dreyer, Martin Hoffman, Clark E. Moustakes, Nancy Morse, Donald Pomeroy, David Smillie, and Irving Torgoff. Fellowships are available with stipends from \$1,000 to \$2,500.

Applications will be acted on beginning March 1. For further details write to: Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer School, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan. For information

on fellowships write to the Registrar at the same address.

University of Minnesota.—Fellowships with stipend of \$2,000–\$3,500 will be awarded for 1957–58 to candidates for the doctorate in the Program in American Studies at the University of Minnesota. Applicants must hold a degree or degrees in one of the humanities, in one of the social sciences, or in American civilization. Fellows will devote their entire time to study and research. In determining the stipend of each fellow, the committee of award will consider graduate study and financial obligations.

Available to fellows and other graduate students is not only the curriculum provided by the Program in American Studies and the departments in the social sciences and the humanities but additional resources supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. These include visiting professors and special courses during the regular academic year and both summer terms, lectures and concerts, and a faculty research seminar in American civilization.

Applications close March 1, 1957; awards will be announced April 15, 1957. Additional information and application forms may be had from the Program in American Studies, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

University of Notre Dame.—The Reverend Joseph Fichter, S.J., who was a visiting professor in the department of sociology in the fall, is offering courses in parish sociology and the American Negro in the spring semester. He also is conducting a graduate research seminar on the Catholic parochial school. Ten research fellows are actively working with Father Fichter in the field on this project.

Robert Schmitt, who has been appointed a part-time lecturer in the department of sociology, will offer a course in child development in the spring.

Raymond Grummell has been added to the Correctional Program as a part-time instructor. He is a federal probation and parole officer in South Bend, Indiana.

John J. Kane, head of the sociology department, gave a series of lectures on intergroup relations in Alabama, Florida, and Kentucky during the fall semester under the auspices of the National Conference on Christians and Jews. He was promoted to the rank of full professor last September and has also been appointed

chairman of the social science committee for the current year.

Ohio State University.—John Cuber and Kurt H. Wolff after a year on leave have returned to resume their teaching duties. Kurt Wolff spent the year at Harvard.

Brewton Berry has been granted a year's leave of absence to continue his research and writing on mestizos in the United States.

Recent graduate students who have accepted appointments at other institutions include Edward Z. Dager, now at Purdue; John Burnell, at Baldwin-Wallace; and Charles Ramage, at Miami, Ohio.

Erika Bourguignon, Simon Dinitz, and Russell R. Dynes have been promoted to the rank of assistant professor.

Raymond F. Sletto has been invited to serve as a member of the Governor's Advisory Council on Atomic Energy.

Melvin Seeman has been elected associate editor of the *American Sociological Review* for a three-year term.

A. R. Mangus is continuing his follow-up studies on mental health and on marital integration of couples in Miami County, Ohio, on a grant from the Department of Mental Hygiene and Corrections, State of Ohio. He is collaborating with B. Passamanick, director of the Institute of Psychiatry of the State of Ohio, and with Simon Dinitz on a study dealing with mental patients in the Columbus Receiving Hospital.

Merton D. Oyler is engaged in a study of the Amish in Ohio, sponsored by the Agriculture Experiment Station.

Walter C. Reckless and Simon Dinitz are continuing their research on delinquents and "good" boys in high-delinquency areas, supported by the Development Fund.

John Bennett is continuing his research on Japanese social relations and the Japanese student in America, work subsidized by a grant of the Social Science Research Council.

John Cuber, Alfred C. Clarke, and Russell Dynes are completing their Air Force project on the prediction of adaptability in pilot training.

Alfred Clarke and Russell Dynes are studying the social correlates of marital sex roles under a grant from the Graduate School Fund.

Melvin Seeman is a member of an Engineering Experiment Station research team involved in a three-year study at the Ohio State University Hospital.

Erika Bourguignon is continuing her research

on bilingualism and personality, a project supported by the Graduate School Fund.

Planned Parenthood Federation.—A social research committee, under the chairmanship of Pascal K. Whelpton, director of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, has been appointed to direct the Federation's expanding program of research into social aspects of fertility control. The reviewing of the findings of the recently completed pilot study on how women feel about family growth will be the committee's first work. Field work for this study was completed earlier this year by twelve affiliates of the Federation and co-operating universities across the country, and data from 646 detailed interviews are now being analyzed. Nearly 90 trained Planned Parenthood volunteers acted as interviewers for the study of attitudes of low-income families toward family limitation.

Members of the committee, in addition to Dr. Whelpton, are: Leonard S. Cottrell, Russell Sage Foundation; A. B. Hollingshead, Yale University; Alfred J. Kahn, New York School of Social Work; Solon T. Kimball, Teachers College, Columbia University; Clyde V. Kiser, Milbank Memorial Fund; Henry J. Meyer, New York University; Ira DeA. Reid, Haverford College; Charles W. Wagley, Columbia University; G. Sterling Brady, research analyst of General Foods Corporation; and Otto Klineberg, Columbia University.

Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—The six-week summer workshop for graduate students will open on June 17, 1957. Six applicants from demography, sociology, conservation, economics, and geography will be chosen. Nominations from faculty members are appreciated. The workshop offers an intensive course in world population problems, with emphasis on communication. All students complete a research project. They are introduced to source material and methods of handling demographic information through field trips to the Census Bureau, the National Institutes of Health, the Office of Vital Statistics, and the Library of Congress.

The Bureau is a private, non-profit agency which collects, co-ordinates, interprets, and distributes world-wide population data. It is sponsored by a group of biologists, sociologists, and economists.

Participants will receive a grant of \$300 toward transportation and subsistence in Washington. Applications should be submitted on or

before April 1, 1957, to Robert C. Cook, Director, The Population Reference Bureau, 1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

University of Puerto Rico.—The College of Social Sciences of the University of Puerto Rico will publish a quarterly social science review in Spanish in March, June, September, and December. It will contain articles and book reviews in the social sciences, with one section briefly summarizing leading articles from the most important social science journals of the world and another describing events important in the field.

Purdue University.—Warren S. Thompson, director emeritus of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, will be visiting professor of sociology during the spring semester of 1957. He will teach an undergraduate course on population problems and serve as consultant for the sociology staff and other interested groups on the campus.

Gerald R. Leslie has been granted a one-year leave of absence to assist in the development of the interdisciplinary program in family-life education at Teachers College, Columbia University, his special interest being in family sociology, marriage counseling, and graduate research.

Social Science Research Council.—Fellowships and grants offered without restriction as to disciplinary specialty or substantive interest within the field of social science include predoctoral and postdoctoral research training fellowships, faculty research fellowships, faculty research grants, and grants-in-aid of research. These programs are intended to set standards of quality, to encourage promising new developments in research or training for research, and to honor superior individual achievement.

Several additional kinds of special fellowships and grants offered in 1957 include fellowships in political theory and legal philosophy, grants for research on the history of American military policy, national defense problems, American governmental processes, and state politics, and grants for field studies of political groups in foreign areas and Slavic and East European studies. These special programs have been financed for limited periods in the hope of accelerating progress in the respective fields.

The Council will sponsor during the summer of 1957 several training institutes, the ultimate purpose of all being to improve the preparation

of social scientists for effective research. Of interest to sociologists are: a research training institute on organization theory and research to be held at Carnegie Institute of Technology under the direction of Herbert A. Simon, with faculty members from that and other institutions; and two institutes on applications of mathematics in social science research, organized by the Council's Committee on Mathematical Training of Social Scientists, to be held concurrently at Stanford University, June 24-August 17, 1957.

Except as otherwise noted in the descriptions of certain programs, applications should be filed not later than January 7, 1957, and awards will be announced on or about April 1, 1957. Applications for grants for research on American governmental processes will be accepted not later than March 1, 1957, from those proposing to begin research early in 1958, and these awards will be announced in May.

All applications should be addressed to Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

The Society for Applied Anthropology.—The Society recently reorganized its editorial office, and William F. Whyte has been appointed editor of *Human Organization*. Manuscripts should be sent to him at the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Vanderbilt University.—Emilio Willems returned from a six-month leave of absence spent in various European universities and museums. He delivered a number of lectures at the universities of Cologne, Frankfurt, and Mainz and did research in Iberian-American cultures at museums in Paris, Munich, Rotterdam, and Leiden.

Irwin W. Goffman, formerly in the social-psychology program and the Survey Research

Center at the University of Michigan, has been appointed a visiting assistant professor in the department.

John Aird has been appointed an assistant professor in the department of sociology and anthropology. He offers courses in demography and human ecology. He formerly taught at Miami University, Oxford, Ohio.

Andrew F. Henry has been awarded a grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health for a two-year study of aggression and family structure, in which James H. Williams will be research associate.

Albert J. Reiss, Jr., is beginning a three-year study of adolescent conformity and deviation in the Davidson County school system under a grant from the United States Office of Education.

Wayland J. Hayes served as a staff member of the Vanderbilt Institute of Economic Development during the past summer.

Yale University.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Albert Galloway Keller, William Graham Sumner Professor (Emeritus) of the Science of Society, at the age of eighty-two.

One of the first generation of American sociologists, he was born in Springfield, Ohio, graduated from Yale in 1896, took his Ph.D. under Sumner in 1899, became an instructor in social science the next year, and served on the faculty for forty-two years. He retired in 1942 and lived for the rest of his life in New Haven. Regarded as one of Yale's great teachers, he is best known for his completing of Sumner's four-volume work, *The Science of Society*, after the latter's death in 1910; for his *Social Evolution*; and for the phrase "the forgotten man," coined by Sumner, but popularized in his disciple's article on the subject in the *American Mercury* in 1932 and given national currency by Franklin Roosevelt in the presidential campaign of that year.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud. By ERNEST JONES. Vol. I: 1856-1900. New York: Basic Books, 1953. Pp. 428. \$6.75. Vol. II: 1901-1909. New York: Basic Books, 1955. Pp. 512. \$6.75.

Reviewing these two volumes poses both interesting and difficult problems. The desire to learn more about the founder of psychoanalysis is great, and so is the wish to discover what kind of person it took to invent psychoanalysis. Unfortunately, this biography has many shortcomings in both respects. It abounds in errors of omission and commission, and for long stretches it belabors the now obvious, while often failing to tell what we are most anxious to know about the hero. Some of this was to be expected. The task of doing justice to the extremely complex person who was Freud would be difficult for any biographer, not just for a man who is now old and whose personal participation and obvious partisanship have dimmed objectivity.

For all this, due allowances could be made, were it not for the baffling phenomenon that, in spite of deficiencies which must have been obvious to all sophisticated readers, the reviewers have outdone themselves in praise of this biography. And this, despite the tedious repetitions, the oversimplified exposition of Freud's theories, and the fact that long stretches of Jones's history of the psychoanalytic movement are mainly a pedestrian rewriting of the fascinating history Freud published many years ago in much more exciting form.

This is not the definitive biography of Freud, but it is definitely an official biography, presenting that picture of him which members of the inner circle of the Freud family and official psychoanalysis wish to have accepted as definitive. What a splendid history of this great man could now be written if official psychoanalysis had not sealed the Freud archives with twenty-five hundred of his letters for fifty years! One letter Freud wrote from Rome to his family, which Jones fortunately reprints, and the twenty pages of excerpts from others of his letters which form the Appendix to Volume II reveal more of Freud the man than do the many hundreds of pages in which Jones writes about him. Thus the truly significant value of these

volumes derives from the passages where Freud is quoted, from the anecdotes about him, the facts about his life, and that of some of those about him.

Since much of this was not available before in printed form, we must be grateful for it. But why such meager fare, why so interlarded with directions by a tired teacher to eager students, over hundreds of pages, about how they must, and how they must not, understand the genius of Freud. Unfortunately for his readers, Dr. Jones could not make up his mind whether he ought to give us the story of Freud's life, an exposition of psychoanalysis, or a history of the psychoanalytic movement. In trying to do all three, he failed in each.

The first volume reads much better than the second, if for no other reason than that it deals mostly with Freud's life and the author could not, as in the second volume, so often point to himself as the one who was right all along. By comparison, the second volume suffers seriously from these shortcomings and from being mostly taken up by an inadequate exposition of Freud's writings and a biased history of the psychoanalytic movement. Dr. Jones's original contribution to this movement was very great indeed. Therefore, it is even more regrettable that in writing its history he tries so hard to prove that those of Freud's followers who never criticized anything the master said or did proved themselves to be entirely free of neurosis and motivated only by the highest morality. These true disciples were never touched by any ambivalence, and this was most true of his biographer. Others close to Freud, such as his closest collaborator and friend, Ferenczi (we are told), were unfortunately terribly neurotic. On the other hand, critics of Freud among his early disciples (according to Dr. Jones) were never motivated by what seemed to them valid reasoning but only by jealousy, if not psychopathic motives.

To a psychoanalyst it is particularly distressing that a biography of Freud written by a prominent analyst should be so unpsychoanalytic. For example, Freud before his self-analysis is described as a very neurotic individual, which he undoubtedly was. But his self-analysis, which, like the analysis of any other person, formed the

crucial psychological event of his adult life, is dealt with on barely nine pages out of a life-history over fifteen hundred pages long! Yet the abundant material on it, readily available in his *Interpretation of Dreams*, is untapped. Indeed, this, his most important book, is disposed of in some brief fourteen pages, most of which are taken up by an enumeration of the many editions in which it appeared and how much Freud was paid in royalties.

Incidentally, Dr. Jones's interest in the royalties Freud received for his various writings, the quoting of dates of editions and translations, leave the reader to speculate whether this interest in money and numbers is a biographical item revealing Freud or his biographer. It is one of many instances that show how very difficult it is to be sure whether what is printed in the second volume is part of an autobiography of Jones or of a biography of Freud. Not that, given Dr. Jones's contribution to psychoanalysis, his autobiography might not make very worthwhile reading; but the official biography of his master seems hardly the place for it; and the former detracts from the latter's value.

How unpsychoanalytic Jones, as biographer, can be is further illustrated by the way he disposes of what may have been one of Freud's most important intimate relations. Speaking of Freud's sister-in-law, who, for forty-two years, was part of his household circle, Jones simply states authoritatively: "There was no sexual attraction on either side." One must wonder about the man Freud who traveled for long periods alone with this mature woman, roomed in hotels with her, but did not find her sexually attractive; one wonders even more how it was possible for this woman not to become sexually attracted to Freud. What kind of woman was she? What kind of man was Freud that he should choose as the preferred companion of his mature years a woman sexually unattractive to him? And if he was such a man, would it not be the prime task of a psychoanalytic biographer to explain it in some detail? This particular psychoanalytic biographer seems to have felt that sexual attractions between sister-in-law and brother-in-law need not even be considered as a possibility, even if the two shared home, ideas, holidays—the husband so interested in the woman's company that he left wife and children behind. What of psychoanalysis and what it tries to teach, if this was so? Those who have wondered about this relationship seem to have been more psychoanalytically inclined than the

psychoanalytic biographer, who labels (rather than discusses) their speculation as "malicious gossip." Evidence missing, this reviewer is willing to believe that the relationship was a purely Platonic one. But then we must be told what this must have meant for the man and the woman.

The sociologist will be equally distressed by the biography's failure to set Freud within the context of his society and the culture which formed the woof out of which his life and thus his work were woven. For example, Jones described Freud's early years as a boy and later as a student at the University of Vienna as if he had been poverty-stricken but, despite it and by his own strength, had worked his way to fame and success. In reality, while Freud's parents were not well-to-do, they certainly belonged to the Jewish middle class; they were by no means poor. For a Jewish family of the 1880's to have lived in a flat of six rooms meant that they were quite well off. The conditions of Freud's life may seem deprived by the standards of a good middle-class British subject of today. But they were excellent when compared with the near-ghetto-like existence from which Freud's father escaped by moving to Vienna. His deep attachment to the empire of Franz Joseph and to Vienna—felt by most of his Jewish contemporaries—must be explained by the tremendous social and economic advancement his father's generation experienced. The hardships of anti-Semitism came later, were superimposed on an entirely different basis of gratitude and expectation built up during the lifetime of Freud's father and Freud's own earliest years. So Freud's supposed hatred of Vienna was thus the expression of a deep early love that became frustrated with the wave of anti-Semitism in the early twentieth century, a frustration the more keenly felt as the earlier love was never given up. It is within this social context that Freud's life must be comprehended, yet Jones utterly fails to understand it. Repeatedly he mentions Freud's hatred for Vienna and, strangely enough, does not question why, if he claimed to hate Vienna so much, he could not bring himself to leave it, but remained there after the Nazis came until it had become impossible to stay any longer. Here, as in many other instances, the great discovery of the ambivalence of human emotions seems not to apply to Freud—not, at least according to his biographer.

Jones also shows himself unfamiliar with a corollary pattern prevalent among the intel-

lectual society of Vienna, namely, the pretending to think disparagingly of Vienna, which was nothing but a cover-up of the irrational love-attachment to the city and its culture. Instead of recognizing this and explaining its neurotic ambivalent nature to the reader, Jones presents the negative side of Freud's ambivalence, without ever elucidating those positive aspects which were obviously stronger, since they always won out.

This is only one of many examples of Jones's total misunderstanding of Freud's Vienna which was so important in shaping the man Freud. Still it would be wrong to conclude that there is no value in acquainting one's self with this biography. It holds too many revealing incidents of Freud's history, too many meaningful glimpses into his daily life, which could otherwise not be gained. But the reader will have to be careful in drawing his own conclusions from what Jones reports and not accept his many misinterpretations, such as that Freud hated Vienna.

In conclusion, a pair of delightful anecdotes may be quoted, to show how revealing of Freud these volumes can be as source material.

Jones tells us how, during meals, Freud would not talk to his family because he enjoyed his food so much that he concentrated on eating instead. If one of his children was absent, Freud "would point mutely at the vacant chair with his knife or fork and look inquiringly to his wife at the other end of the table. She would explain . . . whereupon Freud, with his curiosity satisfied, would nod silently and proceed with his meal."

Or this example, from a letter to Jung, in which Freud says of his method of therapy that "it is in essence a cure through love." To have this authoritative statement about the nature of psychoanalytic therapy available, with its utter refutation of the technicians of the deep interpretations and of the artisans of the dynamic dissection of the human psyche, makes one grateful for these volumes. As a collection of anecdotes they are thus of great merit; but as a biography of Freud the man they are full of shortcomings; and as a statement of the society and times out of which he grew they are a total failure.

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AL, SCIENTIFIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION. ("Current Sociology," Vol. V, No. 1.) 1956.

Archives de sociologie des religions, Vol. I (January-June, 1956). Published by the Groupe de Sociologie des Religions, Paris, Centre d'Études Sociologiques, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.

The Groupe de Sociologie des Religions in Paris has just given us two valuable instruments in its field: an annotated bibliography in the UNESCO series of trend reports and the first issue of a new biannual, *Archives de sociologie des religions*. The bibliography contains 891 items, all of them published since 1940. The *Archives* includes a bibliography for 1955 which is, in fact, a continuation of the other one. Sociologists in the English-speaking countries will be especially grateful for our colleagues' coverage of a good deal of European work published in sources not usually accessible to us, and all will appreciate the opportunity afforded by these publications for an appraisal of the present situation and prospects in our field.

The sociology of religion, by its very nature, has exceedingly indistinct boundaries. It is dependent on a number of other disciplines. Its own concerns seem to vary from religion to religion—indeed, from case to case. Not the least interesting aspect of the trend report is its attempt to delimit our inquiries, a problem to which Gabriel LeBras devotes a large part of his Introduction. He returns to the same theme, at greater length and with more clarity, in the first article in the *Archives*.

LeBras begins with the internal structure of religious groups themselves and then moves to the social sources of changes in their form and content. He reverses, in a manner refreshing and provocative, what we might term the "classical" approach of the sociologist. He has himself made a special study of French Catholicism. Indeed, perhaps the single most striking fact about the trend report is the vitality of Catholic research, especially in Europe, on religion and social structure.

Here historical fatality has dictated the course of social research. The chief object of Catholic investigation is, in fact, the de-Christianization of the European worker. That research, then, begins with an ideological commitment, a historical problem generated by definite interests. And, at least on initial inspection, it appears to have contributed much to the sociology of religion and taught us something new

Sociology of Religions: A Trend Report and Bibliography. By UNITED NATIONS EDUCATION-

about the structure and interstices of contemporary European society.

The first sociologists of religion, Hume, his friends the Encyclopedists, Marx, Comte, and Spencer were all animated by philosophic purpose. Like Durkheim and Weber after them, they wanted to test the limits of reason in human institutions. We have distilled, sometimes crudely, their theories. But, refined or not, most of our work seems devoid of historical impulse. We hypostatize the present—and, in so doing, lose it. The bibliography reports virtually no work in the sociology of religion for Great Britain. Much American work appears to reflect a dutiful utilization of Troeltsch's distinction between sect and church, a distinction not unquestioned by church historians, and very little else. Perhaps the reason for this is that most sociologists take their secular culture so much for granted that they see no problem in it. We have, in brief, few fundamental questions to put to our data.

The trend report suggests that data are beginning to come to hand. It also indicates a lively awareness on the part of those doing research in this field of some of its technical and methodological complexities (see Part II of the Introduction to the bibliography). The relative paucity of comparative studies is noteworthy. A recrudescence of sociological interest in Buddhism, Islam, and Hinduism might well deepen our capacities to work with Christianity and Judaism.

The chief items in the *Archives* are a memorial to the late Professor Joachim Wach and a lengthy analysis by Jacques Petit of a Parisian parish in its social setting. The second number of the *Archives* will present a bibliography for 1956.

NORMAN BIRNBAUM

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and Political Science*

Corporation Giving in a Free Society. By RICHARD EELLS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956. Pp. xiv+210. \$3.50.

Illustrations of new problems which concern corporations today, problems which would have been almost unintelligible a generation ago to those who were reared in either laissez faire or Marxian economics, are provided by this book. The author, manager of public relations research at the General Electric Company, starts out with

the fact that business corporations in the United States contribute nearly half a billion dollars annually to philanthropy.

So rapid has been the growth of corporate giving that it still lacks a consistent philosophy. The author rejects oversimplified explanations of corporate responsibilities and incentives such as that the corporate giver's gifts should advance "his own business interests." At least, the conception of "business interest" in this context must be broadened. The causes which the corporate giver should support might even antagonize customers and not evoke the enthusiasm of stockholders. Nor would the author defend corporate giving merely for tax advantage. The rationale for a program of corporate philanthropy should "reach far out into the corporate environment."

For "far out" in the corporation's broader environment is the current struggle to maintain a free society; and only in a free society can the corporation be an instrument for unleashing individual enterprise. Some of the forces essential to the maintenance of a free society are governmental, but the private institutions are the more fundamental: the family, the local community, educational and religious institutions, the "healers of body and soul," the associations of scholars, scientists, writers, and artists, labor unions, business enterprises—indeed, the whole spectrum of voluntary associations. The real aim of corporation giving, concludes Eells, is "to preserve and maintain the vital private sectors in the corporate environment . . . to strengthen a multigroup social structure that makes intervention unnecessary," and thereby to support free enterprise.

Unfortunately in this brief and well-documented treatise the flow of thought is frequently interrupted by repetition or by an uncertain conjuncture of ideas. However, this does not seriously impair a work that promises to give direction to corporate philanthropy, increase its social value, and enhance the contributions of private enterprise to the preservation of a free society.

STUART A. RICE

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Empire in Wood: A History of the Carpenters' Union. By ROBERT A. CHRISTIE. Ithaca, N.Y.: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1956. Pp. xvii+356. \$5.50.

This exciting, well-written book describes the reaction of an organization to technological change. Eighty years ago the highly skilled, all-round carpenter was the key man in the building industry. Today, on larger projects little skilled carpentry is required: what were once skilled operations are performed by machines in mills. More important, wood, the carpenter's material, has been gradually replaced by steel beams, reinforced concrete, metal windows, linoleum flooring, and so forth. In spite of this, the carpenters remain the largest and most powerful union in the building trades.

In order to maintain their position against these constantly unfavorable developments, the carpenters evolved an international organization designed for a single purpose: maintenance of "jurisdiction." Collective-bargaining relationships have been left almost entirely to the local and district organizations. Other unions, particularly in the building trades, have been interested in jurisdiction, but economic pressures have forced the carpenters to develop the art of jurisdictional fighting to its highest refinement.

Step by step the union built its power. First, it fashioned a corps of professional business agents; then, with the spread of prefabricated work, lumber mills were organized industrially, the lever being the union label and the power to boycott unlabeled wood. With the introduction of substitute materials, claim was laid to everything "once made of wood," a superindustry jurisdiction. Though there were sixty years of constant fights with other construction unions, the Building Trades Department of the AF of L, the AF of L itself, the CIO, and the federal government, in the end "label unionism" and the principle of "jurisdictional *laissez-faire*" (i.e., settling by economic strength instead of by abstract principles) triumphed.

The book is concerned primarily with the development of the Carpenters' International Union and is based almost entirely on convention proceedings and the official union journal, which gives only a very limited and distorted picture. Union officers refused to be interviewed or to make union records available. •

Although the author does surprisingly well with material so meager, it is unfortunate that he cannot give us a larger picture. Is the carpenters' story unique, or did all construction unions follow a common pattern?

Little data were available concerning the local and district levels or the dynamics of dis-

trict-international relations—lacunae which perhaps account for the tendency toward over-generalization. Local unions, for example, are frequently more than "simply dues-collecting agencies": as channels of communication, they have important social functions. Contrary to the impression given, many district councils enjoy a considerable degree of democracy. Business agents are frequently defeated in elections. Theoretically, in matters of jurisdiction, the power of the national office is complete, yet locals frequently revolt over minor matters and the International must adjust its policies to such pressures. To be sure, the constitution gives the International's president unlimited power to suspend local officers; but why is this power so rarely used to quell revolt? Why is there so much trouble today in introducing regional and nation-wide agreements in the face of clear economic necessity? There are important checks on the International's power which do not appear in the constitution or convention proceedings.

The author's method of research makes it impossible to deal with these questions. Nevertheless, the volume is a major contribution to our understanding of the dynamics of craft unionism. It is also very good reading.

GEORGE STRAUSS

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Philadelphia Workers in a Changing Economy.

By GLADYS L. PALMER. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1956. Pp. xiv+189. \$6.00.

From the very first days of the Republic, the Philadelphia labor market has been particularly fortunate, at least from the statistical point of view. In the 1790 Census, the man who enumerated Philadelphia voluntarily and uniquely recorded the occupation of each family head. This intense interest in the local labor market has been exhibited in more recent years by the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania. One important difference, however, is that the present-day scholars have apparently not capitalized on their statistical endeavors; the 1790 Census enumerator, soon after completing his rounds, published a city directory utilizing the information he had so considerably recorded on the census schedules without recompense from the federal government.

For some thirty-five years, the Wharton

School, through its Industrial Research Department, has pioneered in the study of labor-market conditions and for the last twenty years this was done under the direction of Gladys Palmer. In the present volume, she synthesizes and interprets the results of the many separate studies from a single, consistent historical viewpoint, with the object of exhibiting the dynamics of a metropolitan labor market.

Dr. Palmer opens her report by sketching a picture of Philadelphia's economic development during the nineteenth century. She then reviews the changes in the demand for labor from 1900 to 1950 in the population and in the labor force. These chapters are followed by more detailed analyses of the effects on the labor market of the depression of the thirties and the prosperity of the forties and fifties. Finally, there is a discussion of economic development problems and employment policy in cities.

This last portion of the volume, much more general in scope than the preceding sections, will undoubtedly be of most interest to sociologists. The broader implications of local history are reviewed under such topics as growth patterns of cities, changes in the functions of cities, demographic and economic factors in labor-force dynamics, and the behavior of the labor market. Throughout the volume, comparisons are offered between Philadelphia and other cities, as well as with the country as a whole.

This is a unique report, recommended to sociologists interested in the interaction between metropolitan populations and the local labor market.

DAVID L. KAPLAN

Bureau of the Census

Prediction Methods in Relation to Borstal Training. By HERMANN MANNHEIM and LESLIE T. WILKINS. New York: British Information Service, 1955. Pp. vi+276. \$3.15.

This first British prediction study in the field of criminology differs from (improves on) most kindred American studies in four respects: the prediction equation (experience table) was validated by a second sample study before application to the penal population; the prediction equation was derived only from cases that had a complete configuration of information factors to test; a second-level prediction equation was worked out to reduce the large number of cases in the middle range, that is, with from 40 to 60

per cent chance of success or failure, that usually result from such studies; and both the original and the validation samples were taken at the point of entry into the penal system rather than at the point of outgo.

The prediction equation was built on the basis of only those cases for which the authors had complete information on 60 factors, thereby reducing the sample from 720 to 385. The first prediction equation consisted of 7 factors with weighted scores that were to be applied to the validation sample. This equation relied mainly on past criminal record and home and work history. A second prediction equation relied on "personal factors," intelligence, occupation of subject and head of household, leisure pursuits, and family criminality. This was the equation used to re-sort the large group in the middle range, but unfortunately it was not subjected to validation tests. A third prediction equation consisted of Borstal factors, assignment to "open" or "closed" institution, and misconduct and was also not validation-tested.

For the purposes of validating the prediction equation of 7 factors, the authors let one year go by and then applied the equation to every Borstal entrant from July to December, 1948, and allowed three and a half years to elapse as a follow-up period.

The original sample prediction study of Mannheim and Wilkins turned up some interesting findings, some of which agree and some of which disagree with recent American studies. The finding that "open" Borsitals (minimum security for a selected population) are 22 per cent more efficient than "closed" Borsitals, "even after making a reasonable allowance for the better material upon which they have to work," agrees with federal experience at Seagoville and state experience at Chino, California, both minimum-security institutions. "There was a significant tendency for the failures to have been detained longer." A similar finding was made in a recent California Department of Correction study. "Statistical classification into likely failure and likely success groups results in twice the accuracy of intuitive judgments of highly experienced assessors." Studies by Ohlin, Glaser, and the writer have arrived at similar findings. Every study ever made on the postinstitutional behavior of former offenders finds that sex offenders, homicide, and assault cases have the highest success rates after leaving prison, but such findings have no practical effect on release procedures.

Mannheim and Wilkins' work is technically excellent and welcome as a major contribution to the field of prediction in criminology. One might, however, raise questions about the philosophy behind the work. It is government-sponsored research, and the authors seem reluctant to criticize the Borstal system. According to their study, the Borstal system has a 55 per cent failure rate (which is slightly lower than the failure rate of comparable American institutions), but this is simply accepted as "given." Early in the study the reader is informed that "justice is not a function of statistics. Statistics only ensure that rational decisions may be taken with known risks." In the last chapter of the book the full implications of these sentiments are further amplified when the authors offer to modify their prediction equations in order to provide a statistical rationalization for administrators who "may well be concerned with other things than the correctness of the estimate of risk of failure" (p. 217). The authors speak of "wrong" decisions (i.e., right in light of their present study) that might have a "penalty" for an administrator, e.g.: "It might well be more serious to classify a failure as a success than a success as a failure." Such Machiavellianism or latter-day Burnhamism is deplorable in an otherwise scientifically competent work. The authors, as social scientists, seem almost eager to subordinate the knowledge they have gained through their own discipline to the political exigencies of administrators who cannot afford to make "wrong" but scientific decisions because a "penalty" may be attached to scientific forthrightness. Such "rationality" is reminiscent of Karl Mannheim's "functional rationality," which, unleavened by "substantial rationality," had totalitarian overtones.

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Race Relations in World Perspective. Edited with an Introduction by ANDREW W. LIND. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1955. Pp. xix+488.

In the summer of 1954 a conference on race relations was held at the University of Hawaii, to which were invited "scholars and experts . . . so chosen as to bring together the best theoretical knowledge in the field . . . to pool the essential concrete data and analyses . . . and to

evolve a conceptual framework for subsequent studies." This book includes nineteen of the papers read at that conference. They are interesting and informative, but they fall short of the stated objectives.

For the most part they are descriptions of the racial situation in various parts of the world. Hourani writes authoritatively on the Near East, tracing the rise of nationalism and emphasizing the tensions and conflicts between Christians, Jews, and Moslems. Balandier reports on West and Central Africa, especially on reactions there to colonialism. Barnes writes on the development of race relations in southern Africa, using a basic framework of four evolutionary stages: the foreign policy phase, the frontier phase, paternalism, and integration. Kolarz treats the minorities of the Soviet Union, insisting that the government's announced policy of equality and non-discrimination has been nullified and supplanted by one of Russification. Furnivall writes on the tropical Far East, paying particular attention to the achievement of national unity and the promotion of welfare. He writes brilliantly about the difficulties in helping underdeveloped countries through such programs as Point 4, WHO, FAO, UNESCO, etc. Little discusses the role and status of the elite in British West Africa, and Frazier writes on the Negro in the United States. Pierson, reporting on race relations in Portuguese America, sketches recent research and concludes that the hypotheses which he presented two decades ago in his *Negroes in Brazil* are basically valid. Other chapters deal with the Japanese in Formosa, the Chinese in Southeast Asia, and the mestizos in Spanish America.

Generalization is attempted in only a few of the papers. Simey describes the functions of elites in the process of assimilation, drawing his data from Britain, the West Indies, and Israel. Hughes analyzes the various symbols which serve as unifying forces when "new peoples" emerge. Glick describes the numerous social types which appear in multiracial societies. He sees race relations as moving through a sequence of phases—precontact, contact and predomination, domination, and postdomination—each producing distinctive social types. Hörmann presents the idea that the extinction of native peoples after contact with European civilization is not so universal as is frequently assumed and offers the theory that such contact proves disastrous for isolated folk societies, while the reverse is true for peasant societies. Blumer, in the

opening chapter, maintains that the prospects of evolving a body of universal principles of race relations are dim and that the most that can be hoped for is a set of "policy" principles for guiding action.

The editor, in his Introduction, deplores the parochialism which, he insists, has handicapped students of race relations and states that to counteract it was one of the major objectives of the conference. But are not the publications of Park, Reuter, Smith, Linton, Locke and Stern, Miller, Simpson, Davie, Dover, Embree, Fairchild, Herskovits, Malinowski, Brown, Bogardus, Bryce, Stonequist, Walter, Thompson, and others evidence that their horizon has not been provincial?

Students of race relations will want to peruse this volume. They may not find it all new, but they will find it interesting, offering some additional information and occasionally a stimulating idea and presenting a broader viewpoint on racial problems. However, the volume will not help them very much in the areas where the need is greatest, namely, conceptualization and generalization.

BREWTON BERRY

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Theresienstadt, 1941-1945: Das Antlitz einen Zwangsgemeinschaft. By H. G. ADLER. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr (Paul Siebeck), 1955. Pp. xiv+773. DM. 38.

The great value of Adler's book lies in the fact that it is the only relatively complete, systematic, and detailed description of a Nazi concentration camp. There is an extensive literature about concentration camps which consists chiefly of autobiographical accounts, but all of it is fragmentary. *Theresienstadt* is the only genuine case study available and the only one that is likely to be available. The volume contains abundant statistical material on all aspects of living, and there is hardly a question that one might ask about concentration camps the answer to which is not documented in this study.

The reason that this material is available is closely connected with the special character of Theresienstadt as a concentration camp plus the fact that, by chance, the order for the complete destruction of the camp was never put into effect. In all other camps records were kept only by the Nazis, and these were for the most part destroyed. In Theresienstadt the administration

was wholly in the hands of the prisoners, who were mostly Jews from the Czech Protectorate, Germany, Holland, and Denmark. Although the power of this administration was in fact entirely dependent upon the Nazis, an illusion of self-government was evoked, and it functioned as a regular bureaucratic apparatus. It amassed vast amounts of statistical data and documents of all sorts which cover almost every transaction inside the camp. Many of these documents are available. Besides, Adler, who was himself an inmate in Theresienstadt, kept detailed records which he hid and recovered after the camp was dispersed. Furthermore, he interviewed a number of inmates, including administrators, who survived the camp.

Theresienstadt differed in several respects from other concentration camps but not in the essential features of the routine operations and the life of the inmates. One important distinction was that there were no gas chambers at Theresienstadt: victims selected for extermination were transported elsewhere. Detailed records were kept of the dates, destinations, number of victims, and number of survivors of these transports. The population of Theresienstadt was unique in being exclusively Jewish and, indeed, in including only Jews of the middle, upper, and intellectual classes, with a disproportionate number of old people. Further, the inmates of Theresienstadt not only administered themselves but were permitted to have their own medical clinics, there being one physician for every eight persons. Lastly, the inmates were relatively well housed and fed.

This book is divided into three parts. The first deals with the history of the camp from its organization in 1941 to liberation in May, 1945. The second part deals with the organization of the camp. There is detailed discussion of the administration, the composition of the population and its migrations and transportations, housing, nutrition, health, general welfare, productive work, legal relations, contacts with the outside, and artistic and intellectual activities. The third part deals with Theresienstadt in the context of contemporary history in general and the history of the Jews in particular. It is a social-psychological analysis of the personality and conduct of individual inmates, which yielded a typology of personality types and patterns of conduct in the camp population. In addition, the book contains a glossary of 150 terms of concentration camp jargon, an extensive list of sources and bibliography, a blueprint

of Theresienstadt, and many charts, tables, and quotations from original documents.

Adler not only reports, he also analyzes. His descriptions are interspersed with penetrating comments and with relevant sociological analysis. This is particularly apparent in his references to and awareness of the significance of status distinctions, division of labor, role-playing, the elaborate system of norms and regulations, and the function of the bureaucracy. All these elements were conspicuous in the life of the camp population, despite the fact of their pseudo-validity. The prevailing fiction of self-government tragically camouflaged the real situation of Theresienstadt's inmates, which was enslavement, destined to end with extermination. The Nazis were so successful in concealing the real purpose of the camp that very few of its inmates ever believed reports of the fate of the transported.

The special significance of *Theresienstadt* for sociologists lies in its disclosure that many of the routine patterns of relationship, organization, and normative regulation observed in stable, autonomous societies seem to emerge and order large populations, even though living in appalling stress and servitude.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy. Edited by T. H. BORTOMORE and MAXIMILIEN RUBEL. London: Watts & Co., 1956. Pp. xiii+265. 21s.

The New World of Henri Saint-Simon. By FRANK E. MANUEL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 433. \$7.50.

Teachers of courses on social stratification, industrial sociology, and social theory have difficulty when they want to refer their students to the writings of Karl Marx. Of the numerous collections of his writings that exist, none as yet has attempted to assemble the scattered passages which relate directly to sociology. The volume under review meets this need: all the relevant fragments from Marx's works appear to be here, and Bottomore's lucid new translations do much to clarify the difficult text.

The editors have confined comment to an interesting Introduction (pp. 1-28) summarizing Marx's sociology and social philosophy. (The remainder of the Introduction is a useful guide

to the literature on the influence of Marx's ideas.) This summary, a contribution in its own right, emphasizes, for example, Saint-Simon's influence on Marx, which was as important as Hegel's, or perhaps more so. And the editors rightly stress Marx's empirical intention.

The student will certainly benefit from the editors' clear exposition of the major themes. There are some questions of interpretation, however, on which differences of opinion are perhaps unavoidable. The editors are right, I think, in attributing to Engels the first distortion of Marx's view on science. But is it true that Marx disavowed all reference to "ultimate factors" (p. 18) and that he did not advance a philosophy of history since his "account of historical change excluded any reference to forces or agencies beyond those of human beings living and working in society" (p. 21)? If so, how account for the fact that Marx's concept of alienation is based on a theory of basic human needs, which attributes to man's quest for self-realization the same importance that Freud attributed to the libido? And how account for Marx's use of English social and economic history as the model of capitalist development and his repeated assertion that all the material conditions for a revolution existed there—in the face of all evidence to the contrary? The editors cite an interesting letter of Marx in which he denies having advanced a theory of history; but how much weight should be given it in view of, for instance, his repeated references to the "natural laws of development," as, for example, in the 1867 Preface to *Capital*?

The editors have performed a very useful service in having made full use of Marx's early writings, which are important but difficult to find. The passages under the major headings have not been arranged chronologically, but this is a minor matter, since each passage is dated.

Manuel's full-length study of Saint-Simon's career and life-work comes as a welcome and important addition to the modern, "new look" at this man and his intellectual legacy.

As the author observes in his Introduction, many of Saint-Simon's ideas have become matters of common parlance to such an extent that it is difficult to distinguish between their original meaning and their later usage. Moreover, most of his published and unpublished works were written in a digressing, repetitious, and paradoxical manner, with brilliant phrases in the midst of turgid passages, so that the modern reader, previously relying for the most part on

secondary accounts, will be grateful for this description of all phases of Saint-Simon's life and work. Ample quotations give a vivid impression of the man's kaleidoscopic ideas, but at the same time there is a judicious emphasis upon the main doctrine. Moreover, the book presents sufficient detail on Saint-Simon's life, the historical experiences to which he responded, as well as his relations to his intellectual forebears and disciples.

This is probably the definitive study of Saint-Simon. It presents a remarkable case study of the French intelligentsia during the crucial period of the Revolution, the Restoration, and the emergence of an industrial society. Its clear organization and the ample footnotes testify to the author's scholarship and provide the reader with a very useful guide to the relevant literature.

REINHARD BENDIX

University of California, Berkeley

Opinions and Personality. By M. BREWSTER SMITH, JEROME S. BRUNER, and ROBERT W. WHITE. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1956. Pp. vii+294. \$6.00.

This book reports an investigation of the relationships between opinions and personality. Its raw material is the opinions about Russia held by ten normal men, together with a great quantity of data bearing upon other aspects of each one's personality. The investigators devised their study more in terms of the "strategy of discovery" than the "strategy of proof," and it is refreshing to find that they have used intellectual and technical paraphernalia appropriate to their pioneering investigation. The baggage of scientific verification, such as precise experimental design, independent and dependent variables, and rigorous hypotheses operationally defined, have been left behind in favor of the gear of the frontier of science, namely, a wide variety of procedures and instruments, a plan of operation with scope and flexibility, and concepts both broad and tractable.

Data for each subject were secured by means of twenty-eight procedures (free, directed, and stress interviews; projective, intellectual, information, and opinion tests), administered by seventeen investigators; these data were interpreted and integrated by a "diagnostic council" consisting of a social anthropologist, three social

psychologists, and three clinical psychologists. The findings of this truly exploratory study are given in three forty-page and seven seven-page case studies sandwiched between forty pages of historical and theoretical introduction and forty-six pages of interpretations and conclusions. The results of this kind of investigation are always tentative, of course; its chief purpose, indeed, is to open new problems to systematic investigation.

The diagnostic council was able to agree upon a theoretical framework in terms of which they could order the diverse data. They found converging trends in theories of opinion-personality interrelations. This theoretical context can be characterized, inadequately, as broadly functional. In developing it, the authors acknowledge the influence, especially, of Freud, G. H. Mead, McDougal, Lewin, G. Allport, and Murray.

A series of descriptive attributes of opinions, which are defined and illustrated, should be of great value. The investigators found that opinions are related to underlying dynamics of personality, not unequivocally but closely enough for knowledge of a subject's opinions to be in some ways more revealing of personality than are conventional projective techniques. Current theories of ego-defense were found to be inadequate in so far as they neglect opinions and values as a means of avoiding critical problems which require extreme defenses. The non-directive approach to opinion and attitude assessment was found to have severe limitations, as well as advantages; on the basis of their experience these investigators argue that pressure techniques are important in opinion surveys. They conclude that the scaling of opinions is essential but that the methods must be such as can deal with a complexity of opinion far beyond the simple pro and con of most scaling methods.

The book is written with a style and elegance most unusual in a collaborative effort; it is a pleasure to read. And it is an erudite book, clearly the product of the highest learning. The introductory chapter, "Converging Approaches," is a gem of exposition and should be of great value to students seeking orientation. The skill with which this book is organized and written is highly agreeable, and the smoothness is not on the surface only. There is an aesthetically pleasing fittingness and harmony in the book as its parts are developed. But, cantankerously perhaps, we do not find this deeper harmony so desirable. There must have been stimu-

lating but discordant contributions from some of the many participants in the study, but they do not appear; at some point there has been a massive reconciliation of viewpoints. But among the virtues of the exploration for those who follow are the glaring lacunae inviting filling, the rough spots to be leveled, the contradictions to be accounted for. On an exploration one expects to be surprised. Is it a hazard of such extensive collaboration as this, particularly in the diagnostic council, that the unique, the angular, the dissident, all so valuable in exploration, are lost?

Or the difficulty may lie partly in the nature of the report. The investigators might have published the raw data of their tests and the recordings of their interviews and reported the sessions of the diagnostic council. One can easily be jealous of those privileged to hear the interchanges between the skilled clinicians and the sophisticated scientists from which issued the integration and interpretation published. But this book brings only the conclusions of the research, not the data or the analytic procedures. And conclusions have a finality about them.

In any event, for whatever reason, this book's harmony and polish are also defects which make it not so easy as it should be to go on to the next step. The theory and viewpoints are expounded so impressively and convincingly that it seems inevitable that Lanlin should see evil leaders in Russia seeking world dominance while Sullivan should see Russia as an attractive experiment in social welfare. But what would happen if some hoaxer transposed Lanlin's opinions about Russia to Sullivan's record, and vice versa? We have the impression that these skilled clinicians and scientists would have little difficulty in making a reasonable exegesis of the contrived records. That this would be possible is, actually, a criticism of the present stage of our understanding of opinions and personality. However, a less facile book, exhibiting more clearly the deficiencies of discovery, might give a stronger push into verification.

ROGER G. BARKER
HAROLD ZENDER

*University of Kansas
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Fuchs traces the history of Jewish voting from the earliest days of the Republic through the 1954 election. His main focus, however, is on the strong affiliation of the Jews to the Democratic party from the first election of Franklin D. Roosevelt to the present day.

The author stresses three distinctive peculiarities of Jewish voting: unlike other religious groups, Jews tend not to vote in accord with socioeconomic status—the wealthy have been as likely as the poor to adopt a liberal political position; Jews are more prone than others to split tickets; and they have a strong predilection for supporting minority parties. Jewish voting has been guided by the principle of international co-operation abroad and economic liberalism at home.

The author has adopted the view that it is not inconsistent with democratic doctrine for men to vote in terms of their ethnicity. "Unless one clearly perceives a conflict between the national welfare and the interests of his own special group, he ought not to be ashamed of voting to influence policy in favor of his ethnic group, any more than he would be unhappy about voting to influence policy in favor of his occupational group" (p. 19). But are the two comparable? While it is true that at times ethnic interests may be at stake in an election (e.g., Negro-white relations), in the North ethnic voting tends to be an expression simply of affiliation, as in "name voting." As such, it is not rational democratic behavior. Economic interest, on the other hand, is more likely to be a relevant political issue. The author himself shows that the political behavior of Jews is much more often governed by certain general political principles than by ethnic interest.

One of the interesting questions which Fuchs raises is: Why do Jews support international involvement and domestic liberalism? He attributes the first to the fact that Jews have been persecuted in many countries for centuries and believe that "the United States, a country whose beneficence toward Jews in international affairs has been well demonstrated, [should] play a strong role in international politics" (p. 172). The liberalism of the Jews he attributes chiefly to values which he considers characteristic of Jewish culture: an emphasis on learning, *Zedakeh*, meaning "charity" or "social justice," and non-asceticism. Fuchs argues that the appeal of Wilson, Stevenson, and the Roosevelt "Brain Trust" to the Jews was based on their admiration of intellectuality; that their support

The Political Behavior of American Jews. By LAWRENCE H. FUCHS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 220. \$4.00.

of social legislation was founded upon their passion for social justice; and that their political activism was based on their non-asceticism and this-worldliness.

Fuchs's argument, while interesting, is not entirely convincing. His explanation of Jewish liberalism is founded almost totally on speculation. Careful research on the reasons for Jewish liberalism would have been more fruitful than demonstrations of the fact and speculation on its cause.

MORRIS ROSENBERG

Cornell University

The Magic Background of Modern Anti-Semitism: An Analysis of the German-Jewish Relationship. By ADOLF LESCHNITZER. New York: International Universities Press, 1956. Pp. vii+236.

This is an analysis of the Jew in German society since 1690: the circumstances under which he participated in it, the changes, and the eventual end with the rise of national anti-Semitism in 1933. It adds to the excellent studies of the same period by Massing and Arendt.

The great merit of this work is its applicability to a comparative study of anti-Semitic movements in modern times. The author, by emphasizing the similarities and differences between German and other European social and political structures, provides a base for wider studies. He argues that the key to the history of the European Jew in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries lies in his relationship to the rising middle classes, with which his emancipation was contemporaneous. In entering the middle classes himself, the Jew found "coexistence and symbiosis" with Germans and the liberal, equalitarian ideology they shared. The symbiosis was broken by the split of the middle class into a disadvantaged lower and a well-to-do upper segment, brought about by the maturing of industrial capitalism. The Jew's inclusion in the prospering segment distorted the previous unity.

There is a valuable discussion of the unique qualities of middle-class influence in nineteenth-century Germany. Unlike other Western industrial and capitalistic nations, Germany's middle class, in achieving cultural and economic importance, did not gain political power. In the disunited parts of the German Empire and after

1871, the feudal upper class kept its monopoly on the political apparatus. Unlike the citizens of Britain, France, and the United States, the Germans lacked a revolutionary, antistatist experience. These differences help to account for the limited influence of middle-class values on German society. Germany lacked elements which elsewhere neutralized the spread of organized anti-Semitism and its expression in nationalistic political action. These considerations should be studied further in open political aristocracies or in systems dominated by the middle class.

The book is marred by its attempt to show permanent roots of modern anti-Semitic hostility. The author has recourse to opaque categories such as the term "magic" in the misleading title. He argues that the German's image of the Jew perpetuates the ghetto model of wanderer and alien. He finds in "ancient heritage" the source of Jewish reluctance to assimilate. Nevertheless, he has written a useful book which places German anti-Semitism in the context of German and European history. If he has not successfully explained the more permanent sources of modern anti-Semitism, after all, who has?

JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD

University of Illinois

The Crisis of the Middle Class. By HENRY GRAYSON. New York: Rhinehart & Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. xiii+172. \$2.75.

As general prosperity, technological advance, and unionization have improved the lot of the workers, the plight of the middle class in the path of industrial bureaucratization has become the object of concern. Grayson deals with this contemporary and fashionable problem, but his mode of analysis is traditional. He presents a loosely developed cyclical theory of the rise and decline of civilizations, briefly reviews Egypt, Greece, and Rome, hails the advent of the industrial revolution as "the middle-class spirit in flower," and decides that western Europe is now entering a period of statism. As for the United States: "At the present time, management and labor are both moving toward collectivism. . . . Meanwhile the true middle-class individualist, who favors as little government intervention as possible, is slowly being squeezed between the collectivists" (p. 105).

Like most cyclical theorists, Grayson departs from the theme of the inevitability of change to

introduce some alternatives, the most hopeful of them being, he feels, the raising of the general intellectual level, so that most liberties and responsibilities are assumed by individuals, the rest by "an intellectual leadership of the highest form."

Short and readable, *The Crisis of the Middle Class* may be useful in introducing students to cyclical theories and to one point of view about the direction of change in our society. Unlike the recent works of David Riesman and C. Wright Mills, it neither broadens our understanding of the contemporary state of the middle class nor lengthens our perspective on what the future may hold for a civilization vastly different from that of Greece and Rome.

WARREN A. PETERSON

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Sociologie et pluralisme dialectique: Introduction à l'œuvre de Georges Gurvitch. By RENÉ TOULEMONT. Louvain: Éditions Nauwelaerts; Paris: Béatrice-Nauwelaerts, 1955. Pp. 276. \$2.40.

This exposition of Gurvitch's work traces abiding philosophical influences, chiefly of Fichte, Husserl, and Scheler, and the articulation of "dialectical hyperempiricism" which acknowledges and follows dialectically all modes of experience and distinguishes methodologically between various kinds of law, single causation, functional covariations and correlations, trends, and contextual integrations. Gurvitch's major interests have been ethics, law, and sociology, especially the sociology of the mind, i.e., culture. Thus moral action overcomes the irrational hiatus between empirical nature and mind; "justice," neither individualistic nor universalistic, is "transpersonal"; and law, never "natural" but always positive, is normative, an attempt at realizing justice. "Legal pluralism" recognizes types of law and their social locations.

Toulemont's two longest chapters, on social reality and on the sociology of the mind, are, of course, most relevant to the sociologist, but their merit lies in showing Gurvitch's sociology in relation to his pervasive philosophical position. The merest summary can be given here and only a few aspects not discussed in the review of Gurvitch's chief work in sociology, *La Vocation actuelle de la sociologie* (cf. *American Sociological Review*, XVI [1951], 119-21).

The method of sociology to Gurvitch is "hyperempiricist" (descriptive, taxonomic, explanatory, "value-free"), "total" (envisaging all social depth levels), typologizing, dialectical, and deterministic, although fully acknowledging both chance and freedom, freedom being one of his major concerns. The sociology of culture deals with magic and religion, law, ethics, and knowledge. Fear of the "immanent supernatural" is the source of magic; fear of the "transcendent supernatural," that of religion. In the sociology of law he distinguishes between legal microsociology, with its stages of law, and legal macrosociology, with its legal frameworks and systems—archaic, theocratic, and contemporary. The sociology of ethics posits kinds and forms and relates them to forms of sociability, groups, and global societies. The sociology of knowledge separates forms from kinds in which the forms are located and analyzes the functional correlations between kinds, forms, and systems of knowledge and types of social structure.

The last of Toulemont's expository chapters, which occupy eight-ninths of his book, usefully sums up variations and constancies in two of Gurvitch's pervasive themes, the "reciprocity of perspectives," i.e., the parallelism between individual and social phenomena, and the nature of the "we." The author's critique of elements of Gurvitch's general philosophy, psychology, methodology, ethics, law, and sociology is followed by an outline of his own view. While valuable, frank, and intelligent, Toulemont's critical examination is of the common unsociological variety, that is, it does not try to relate Gurvitch's enterprise to sociological features of his and our time.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

Social Structure and Cultural Change in a Lebanese Village. By JOHN GULICK. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., 1955. Pp. 191. \$3.50.

The conventional categories of field anthropology poorly fit the changing lifeways of the Middle East today. The main agency of change for this generation is public communication. Movies and magazines, press and radio, and political propaganda of all sorts formulate the key issues for the individual. Whether to move from village to town, whether to work in a fac-

tory, whether to have opinions on public matters—all these decisions now are shaped by secondary symbols in the public arena rather than by the traditional lore and ritual transmitted in the family circle. Hence, even careful descriptions couched in the anthropological lexicon are likely to seem irrelevant or tangential to the important issues.

Gulick's study, originally a doctoral dissertation at Harvard, suffers from the constrictive conventions of his discipline. He provides much hard-won information on the physical environment, population, subsistence factors, and formal institutions of al-Munsif, a Lebanese village in the al-Qurni district between Beirut and Tripoli. He offers valuable observations on kinship structure and marriage patterns in the village. These testify to diligent and intelligent labor. But, as Gertrude Stein said, "Remarks are not literature." So, information is not data and observations are not theory.

It is on the theoretical level that the study founders. Gulick has sought to construct his theoretical propositions around the "concept of spheres" developed by Evans-Pritchard in his study of the Nuer. The seven "spheres"—family, lineage, village, nation, sect, linguistic group, Arab world—are the public units of personal loyalty. One may question its particulars—why omit "Muslim world," the largest unit and the one to which the Egyptian elite under Nasser now assign high priority? But the general schema can be useful to discriminate expansive versus constrictive ego-identification among individual Middle Easterners. The villager whose vision is bounded by family ties differs, in most ways that matter, from the other who feels strongly about such symbols as the Arab League and the Muslim Brotherhood.

What, however, are the indexes by which these differentia can be observed? Perforce they are attitudinal, for the process of change becomes institutional only *after* a substantial proportion of individuals in any community has acquired predispositions that converge upon uniform routines of behavior. Here Gulick's theoretical structure dissolves, for he has chosen as his analytic categories the conventional triad proposed by Afif Tannous: land, religion, and kinship. These are the fading institutions, in terms of which one can describe the Middle East society that used to be. For the changing perspectives and practices today one needs such categories as the sense of self, of ingenuity, and of cash. As a villager acquires these, he begins

to transform himself and his environment.

Failing this, Gulick presents as "the denouement of this work" the continuing high value to kin affiliations. But this is news only to those who have never heard of ambivalence. If the Middle East is "transitional," as practically everybody claims, it is precisely because old ties still bind those persons who have acquired a taste for novelty. This drama—the real denouement of the current Middle East scene—has escaped his notice. More's the pity, for he is too gifted to have been bound by the optics of his "discipline." No discipline commands the entire terrain from which changing lifeways can be observed. Nor are the routine categories of tribal studies adequate to account for transformations in behavior of such scope as are now diffusing through the Middle East. For this, all our discipline and all our wit are needed.

DANIEL LERNER

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Kibbutz: Venture in Utopia. By MELFORD E. SPIRO. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. xii+266. \$4.50.

This account of "Kiryat Yedidim," a radical, pro-Soviet (evidently a Mapam) Israeli *kibbutz*, originally intended as an introduction to the author's forthcoming psychological study of *kibbutz* children, merits the present enlargement and separate publication.

Founded in 1920, the agricultural collective set itself goals of human and sexual equality, political democracy, public ownership of all property, communal rearing of children, and the acceptance of group rather than individual welfare as the ultimate standard of value—goals which have been substantially achieved. Nowhere has the principle of "from each according to his ability; to each according to his needs" been more fully realized. Hard work inspired by high *élan* has produced wealth unknown to the *kibbutz* founders, and, within the limits to which most agricultural enterprises are subject, members enjoy great personal security. At the twice-weekly town meeting all major and many minor community decisions are made. Children live in dormitories tended by nurses and teachers, but their close and loving relation with their parents remains unimpaired. So deep is the sense of "belonging" and of group responsibility that in many ways the *kibbutz* resembles an extended family.

However, Kiryat Yedidim has not escaped, although it has minimized, the internal discontent and movement to the cities which currently poses a serious problem to all *kibbutzim*. Here the crisis has developed hand in hand with the gradual commutation of radical to "bourgeois" principles. Sexual freedom yielded early to monogamous marriage, and a marked asceticism to increased comforts. Where the opposition to private property once went so far that the individual did not reclaim the same clothes he put into the laundry, today not only clothes but fans, radios, apartments, a frigidaire, and a car are used exclusively, if not "owned," by individuals. Avoidance of privacy has been replaced by a positive search for it, and a certain lack of interest in community affairs has become manifest.

It is not entirely clear why these changes have taken place—how much is attributable to the disillusionment or simply the fatigue of age (it is noteworthy that older members are the most conservative and that women are the most discontented), how much to the improved living standards that increased wealth allowed, how much to the pressure of standards in the world outside the *kibbutz*, and how much to the intrinsic impracticality of initial ideals. Nor can it be foreseen what the ultimate effect of the changes will be—whether they will stabilize *kibbutz* life or, rather, promote a schism between factions of the radical "left" and more moderate "right." The younger generation is a stronghold of the former faction, and it will be interesting to see how far they can advance the original ideals and, thereafter, how much they will follow their parents' ways. Spiro's next work should throw some light on these points and, in general, tell us how the children have fared.

HAROLD ORLANS

National Science Foundation

Sociologie comparée de la famille contemporaine.

By COLLOQUES INTERNATIONAUX DU CENTRE NATIONAL DE LA RECHERCHE SCIENTIFIQUE. Paris: Editions du Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1955. Pp. 218. Fr. 1,000.

This collection of reports and discussions was the result of a symposium sponsored by the National Center of Scientific Research in Paris which involved thirty sociologists. The studies center on structural, but include functional, as-

pects of the family. Probably the most trenchant insight it offers is that the shift from a rigid authoritative family to one based on equalitarianism and companionship is not uniquely American. There are, of course, geographic and class variations.

The book is arbitrarily divided into four parts: history, demography, international comparisons, and subcultural factors. The historical section presents the family before and after the Revolution. In the demographic section there are significant data on marriage rates, fertility, social mobility, and reversal in the French birth rate, with its occupational and regional differentials in the last twenty-five years.

Perhaps most interesting is the international section. Schelsky describes the impact of the war and postwar era on the German family and raises the hypothesis that disaster has made for integration and solidarity, as with the American family in the depression. Other phenomena he observes are reduction of patriarchalism and striving for upward mobility. Willoughby likewise sees in the British family the emergence of equalitarianism. The Italian family is analyzed by Pellizi historically and demographically.

In the final part of the book three types of French family are investigated in detail. The traditional rural family is portrayed by Maspétiol as reflecting the particular occupation in which the family is involved and as having a minimum of role flexibility. Boudet, in one of the best chapters of the book, presents changes in the bourgeois family in the last fifty years: the lowering of the marriage age, emancipation of the wife, and strain arising from the need to maintain, or improve, status during inflation. Doublet contributes a study of the urban lower-class family with particular reference to its life-cycle.

In addition to the provocative discussion by the panel following each of the ten lectures or chapters, there is a synthesis at the end of the work. Valuable additions are the maps, tables, and bibliographies. If there are any defects, they are a lack of documentation and quantitative data and the tendency to speculate on insufficient evidence. Demographers, particularly, will wish for more sophistication in the treatment of materials. Generally speaking, however, the symposium is a milestone in European family sociology.

ROBERT C. WILLIAMSON

Los Angeles City College

Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta. By WILLIAM E. MANN. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+166. \$4.00.

Mann's *Sect, Cult, and Church in Alberta* brings up to date S. D. Clark's earlier work, *Church and Sect in Canada* (1948). Beginning with the Salvation Army, which appeared on the scene in 1887, the analysis covers thirty-five fundamentalist sects and ten cults and carries through to 1947. Mann concentrates on the period from 1930 to 1947 which covers the depression and World War II. He relates the success of the sects and cults on Canada's frontier to the failure of the established churches to meet the social and religious needs of a marginal and ethnically heterogeneous population, living in a dynamic and loosely integrated social situation.

After a brief and traditional exposition on the differences between the sect and the cult, the author devotes a highly cursory chapter to the history of their development in Alberta. The following chapter deals with the present situation of these groups, including census data. Generalizations regarding location, ethnic affiliation, and socioeconomic status of the membership are sometimes made without supporting data.

The forms of worship and doctrines constitute the next topic. Mann stresses the informality and enthusiasm of the sect services and their theological protest against modernism. On the other hand, while the cults are also inclined to be informal, their doctrines tended to have a more practical motif: healing, problem-solving, etc.

Succeeding chapters treat the program, organization, and role of leadership in the expansion of these groups. The weekday activities and the small size of the sects and cults served to provide a degree of social cohesion among the members which is typically lacking on the frontier. Moreover, the prairie Bible schools and other leadership-training institutions have developed a more appropriate type of leader than the theological schools of the established churches.

A final chapter is devoted to the success of the evangelical techniques employed by the sects and cults—summer schools and camps, itinerant evangelists, and, more recently and effectively, radio broadcasting and literature—methods which denominations oriented to the middle class could not bring themselves to use.

As a cogent interpretation in sociological terms of what happened in Alberta, the volume

is an excellent study in social history. The defects stem largely from the differences between writing history and doing sociological research; and the author has done a much better job of the former than the latter. Illustrative materials always have some value when the task is to find out what actually happened, but they may or may not be of value for purposes of generalization. Much of the data are private correspondence, official church records, etc., whose representativeness and adequacy are open to question. The greatest weakness is the failure to include any materials directly supporting the constantly reiterated hypothesis that sects and especially cults serve the needs of neurotic, unadjusted people.

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ

Brown University

Flight and Resettlement. By H. B. M. MURPHY et al. New York: UNESCO (Columbia University Press), 1955. Pp. 231. \$3.50.

The Positive Contribution by Immigrants: A Symposium Prepared for UNESCO by the International Sociological Association and the International Economic Association. New York: UNESCO (Columbia University Press), 1956. Pp. 202. \$2.25.

These, the second and third titles in UNESCO's series on "Population and Culture," are related to two aspects of international migration. The former is a symposium on the psychological problems of refugees and displaced persons; the latter is, as its title implies, essentially a brief for immigration, "concentrating on the positive contributions . . . and leaving aside possible negative factors."

Flight and Resettlement is an unusually coherent symposium, notable for its psychological insight and its generally objective tone. It should contribute significantly to generally educated readers' understanding of the nature of the social-psychological problems faced both by displaced persons and those among whom they must try to rebuild their lives. In his Introduction the editor surveys the extent of the refugee problem since World War II and differentiates five not wholly discrete types: prewar refugees, repatriates, displaced persons (D.P.'s), anti-Communists, and population transfers. The rest of the book deals almost exclusively with the D.P.'s. Statistics of the world-wide distribution of refugees in 1947 and 1952, a classified bibli-

ography of 154 titles, and 28 pages of documentary photographs are included.

Most of the authors are either physicians or social workers with psychiatric training; all have worked directly with refugees, and some have been refugees themselves. The chapters are grouped logically in four parts: "First Steps," "Displaced Persons," "Normal Resettlement," and "Psychopathology."

Written in the first person by a refugee physician, the first chapter, "The Individual in Flight," introduces dramatically a theme which recurs: "The obvious cause of my leaving [Holland after the Nazi invasion] was of course the danger of life . . . but behind this loomed my state of mind. . . . I wanted to flee from myself." Succeeding chapters, tracing the experience of displaced persons through the limbo of wandering and imprisonment to their places of resettlement, bear out the point that many of their psychological difficulties have roots in their personal lives before displacement. Another contributor finds in the refugee camp a virtual social laboratory where psychological elements of social behavior are clearly exposed, the economic circumstances that mask them elsewhere being absent. In short, although displaced persons have, by definition, certain common traumatic experiences, they are still individuals, and the trauma is not uniform.

Resettlement, as Dr. Murphy defines it, is not a physical but a psychological event. It begins when the refugee ceases to regard his state of life as purely temporary and starts to plan for a future based on his present environment. Several chapters are devoted to accounts of refugee groups settled in New York, Great Britain, Australia, and Norway—the last group having the added handicap of blindness. The last section of the book contains statistical data on psychopathology among refugees which are admittedly inconclusive and might perhaps have been more appropriately published for a narrower, technical audience.

The Positive Contribution by Immigrants begins by summarizing the history of immigration in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in five countries: United States, by Oscar and Mary F. Handlin; United Kingdom, by Julius Isaac; Australia, by W. D. Borrie; Brazil, by Emilio Willems; and Argentina, by George Hechen. "Positive contribution" is neither defined nor discussed at much length except by Willems, and his focus is principally on the small group of German immigrants to Brazil. In Part II, Brin-

ley Thomas treats "the economic aspect" of immigration, drawing on data from the United States, Britain, and Australia. He reaches the not surprising conclusion that "immigration is still performing an important economic role . . . as a source of both outstanding talent and of general manpower." Some evidence of it consists of raw correlations between immigration and various economic indexes for the United States; causal relations are only assumed.

While this book contains many bits of intrinsically interesting data, the five "national studies" are unfortunately heterogeneous in both style and content, and both Thomas' chapter and Handlin's concluding summary are too brief. The volume may be enlightening to readers approaching the subject of immigration for the first time, but a sociologist undertaking serious study may well turn elsewhere.

ELBRIDGE SIBLEY

Social Science Research Council

The Functions of Social Conflict. By LEWIS A. COSER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 188. \$3.50.

Using hypotheses derived from Simmel, Coser builds up a systematic body of propositions related generally to the theme that conflict has certain positive, essential functions in the maintenance of the social order. The whole book is a single, beautiful example of a lucid, comprehensive essay in social theory and readily convinces the reader that conflict is a seminal sociological concept.

Coser begins by raising the question as to why a whole generation of American sociologists neglected the concept of conflict or considered it "dysfunctional"—something to be done away with if possible. The answer is couched in terms of the sociology of knowledge: The first generation of American sociologists addressed themselves to social reformers and politicians, to whom conflict was desirable and essential. The generation of sociologists dominating since about 1925 addressed themselves to academicians, to whom conflict was meaningless, or to decision-makers, to whom it was a nuisance. The author cites Parsons, Lundberg, Mayo, Warner, and Lewin to illustrate the "modern sociologist's" blindness to conflict. For Parsons, to use Coser's main *bête noire*, conflict is equivalent to sickness (tensions and strains), and the

major effort of the sociologist should be directed toward answering the question, "How is social order possible?"

Actually, Simmel and Coser are not unconcerned with Parsons' question; but they have a different answer: Conflict helps to create the social order and is basically a socializing, rather than a disorganizing, process. This is stated in sixteen carefully formulated propositions, each amply illustrated with historical material.

As Coser recognizes in his Preface, he is building a one-sided case to "correct a balance of analysis which has been tilted in the other direction." He acknowledges that conflict has disorganizing effects and that other social processes have the socializing influences that he accords to conflict. This selectivity is quite legitimate, but Coser makes two other types of errors. One is methodological: He seems to use his historical illustrations as proof, whereas this could only be done if history is analyzed systematically. It is also questionable methodologically whether the functional terminology adds anything to the analysis or obfuscates it. A second error is a failure to distinguish types of conflicts, so that a consistent definition of conflict can be used throughout. Some propositions refer to totalitarian conflict; others refer to limited conflict. The proposition, for example, that a strong antagonist works to centralize his divided opponents may be true of labor conflict but certainly does not hold for modern warfare. Coser perhaps goes too far in ignoring motives, which might provide the basis for a useful typology.

Notwithstanding these deficiencies, the book offers one of the best contemporary examples of powerful sociological theorizing on a theme of the utmost significance.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

The Sociology of Industrial Relations: An Introduction to Industrial Sociology. By JOHN B. KNOX. New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. xv+348. \$6.75.

This text is not for specialists but for students and practitioners of industrial relations. Essentially, it consists of the application of certain elementary sociological concepts to worker-management relations. The over-all impression after reading the book is one of superficial coverage of a wide variety of subjects by a scholar who leans over backward not to reveal his more

profound theoretical interests. These interests are implied by the high quality of the bibliographical references at the end of each chapter, cited as if to offset the surface-skimming.

Knox properly stresses the importance of workers' and managers' conceptions of each other as major determinants of their respective interpretations of each other's behavior and hence of their own. Thus, the vocabulary of symbolic interaction is used throughout the text (definition of the situation, role, etc.). There is also an attempt to make use of the vocabulary of cybernetics and even of input-output analysis, none of which necessarily throws new light on the subject.

The author's chief concern is the relationship between management and workers (including unions) and their extension "into community and society." Thus the book is divided into three main parts, "Human Relations in Industry," "Industry and the Community," and "Industry and Society." In the first part the author offers some material that is not in the sociology texts to date: a historical treatment of the changing status of workers.

The author's discussion on the place of economic motivation in human behavior again raises the question of the identification of "rational" with "economic" behavior, an issue which has not been satisfactorily resolved. Surveys showing the relatively lower ratings of wages and pay by workers are often cited to support the notion of the basically irrational nature of workers' behavior. But this issue, along with others, should also be approached historically. Once a certain minimal level of income has been reached, pay is less a major preoccupation than are other matters, such as supervisory practices or participation in various decisions.

In all fairness, Knox does make clear that his presentation is not meant to suggest that workers do not want increased wages. It is mostly as to management-inspired incentives for increased production that he questions the economic motive.

HAROLD L. SHEPPARD

Wayne State University

The Foreman on the Assembly Line. By CHARLES R. WALKER, ROBERT H. GUEST, and ARTHUR N. TURNER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. 197. \$4.00.

In this, their second book in a projected series of publications about the effects of assembly-line organization on human behavior, the authors have limited themselves to a broad description, based on interviews and observation with all production foremen in a final-assembly plant, of "the foreman's" situation and values. The narrative proceeds from a description of the over-all function of the foreman on the assembly line to his relations with his subordinates, peers, and superiors in the plant and then to his attempts at solving problems of coping with absenteeism and maintaining consistent quality in the face of both technical and human sources of error and the pervasive atmosphere of emergency. This more or less systematic description is supplemented by a chapter on "A Foreman's Day" (based on a minutely detailed report of what one foreman did, with whom, where, etc., reproduced in full in a twenty-two-page supplement) and a chapter, "Profile of a Foreman," the career of a man who had moved from line worker to foreman subsequent to the authors' first research in the plant.

The descriptive portion of the book, liberally spiced with quotations and written in a direct and simple style, contains much suggestive material. That the material is no more than suggestive is an unfortunate consequence of the way data are reported. For example, in a description of the foremen's "norms" for various aspects of their work, it is impossible to tell how widely or how strongly and by what kind of foremen they are held and what the effects of deviation or conformity may be. The authors state that the norms were most closely observed by foremen judged "good" by management and subordinates, but absence of specific data on "goodness" and the degree of conformity makes the statement difficult to evaluate. Similarly, although a summary of the behavior of a foreman during his work day is extremely interesting, it is almost meaningless in the absence of comparative data related to other variables. However, the authors promise at some future time to report on the same kind of data for all the foremen.

In a particularly interesting chapter, "Mass Production and the Group," the authors show how "cohesive" work groups come into existence on the line in spite of what at first seemed insuperable obstacles. Once again, however, the analysis—both of causes and consequences of cohesive work groups—is weakened by the absence of specific, comparative data—a short-

coming particularly difficult to overlook, since they have data on all foremen and on a sample of workers stratified by department.

In short, to the sociologist this is a stimulating but frustrating book. At times it seems like a dramatic study of how some heroic foremen overcome the "bad" consequences of the assembly line. This normative mood and the vague, descriptive quality of the generalizations effectively disguise many of the merits of an interesting and significant piece of research.

JOAN W. MOORE

Chicago, Illinois

Multiple Loyalties: Theoretical Approach to a Problem in International Organization. By HAROLD GUETZKOW. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, Center for Research on World Political Institutions, 1955. Pp 62.

In this significant essay Guetzkow endeavors "to develop . . . a fundamental theory of loyalty, including the implications of such a theory for the problem of simultaneous, multiple loyalties." In this attempt Guetzkow defines national loyalty as an attitude predisposing its holder to respond toward a nation-state with actions perceived by the holder to be supportive of it. This makes it possible for him to draw upon previous research and theory about attitudes. He is aware of the many problems associated with the attitude concept and of the special problems of this particular attitude, national loyalty. For example, he discusses briefly but straightforwardly the ambiguities of the *object* toward which loyalty is directed.

Guetzkow deals with the concept of loyalty, its sources, the expressions of loyalty, the interrelations among loyalties, the relation of out-groups to loyalty, and possible research to test his hypotheses. On the whole, his conclusions give encouragement to those who hope to see the establishment of popularly supported transnational institutions. For example, he points out that a citizen possesses multiple loyalties but that these are likely to be complementary: having learned to be loyal to one object, he can attach these feelings and the appropriate ways of expressing them to new objects. Conflicts among multiple loyalties arise when contradictory behavior is demanded; how they are resolved depends, in part, upon the norms about the resolution of conflict. Similarly, he argues that the

relations between in-groups and out-groups depend upon the norms one learns about the relationships between groups. This is a useful corrective to the propositions that in-group solidarity is directly related to intergroup antagonism.

One could take issue with some of the propositions and even with the general formulation of the theory. For example, the discussion of the sources of loyalty seems to be carried on at several levels of generality, and the emphasis upon the attitude of loyalty minimizes questions about the relevance of feelings of loyalty for conduct and the situational determinants of conduct. But Guetzkow has presented an explicit and systematic set of propositions. There are many perceptive ideas and an ingenious use of evidence to substantiate a good number of them. This essay illustrates the utility of reviewing a wide range of studies, organizing them to answer a set of general questions, and carrying the analysis further to raise new questions for research.

LOUIS KRIESBERG

Columbia University

Philanthropic Foundations. By F. EMERSON ANDREWS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956. Pp. 459. \$5.00.

No single group of institutions exerts influence on the direction of American intellectual life proportionate to the sums actually expended comparable to that of the philanthropic foundations. They have come to play in the daydreams of working intellectuals the role of a remote but omnipotent reference group to whom anything is possible if only the right button is pushed. This book provides, as it were, a backstage view of the institutional limitations that control and order the distribution of bounty.

This is the sixth and most comprehensive of the current series of publications that have made the Russell Sage Foundation a central headquarters and clearing house for problems of philanthropy and philanthropic foundations. While it appears addressed to questions that might arise in the minds of prospective donors and their lawyers, bankers, and trustees, it is of the widest possible interest for prospective beneficiaries.

Most of Andrews' hard data come from the seventy-odd foundations that issue public reports. This group represents well over 90 per

cent of the assets of all foundations, but very little is known of the experience, operations, and special problems of the four thousand, presumably smaller (though there may be some whales among them), foundations that issue no public reports. It is to this "underground" group that the author appears to refer, hopefully, when he describes the transition of a foundation from its early history—"activated by any cause that appeals deeply to human sympathy"—to one that with the passage of time undergoes gradual professionalization and comes to be concerned with "the less emotional, but more rewarding fields of cure, prevention and basic research."

Several chapters have particular relevance for the practicing social scientist. Chapter vii, on applications for grants, describes the ways in which a foundation, besieged by swarms of persons trying to get into the horn of plenty at the small end, makes a rational selection. There is useful material on executives and trustees that updates the data of Lindeman's *Wealth and Culture*, published in the middle thirties. Chapter x recapitulates the findings of a survey undertaken by the Russell Sage Foundation in cooperation with the National Science Foundation among thirty-seven foundations with total expenditures of 48, 44, and 117 millions for 1939, 1946, and 1953, respectively. Moneys devoted to research in the social sciences were, respectively, 8.3, 6.1, and 9.1 per cent of total expenditures. The emphasis has progressively shifted to applied research from basic research for all scientific research, with applied social sciences taking 9, 14, and 37 per cent, respectively, of the total going to the social sciences.

Andrews views his role primarily as that of chronicler rather than advocate. However, he does express his views on specific points. He feels that smaller foundations should have a professional staff, that professional staff members tend to be underpaid, and that all foundations should issue detailed, regular, public reports. He wonders if foundations have not reached a level of development involving enough people and enough money to justify study and training for foundation personnel at the university level. He disagrees with the current view that the days of accumulating sufficient funds by individuals or family groups for the creation of large new foundations are now past. The outlook for the national economy as well as tax factors would seem, he thinks, to point in the opposite direction.

The chances are that any interested person

with questions about how foundations operate will be more likely to find the answers here than in any other single source. How much detail is required in an application for a grant? What is the income-tax situation with respect to fellowships? Those interested in the impact of foundations in our society will also find here useful and relevant data and ideas. In this connection, the bibliographies and appendixes are particularly valuable.

As to professional staff, Andrews hints at the peculiar isolation of the foundation executive surrounded by proposals, the vast majority of which he is forced, by limitations of program or resources, to reject. But he notes that there are compensations. "Hopeful applicants for grants keep luncheons from being lonely, and even modest stories are certain of uproarious reception. And there are solid satisfactions in a job well done, persons and causes soundly helped, and slowly over the years, in spite of delays and lost hopes, a mounting record of achievement which one has helped to build."

S. S. SPIVAK

Columbia University

Culture, Psychiatry and Human Values: The Methods and Values of a Social Psychiatry.

By MARVIN K. OPLER. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1956. Pp. xiii+242. \$6.00.

The primary concern of the present discussion appears to be a broad strategy for research in social psychiatry. This involves a review of some of the major investigations in recent periods, a critique of certain popular methods, and the presentation of the author's viewpoint, which he calls the "biosocial position."

There are evidence of long familiarity with the research and much thoughtful assessment of method. Opler's anthropological background furnishes him with a rich mass of information for the correction of local biases of some of the clinical psychiatrists, and he argues at length and with authority that the understanding of the way in which culture operates on the individual's mentality and behavior is indispensable to the understanding of the abnormal. The discussion is detailed, closely organized, and rich in reference to specific studies. Among other uses, the book could serve to instigate lively seminar discussions. It should be particularly valuable, however, to those most in need of its lesson—

the relatively doctrinaire and culture-myopic communicants of the orthodox psychoanalytic faiths.

The main line of contention is familiar to a considerable number of modern sociologists and social psychologists. The slow tide of revisionism in psychoanalysis appears to have been an unnecessarily agonizing independent discovery of materials and ideas which have been part of a fertile tradition of social psychology before, during, and after Freud. To agree with Opler's main position one need not make the long detour through nineteenth-century biology, with reluctant and almost painfully rebellious revisions of an authoritarian dogma. Not that Opler took that long path, but a considerable group of psychiatrists seems to have done so, and, to the extent that the literature cited is a reflection of the sources of his ideas, Opler himself might have less of a feeling of originality if his readings were wider.

The strong argument for a more effective understanding of culture in psychiatry, however, is a service to both science and medicine.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

Mental Health and Infant Development, Vol. I: *Papers*; Vol. II: *Case Histories*. Edited by KENNETH SODDY, M.D. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. xix+308; v+289. \$9.00 for set (\$4.50 each).

These two small volumes contain part of the proceedings of a seminar held at Chichester, England, in 1952, organized by the World Federation of Mental Health. The seminar had a faculty of sixteen, drawn from anthropology, social work, public health, psychiatry, psychology, and pediatrics. No sociologists were included. One of the French studies, referred to as an "extensive sociological survey," is, in fact, a haphazard exploration of some differences between working-class and professional parents. The program consisted of a consideration of American, English, and French materials and ideas in child development, early separation and disturbance, social and community provisions for mental hygiene, and techniques for changing them. Various specific studies of childhood experiences in the West or among other literate and non-literate cultures are also included. The primary intent is practical.

Yet, in a measure, practice and theory need each other. Articulated concepts for the study and management of childhood in society are rather scarce in these volumes; mental health remains, as always, an elusive mixture of ideas and ideals; and recommendations for social policy mingle confusingly with propositions about social facts. Still, we are given much to savor and ponder.

The English material about childhood and parenthood in Leeds, which is especially lively, tells about anxieties in all classes concerning childlessness, the standardization of child-rearing practices, struggles for and in space, discipline, the benefits of neighborliness in child-rearing, and the implications of it for clearing slums. D. R. MacCalman presents all this in a style somehow reminiscent of D. H. Lawrence, and the milieu of Leeds—a town that few could call delightful—comes alive. By contrast the parallel material from France and the United States seems rather pale, though full of facts concerning childbirth, toilet training, feeding, and so on, which have yet to yield more than statistical significance. Anna Freud concludes a section on the formation of infant relationships with a wise and clear account of experiences with the effects of social disturbance. Much of what she says could well be further studied by others, including the claim that “where there is no parent, there is group identification instead of sibling rivalry” (I, 147), and the question of the functions of eye and ear (and nose?) in the formation of a child’s relations to others and himself. Margaret Mead entertains us with vivid and condensed examples from the Mentawai, the Nairs, Mundugumors, and others and keeps us nimble through realizing that in Bali, for instance, one word stands alike for serving the god, serving the king, and spoiling the baby. G. P. Meredith provides a suggestive paper on the child’s inner and outer world and tries to come to terms with that ever fascinating topic through developing the thesis that thinking is constituted by the “introjection of bodily actions.” Since others have suggested almost the reverse, we can look forward to many more formulations yet.

The major fault of the first volume lies in its editing. Even excellent conferences do not necessarily make good books. Here we hold in our hand a restless collection of thirty-six, often short, items, frequently referring to unavailable material, concluded by digests of discussions that are just summaries of a few ideas and con-

vey nothing of the process of contribution and exchange. There should have been much more consolidation, especially of the many smaller papers, and much more selection, omitting all commentaries on films and on the inspirational features of the gathering. The two volumes could have been one, instead of two small ones, looking rather poor and costing far too much.

The second volume contains the case material from England, France, and the United States. Through the common veil of professional practice and terminology they suggest differences in the resources and obstacles available to some children in these three cultures and societies. We need more such material, especially if it is collected with the help of a shared mode of thought that makes comparison possible.

Despite their serious shortcomings in organization and presentation, these volumes can contribute to the study of society as a web of arrangements that affect children and are sustained by adults who may have outgrown their childhood but can never leave it behind and to the study of children who in learning their tunes help change them. But there is no excuse for confusing the requirements of good talking and listening with those of good writing and reading.

KASPAR D. NAEGELE

University of British Columbia

The Cost of the National Health Service in England and Wales. By BRIAN ABEL-SMITH and R. M. TITMUSS. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956. Pp. xx+176. \$5.50.

The public funds required by a comprehensive and universally available health service were greatly underestimated in the Beveridge Report in 1942, in the White Paper of the Churchill government in 1944 proposing such a service, and in the Labour Ministry’s estimates just before the service started in July, 1948. The disparities, insufficiently analyzed, have since given opportunity for criticism in Britain and America. A few serious students have feared catastrophic costs in future, particularly as the result of the increasing proportion of aged persons in the population.

In the present report we have at last a documented, consciously self-critical analysis, uniting technical detail with social and economic considerations. Costs are viewed not only in terms of money but also in relation to national

resources. The proportion of the gross national product taken for the National Health Service has declined from 3.8 per cent in the fiscal year 1950 to 3.4 per cent four years later. The per-capita cost was slightly less in 1954 than in 1951, measured in constant prices (1948-49). The population grew during these years by about 800,000. Thus, says the report, "the net diversion of resources to the National Health Service was practically negligible" (p. 66). The service will not wreck the national economy.

The report does not enter into international comparisons, but it may be worth pointing out to American readers that the average per-capita expenditure for all forms of medical care (which in Britain includes some items not in the National Health Service) is at least double here as compared with England and Wales. The meaning of such comparisons would require much technical and general evaluation.

The reviews of the economics of hospitals, the general medical services, the supply of drugs, dentistry, and eyeglasses furnish meat for those specially interested. The small charges levied on the last three items by the Conservative government are shown to have had only secondary effects in reducing demand. The analysis of capital as distinguished from current expenditure proves that much less is spent for the renovation and replacement of hospital buildings than is necessary to keep them up to date and efficient.

Most trenchant are the studies of the effects of age, sex, and marital state upon the use of hospital and other institutional care—therefore, upon costs. "Among married men and women, the rise in the proportion in hospitals with advancing age is not at all dramatic; it does not reach very high levels even after age 75. . . . The married state appears to be a powerful safeguard against admission to hospitals in general and to mental and 'chronic' hospitals in particular" (p. 171). About two-thirds of all the beds occupied by persons over sixty-five are filled by the single, widowed, and divorced. The Registrar-General's estimates of future population show the preponderant increase among adults will be among married persons. The conclusion is that changes in age structure or in total population will have but small effect (estimated as 8 per cent when taken together) on the future cost of the National Health Service.

It is a pity that the authors were not able to pursue studies of the medical content of various services and of the effects on costs of advancing

technology and of trends in popular demand. They express their regret at this deficiency.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Chevy Chase, Maryland

Feudalism in History. Edited by RUSHTON COULBORN *et al.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1956. Pp. iv+438. \$8.50.

This volume is the outgrowth of three meetings held at Princeton, largely of historians, though other fields, e.g., anthropology, philosophy, and sociology, are represented. The main substance is historical—but with a difference. The objective is to extract generalizations about "feudalism" from the comparative consideration of a series of cases, widely different in point of time, geography, and so on. The volume itself is divided into three parts: (I) "The Idea of Feudalism," (II) "Special Studies (Western Europe, Japan, China, Ancient Mesopotamia and Iran, Ancient Egypt, India, the Byzantine Empire, and Russia)," and (III) "A Comparative Study of Feudalism." The first two parts are brilliantly handled. The third leaves much to be desired, but fortunately a good measure of what the third attempts is done by the first two parts.

Through the years a deplorable gap has grown between historians and other social analysts, especially anthropologists, economists, political scientists, and sociologists. A breakdown of communications has been the rule rather than the exception, and it is not too harsh to say that in many cases blind antagonism and contempt have replaced fruitful interaction. This volume and the appearance of its review in this journal are signs of a return to sanity. In the so-called non-historical social sciences the tremendously fruitful advances in statistical techniques for handling data have called into question for many the presentation of any materials not subject to such treatment or, at the very least, have turned interest away from them. But, as the studies in this volume make clear, some of our very best minds have worked on these materials. Such materials, which abound on medieval Europe, Greece and Rome, Egypt, the ancient Middle East, and increasingly the Far East of earlier years, will certainly never permit of precise statistical treatment, but they certainly do permit of empirical generalizations about social phenomena. The ob-

verse or the general implications of many of these propositions may even in time be testable on current materials of history by more rigorous methods.

The difficulty in these fields in the past has been the unwillingness of scholars to generalize or even show interest beyond their special spheres of competence. In the study of feudalism, for example, the expert has usually refused to comment beyond his particular region of France, Germany, or England. But this volume makes a new start in a fruitful direction, and the first three chapters of the volume (by Coulborn and Strayer, Strayer, and Reischauer) are particularly noteworthy in their generalizing on a comparative basis. Here we have a general discussion of the phenomena identified as feudal, comparisons of different forms of feudalism in western Europe, and comparisons between European and Japanese feudalism.

Unfortunately, Part III is a disappointment. When it borrows concepts from sociology, it hypothecates good facts for dated tools of analysis. What it has to say with force has mostly been said in shorter compass in the first two sections, again particularly in the first three chapters. But it is ungrateful to cavil over these points. Coulborn and his colleagues give us many empirical generalizations about feudalism full of implications for those phenomena specifically and for an understanding of social structure in general; on occasion (see Strayer on the non-traditional nature of feudalism [p. 23]) they even come up with meaningful propositions that contradict common sense.

MARION J. LEVY, JR.

Princeton University

Information Theory in Psychology: Problems and Methods. Edited by HENRY QUASTLER. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. x+436. \$6.00.

The papers collected in this volume were read at a Conference on the Estimation of Information Flow organized by the Control Systems Laboratory of the University of Illinois in July, 1954.

Forty-two authors have contributed papers which are arranged in four major sections. Section I is a summary of the book and a "concluding review" to which thirty of the conference members subscribed. Section II deals with in-

formation measures, including estimation problems. Section III encompasses applications of information theory to problems in psychology. Section IV provides further applications to detection theory and the design of psychophysical experiments.

The present volume does not provide a particularly good starting point for a reader unacquainted with information theory. The paragraphs on "the domain of information theory" in the concluding review are particularly uninformative. The editor helpfully proposes that a reader who is innocent of information theory should go first to George Miller's expository paper in the *American Psychologist*, VIII (1953), 3-11. But, after that, what will he find when he returns to this volume?

He will find that information theory is really two things, represented by Sections II and III, respectively. In the first place, it is a development in statistical theory that introduces a new measure of the dispersion of a frequency distribution (the quantity of information, in bits). Although the information measure is similar in certain respects to the standard deviation and variance, it is not equivalent to the latter, and hence we may expect that there are special domains in which each is the appropriate statistic to use. The chapters by Cronbach and McGill are interesting and intelligent discussions of the information measure, its characteristics, significance, and range of applicability. The remaining papers of Section II consist largely of a number of valuable results on the sampling distributions and methods of computation of information measures.

The second aspect of information theory is exemplified by Section III. Here the theory emerges as a "point of view" that guides the design of psychological experiments, suggests certain hypotheses for test, and provides reinterpretations of psychological phenomena, some new, some old, with the use of terms like "amount of information," "channel capacity," "redundancy," and "black box." These are all fine terms, but some skeptics have asked whether they really add anything new. The editor, Professor Quastler, takes up the defense of information theory enthusiastically and repeatedly throughout the book. He even translates into information-theoretic terms the work of some of the authors who found it possible to report their results without the help of the new vocabulary. A somewhat soberer evaluation is found in the conclusion of Leonard's paper, particularly

pages 312-13, and in Hake's chapter on channel capacity.

Interest in the *Methodenstreit* should not obscure some of the very fine pieces of experimental work reported in Section III. I found the papers by Fritz and Grier, Hake, and Senders and Cohen particularly interesting. Adelson, Muckler, and Williams report some findings on the effect of number of alternatives upon the rate of learning that appear in contradiction with work of Brogden and his students and that deserve replication and further analysis. In only a few chapters is speculation carried dangerously beyond the data, as in those by Stroud and Augenstine.

In any event, since each chapter stands on its own feet, the reader can sample as he will. While he will not find very much material related to social, as distinguished from individual, psychology, he will be provided with a fairly comprehensive range of examples of the application of information theory in psychology today.

HERBERT A. SIMON

Carnegie Institute of Technology

Hobohemia. By FRANK O. BECK. West Ringe, N.H.: Richard R. Smith, Inc., 1956. Pp. 95. \$2.50.

A veteran social and religious worker publishes herein fifteen lively vignettes of institutions and characters of the Near West and the Near North sides of Chicago in the 1910's, 1920's, and 1930's: the mission stiff, the "widows" of the Haymarket "martyrs," the Dill Pickle Club, Jane Addams, Ben Reitman, Emma Goldman, Bug House Square, and the Hobo College. Interesting in their own right, the little sketches will also be useful to those curious about the past counterparts of our present slums and skid rows.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Soviet Academy of Sciences. By ALEXANDER VUCINICH. Stanford University, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1956. Pp. vi+157. \$2.00.

The direct descendant of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which was founded in 1725 by Peter the Great, is the Soviet Academy of Sciences, by far the most important research and scientific organization in the Soviet Union. As the Western world has found out, sometimes to its surprise, accomplishments of Soviet science cannot summarily be dismissed. It is imperative to have a better idea of the Academy, its work, structure, personnel, relationship to the regime, accomplishments, and failure. All these are set forth admirably in Vucinich's concise and well-written book.

The author examines first the historical background of the Imperial Academy of Sciences and traces it to the advent of the Soviet regime. During the first decade the Academy was left pretty much alone. In 1929 it was transformed into an agency of the government, and its activities, personnel, and research programs came under the closest scrutiny of the authorities.

In the social sciences governmental control and interference have led to complete degeneration, because these sciences are so closely related to ideology. Social science, as the author points out, has no other role but to uphold the officially defined myths or belief systems of Soviet society. "The scholar has been granted no right to examine the basic premises of his particular science, to state its objectives, or to define its rationale. There is no discipline in the Soviet Union resembling a sociology of knowledge, for the Soviet man of learning . . . studies science ideologically." This is perhaps the ultimate paradox of a society which claims it is based on "scientific laws." It leads to such double-talk as the difference between objectivity, which is good, and objectivism, which is bad.

A most interesting chapter is the one called "Social Structure," in which the author analyzes in sociological terms the personnel of the Academy and the differences in rank, pay, privileges, and other perquisites.

As long as the system remains basically the same, Soviet science will continue to remain a managed science. The Academy is given financial support and deals with all the branches of knowledge, and yet, as Vucinich points out, it has been deprived of the most cherished attribute of the modern science—the right to pass judgment on scientific validities and to explore freely the unknown, the mysterious, and the unplanned.

MARK G. FIELD

Harvard University

Current Anthropology. Edited by WILLIAM L. THOMAS, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. xii+377. \$5.00.

Nineteen distinguished contributors from biology, botany, archeology, sociology, and physical and cultural anthropology have collaborated under the sponsorship of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., to produce this volume, originally printed as the first three parts of an earlier publication issued by the foundation in a limited edition in 1955, *Yearbook of Anthropology*. The *Yearbook* admirably performed the function of informing the professional anthropologist and the public on the latest developments in anthropological research and theory. *Current Anthropology* has been issued as a less expensive edition of the first three parts and for a larger audience, particularly for psychologists, sociologists, geneticists, anatomists, geologists, and, according to the editor, "others whose activities bring them into contact with anthropologists, their writings and their theories."

While this volume is centered on the major contributions in some branches of anthropological research from 1952 to 1954, it actually encompasses much more. An introductory guest editorial by Julian Huxley, "Evolution, Cultural and Biological," which constitutes Part I of the book, is a brilliant essay on the direction in which cultural anthropology must move to reach the degree of sophistication in modern evolutionary theory attained earlier by biology and the inorganic sciences.

The second part, "Man's Past: Environments, Relics, and Ancestors," is focused on the latest developments in physical anthropology and archeology and includes papers on "Changing Man's Habitat" (Sears), "Primatology in Its Relation to Anthropology" (Schultz), "Fossil Man and Human Evolution" (Eiseley), "Old World Archeology and Prehistory" (Ward), "New World Cultural History" (Ekholm), "Archeological Theories and Interpretations" (Haury), "Chronology and Dating Processes" (Griffin), "Cultural History and Cultural Development" (von Fürer-Haimendorf), and "Diffusion" (Koppers). This section is particularly well integrated and represents much more than an inventory of what has been accomplished in these fields in the two years.

For students of current theory and method in social and cultural anthropology the third part of the book, "Other Considerations of Theory,"

will be of greatest interest. Less well integrated than the previous section, it nevertheless contains a fine series of papers. Dozier, writing on "The Concepts of 'Primitive' and 'Native' in Anthropology," pleads for a less emotionally charged terminology in dealing with the various peoples of the world. Mandelbaum, in a paper on "The Study of Complex Civilizations," reviews, on the whole very sympathetically, some of the recent anthropological literature on complex civilizations. He pays particular attention to the works of Kroeber, Warner, Benedict, Mead, and Lowie. In an essay on "Universality and Variation in Human Nature," Howells raises thoughtful questions on the relationship between man's biology and culture. He holds not only that the "differences among men in their specifically human traits" is "the encompassing problem in the study of the living species" but that "this also promises to bring the physical and cultural anthropologists more closely together in the maturity of anthropology" (p. 227).

From a theoretical point of view the essay by Firth on "Function" is one of the best in the book. It deals critically with the contributions of both sociology and anthropology to the development of the concept and of its use in contemporary social science. The same might be said for the paper by Lewis on "Comparisons in Cultural Anthropology." Through an analysis of 248 writings in the field of comparison, Lewis develops the thesis that "there is no distinctive 'comparative method' in anthropology"; rather, that "comparison is a generic aspect of human thought rather than a special method of anthropology or of any other discipline" (p. 259). While there is little to disagree with in it, this statement still leaves us with comparison as one of the basic strategies and therefore methods of behavioral science; the great difficulty in anthropology has been with the types of comparison made. For the most part, anthropological studies have been rich in concepts and social facts. In most studies, however, these have not been systematically related to each other through some culture-free intermediate level ("dimension" or "indicator") which would permit genuine cross-cultural comparisons. Rather, the method itself has been misused, and what is needed in anthropology is the scientific application of the comparative method.

In a paper on the "History of Anthropological Thought" Kroeber discusses the most recent contributions to all branches of anthropology.

A complaint might be made about his comments on developments in acculturation, where he finds no "novelties" between 1952 and 1954. But one of his former students, Homer Barnett, did indeed produce a "novelty" in the form of a book called *Innovation* (1953), which by most standards would be regarded as a brilliant contribution to cultural dynamics.

The paper by Tax on "The Integration of Anthropology" and that by Bennett and Wolff entitled "Toward Communication between Sociology and Anthropology" are based on empirical studies. Tax deals very effectively with the reasons why anthropology since its very beginning and in spite of its diverse branches has hung together as a single discipline, and Bennett and Wolff provide a wealth of sound material to guide separate departments of sociology and anthropology which are planning marriage, or joint departments which are contemplating divorce.

This fine volume merits a successor, particularly in other fields of anthropological research. One such field, badly in need of attention, is that of cultural dynamics, which it is hoped will be given proper stress in future volumes. Finally, *Current Anthropology* is an invaluable bibliographical source.

ALLAN R. HOLMBERG

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Man in Reciprocity. By HOWARD BECKER. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1956. Pp. vii+459. \$6.50.

Society and Man. By MEYER WEINBERG and OSCAR E. SHABAT. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1956. Pp. vi+782. \$10.00.

The American Social System. By STUART A. QUEEN, WILLIAM N. CHAMBERS, and CHARLES M. WINSTON. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1956. Pp. vii+494. \$5.75.

A Preface to the Social Sciences. By RAYMOND F. BELLAMY, HARRISON V. CHASE, VINCENT V. THURSBY, and SADIE G. YOUNG. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1956. Pp. v+532. \$6.50.

Common to all four of these books, apart from their being introductory texts, is the interdisciplinary approach to social phenomena. The differences are as obvious as they are substan-

tial. Only Becker's book purports to be an introduction to sociology; the others are designed for a general social science course. In this sample of textbooks, quality seems to vary inversely with the number of authors.

Becker presents in a vigorous and idiosyncratic manner a coherent view of sociology along the lines of his and von Wiese's *Systematic Sociology* and his recent collection of essays, *Through Values to Social Interpretation*. Conscious that his book is a set of lectures which do not cover the whole field, Becker suggests its use in conjunction with one of several textbooks. Of interest primarily to the sociologist, if not to the undergraduate student, is his discussion of the relationship between his "constructed types" of sacred and secular societies and Parsons' "pattern variables."

Rather heterogeneous in subject matter, running the gamut of delinquency, housing, social class, bureaucracy, and so on, *Society and Man* is an instructive introduction to social science. Weinberg and Shabat, following Broom and Selznick, have assembled an excellent set of "adaptations." The research reports summarized include such well-known works as Moore's *Industrialization and Labor*, Selznick's *TVA and the Grass Roots*, and Bendix' *Higher Civil Servants in American Society*.

Queen *et al.* have attempted to integrate concepts and data from sociology, political science, and economics around the central themes of social control, personal choice, and public decision. And to counteract ethnocentrism they added cross-cultural data. The final product is hardly an intellectual adventure. Even less successful in presenting an integrated interdisciplinary view of society is the book by Bellamy *et al.* In addition to being undistinguished in its organization and analysis, it is often all too hasty in its treatment of involved subjects, as, for example, British socialism (pp. 250-51).

Textbooks are important instruments for codifying the knowledge of a science. Ideally they should incorporate the theoretical and empirical generalizations of a field, convey some idea of the processes by which validated knowledge is obtained, and encourage the student to ponder the unsolved problems. The texts by Becker and by Weinberg and Shabat approximate the ideal in some measure.

WILLIAM M. EVAN

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THE OPTIMUM SIZE OF INSTITUTIONS

A THEORY OF THE LARGE GROUP*

F. STUART CHAPIN

ABSTRACT

Data on eighty churches and their two largest subgroups, membership (M) and Sunday-school enrolment (SS), analyzed for evidence of optimum size, demonstrate that relative size, as measured by the ratio $F'' = (M)/(M + SS)$, is symmetrically distributed, approaching chance about the mean and modal values, varies directly with age, size, and a measure of "institutional strength," CIC (combined institutional criteria), and varies inversely with growth rates. The Fibonacci proportion, $F' = .6180$, is apparently a limiting value in which $(F'' - F')$ tends to approach zero as the rating on institutional strength (CIC) increases in magnitude. In twenty-eight pairs of churches, each made up of a smaller younger and an older larger institution of the same denomination, the over-all size ($M + SS$) is multiplied by 2.6180 (another constant derived from the Fibonacci proportion) as a way of predicting the theoretical size of the church at a later stage. The difference between the size of the older church and the predicted size shows a symmetrical distribution with marked central tendency. The differences between the ages of paired churches show a central tendency about a mean difference of about eighteen years between the two stages of stability. The Fibonacci proportion, taken as a measure of integration, harmonious balance of parts, and equilibrium of structure, suggests a mathematical model with the logarithmic spiral as the principle of growth.

Research on human relationships often raises the question of the optimum size of a given kind of social group—the size for effective functioning.¹ Demographers and city planners, for instance, are interested in the optimum size of different kinds of cities; social psychologists and executives, in the optimum size of committees and conferences.

Each species of living thing has its own particular average size, large departures

from which are infrequent. For human beings the familiar age-sex-height-weight tables used by physicians and life insurance companies give a rough index of the health and stability of a complex organism which consists of a large population of living cells. Following this logic, one may raise the question: Would certain closely knit social institutions which transmit tradition, such as churches, offer clues to an understanding of optimum size?²

To find the answer, data on eighty Minneapolis churches which had been gathered in 1928 were drawn upon.³ The information

* A paper read at the 1956 annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in Detroit.

¹ For purposes of this study, *optimum size* may be defined as that degree or cluster of social traits, associated with a size and structure of subgroups, which yields the maximum degree of continuity of security for group members by achieving a moving equilibrium of conflicting forces consistent with the preservation of group bonds.

² Cf. discussion of this principle of limiting size in Paul A. Zahl, *Coro-Coro: The World of the Scarlet Ibis* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954), pp. 213–20.

³ This exploratory study by W. C. Hallenbeck, with the late E. H. Sutherland as an active consult-

on institutional strength was grouped under fourteen main categories with subdivisions into qualitatively or quantitatively different classes, yielding a net total of sixty-nine categories. For eighty churches in the Minneapolis study, for all fourteen categories and their subdivisions complete and comparable information was available. Not included, however, were certain categories which in 1928 were unknown, or imperfectly understood, but which in our hindsight of 1956 would be regarded as important; among them are attitude measurements, role descriptions, tension situations, isolates, and individual church histories.⁴

Several basic questions immediately arise. First, is it possible to order the sizes of these churches (membership [M] plus Sunday-school [SS] enrolment being taken as total size), according to such relevant phenomena as their chronological age, growth rates of M and SS separately and in combination, and a measure of institutional strength? Second, is there any mathematical model which would express the phenomena of two sub-areas of different size of a unitary whole and which would take account of dimensions such as age, growth, integration, and balance or equilibrium of the whole? Third, if answers to the first two questions are affirmative, can the mathematical model help explain the order sought in the first question, perhaps by suggesting limits in size from age to age? For example, could we reach inferential deductions from the mathe-

ant, is based on data for eighty white Protestant churches of Minneapolis in 1928. Age of church, growth rates from 1912 to 1927, a measure of "institutional strength" (CIC), size of church membership (M), and size of Sunday-school enrolment (SS) are taken from Wilbur C. Hallenbeck, *Minneapolis Churches and Their Community Problems* (New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1929), Table IV (Appendix).

⁴ Had it been possible in 1956 to obtain or recapture such data as of 1928, the value of the present research would have been enhanced. Since the data comprise a small finite universe, we have assumed no larger universe to be tested by probability sampling techniques, and therefore arithmetic and simple geometric methods of analysis are for the most part used.

matical model which would illuminate our understanding of such highly theoretical ideas as integration, balance, equilibrium, or social homeostasis, not to mention the concept of a normal range of structural elasticity beyond which the whole breaks down?

Seven variables are used in this study: size of membership (M) of the church and of its Sunday school (SS); the chronological age of each church; the growth rates of M and SS and of ($M + SS$); and a many-faceted measure of institutional strength of each church, called by Hallenbeck, "combined institutional criteria" (CIC). Two additional derived measures were used: the ratio of membership to the sum of membership and Sunday-school enrolment, and a theoretical measure derived from the mathematical model, namely, the Fibonacci series ratio, .6180.⁵

Absolute over-all size ($M + SS$)⁶ was found to be distributed as a J -curve, with the modal size at less than 600 affiliates ($M + SS$) for a range from 160 to 5,279. Absolute size of a church was found *not* clearly related to growth rates of M and SS and *not* related to the criterion CIC , which was stated to be a rough measure of institutional strength (tables not shown).

Interrelationships of relative size, viz., membership divided by the sum of M and SS , with age, growth rates, and institutional strength were then calculated. The distribution of $M/(M + SS)$ was found to be approximately symmetrical about its mean, or about the value .5850, thus suggesting a distribution of chance.⁷ Furthermore, when the data were grouped in three classes of institutional strength—twenty-five churches in class A, the highest rating; forty-eight

⁵ John Crawford Pierce, "The Fibonacci Series," *Scientific Monthly*, October, 1951, pp. 224-28. See also our Table 4.

⁶ Over-all size is membership (M), plus Sunday-school enrolment (SS). Hallenbeck took precautions to define precisely the terms "membership" and "Sunday-school enrolment" to avoid overlapping and duplication (*op. cit.*, pp. 107, 114-17).

⁷ See Table 1, col. (2).

churches with intermediate ratings, C and B; and seven churches with the lowest rating, D—some interesting things appeared (Table 1). With the criterion controlled in three subclasses, there was a tendency toward symmetry in the distributions of the figures of relative size in the A and the C + B groups (these approximately symmetrical distributions roughly approach chance); similarly the means, medians, and modes of these distributions *declined* in value regularly from the A's to the D's. For the same reason the values of departures of these measures of relative size from the hypothetical limiting value .6180 increased; the values of chronological age decreased regularly from the A's to the D's; and the

growth rates⁸ increased by slight degrees from the A's to the D's (Table 2). In other words, although absolute over-all size showed no relationship to growth rates and the measure of institutional strength, there appeared to be a regular relationship of relative size to age, growth rates, and the criterion of institutional strength⁹ when the data

⁸ Growth rates were computed for 1912, 1917, 1922, and 1927 and expressed as percentages of rates of growth, 1912-27 (Hallenbeck, *op. cit.*, p. 122).

⁹ The index called *CIC*, or "combined institutional criteria," used by Hallenbeck as a measure of institutional strength, may also be taken as a measure of (1) integration; (2) effective functioning; (3) equilibrium; and (4) elasticity of structure. *CIC* consists of a composite of sixty-nine concretely defined social and economic traits of each church, ar-

TABLE 1
FREQUENCIES OF $F'' = M/(M + SS)$

F'' -Values (1)	80 Churches (2)	25 Churches (A) (3)	48 Churches (B-C) (4)	7 Churches (D) (5)
.8500-.8999.....	1	1	.....	.....
.8000-.8499.....	3	2	1	.....
.7500-.7999.....	4	3	1	.....
.7000-.7499.....	8	3	5	.....
.6500-.6999.....	10	1	8	1
.6000-.6499.....	11	7	3	1
.5500-.5999.....	13	5	8	.....
.5000-.5499.....	11	2	7	2
.4500-.4999.....	8	1	6	1
.4000-.4499.....	2	.....	.....	2
.3500-.3999.....	6	.....	6	.....
.3000-.3499.....	1	.....	1	.....
.2500-.2999.....	1	.....	1	.....
.2000-.2499.....	1	.....	1	.....
Σ.....	80	25	48	7
Means.....	.5850	.6580	.5566	.5187
Medians.....	.5884	.6321	.5625	.5000
Modes*.....	.5357	.6125	.5583	.....
σ.....	.2056	.0538	.2416	.....

* Estimated by standard interpolation formula.

TABLE 2
ANALYSIS OF GROUPINGS BY INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTH (*CIC*)

GROUPINGS BY <i>CIC</i> RATINGS (1)	NUMBER <i>N</i> (2)	Size (<i>M</i> + <i>SS</i>) (3)	Age (4)	MEANS OF Growth of (<i>M</i> + <i>SS</i>) (5)	F'' -Values* (6)	($F'' - F'$)- Values† (7)
1. All A=4.00.....	25	1635	47.5	2.02	.6580	+ .0400
2. All C=2 and B=3 (Mean=2.56) ..	48	748	33.6	2.51	.5566	-.0614
3. All D=1.00.....	7	216	18.0	2.57	.5187	-.0993
Total.....	80	985	36.6	2.36	.5850	-.0330
4. Very old (Mean=3.5).....	8	1337	75.3	1.62	.6688	+ .0508
5. Very young (Mean=2.00).....	8	277	10.2	3.06	.4056	-.2124
6. All below $F'' = .4000$ (Mean=2.55)	9	111	22.0	2.11	.3465	-.2715

* $F'' = M/(M + SS)$, where *M* = membership size, and *SS* = Sunday-school size.

† $F' = .6180$, the Fibonacci proportion.

were grouped by homogeneous subgroups (*CIC* controlled)¹⁰ on the criterion of institutional strength. Stating the matter in different terms, it was found that the older churches are on the average larger in absolute size, show higher relative size ratios, and grow at lower rates; thus the most effective, strongest, and most highly integrated churches show relative size ratios slightly nearer to the limiting value .6180 (col. [7] of Table 2) than do the smaller and younger churches. In the smaller subgroups the eight oldest churches (mean age 75.3 years) have a relatively low rate of growth and a rela-

tively high but not the highest institutional strength; and, finally, the eight youngest churches (mean age 10.2 years) enjoy a high rate of growth but rank relatively low in institutional strength (rows 4, 5, and 6 of Table 2).

One explanatory hypothesis is: extreme rates of growth are associated inversely with institutional strength, because, when growth rates are very high, the institution is weak due to lack of integration; and, when growth rates are very low, the weak institutional strength is due to lack of new blood. In the absence of data on attitudes, role performance, and tension and conflict situations we cannot, of course, prove this statement. However, it may be stated with assurance that, while *M* is the tradition-bearing subgroup, responsible for the continuity and integrity of the church, *SS* is essentially the recruiting subgroup; hence the ratio of *M* to (*M* + *SS*) could be significant for age, aging, growth, and the degree of institutional strength of a church.

The kinds of relationships just noted may be further explored by comparing the rates of growth when after classifying the churches into three subgroups in which growth in *M* is less than, equal to, or more than the *SS* growth rate (Table 3). This revealed that when the growth rate of *M* is higher than that of *SS*, institutional strength is relatively high (Table 3, col. [7], row 3); and the reverse was the case when the growth rate of *SS* exceeded the rate of growth of *M* (Table 3, col. [7], row 4). These findings support the hypothesis stated above.

ranged in fourteen classes. Since Hallenbeck's "combined institutional criteria" (*CIC*) are antecedent and external to, and independent of, the analyses here offered, it is important to examine it in detail, since it supplies a necessary part of our study. Hallenbeck states:

"The questionnaire carried a classified list of items of organizations, program and activity. . . . The quartile range of numbers of items which the churches as a whole had, was determined under four-teen headings, and each church was classified under each heading according to the quartile in which it fell. . ." (pp. 122-25). "Four was used to represent the highest quarter and one the lowest. . ." (pp. 85-86). "The final classification of churches was determined by adding the scores for each church under each heading and dividing by the number of headings under which that church was scored—that is, the number of headings under which that church had some items. This did not discredit the churches for the things they did not have, but ranked them on the extent of the work they did have" (p. 125).

For our purposes these fourteen headings with subitems (total sixty-nine), may be set in two categories:

1. *The factors of internal integration of behavior in social structure.* These are twenty-four items: Sunday-morning service ratio of attendance to membership; Sunday-evening service ratio of attendance to membership; midweek service ratio of attendance to membership; Sunday-school service ratio of attendance to *SS* membership; religious education (nine subitems); total current expenses; per capita annual giving; number on the staff (four classes); training of chief pastor (four classes); salary of chief pastor.

2. *The factors expressing external adaptation to needs* (forty-five items): These are subsidiary organizations or subgroups (thirteen possible organizations); cultural method (eight possible activities); social and financial cultivation (seven possible items); and community services (seventeen possible activities).

¹⁰ Each subgroup of churches analyzed shows what happens when a certain factor is controlled within some stated limits: Table 1, cols. (3), (4), and (5), control rating on institutional strength; Table 2, rows (1), (2), and (3), control institutional strength; rows (4) and (5), control age; and row (6), controls *F''*; Table 3, controls growth rates; Table 5, controls age and religious denomination; Table 7, rows (1) and (2), control age and religious denomination; rows (3) and (4), control age and institutional strength; Table 8, controls age, religious denomination, institutional strength, and growth; Table 9, controls age in respect to *F''*; and Table 10, controls institutional strength and growth rates in respect to *F''*.

The second question is of devising a mathematical model which involves subgroups of a whole of two sizes and by which size is related to age, growth, and structural strength. Since size is more significant when taken as relative size in connection with age, growth, and institutional strength, we require a mathematical model that embraces numerical components of an increasing overall total which may be broken down into smaller component subtotals and analyzed also in ratios. The Fibonacci number series supplies such a model, and from it is derived the limiting ratio .6180, to which we have made repeated reference as the hypothetical limiting ratio. This model was not developed

from any algebraic equation fitted to the data but already exists, albeit little known. It serves the function here of a model in much the same way that the binomial expansion served to described Mendel's law of inheritance in biological research.¹¹

The Fibonacci series, discovered in 1220 by an Italian mathematician whose name it bears, is an arithmetic progression (Table 4). When the *odd* terms of this series are taken, and the ratios of their two component numbers, rather than the sums, are computed, i.e., $\frac{1}{1}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{5}{8}$, etc., these decrease in size to the limiting decimal .618034. When the *even*

¹¹ Frederick Osborn, *Preface to Eugenics* (rev. ed.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 20-23.

TABLE 3
MEAN VALUES ON EXTREME GROWTH GROUPS

GROUPS OF 33 CHURCHES	AGE (1)	Growth		Size (M+SS) (4)	F''- Values* (5)	(F''-F') Values† (6)	Institutional Strength CIC (7)
		M (2)	SS (3)				
1. Growth extremely rapid (N=12; M=SS).....	25.3	A=4.00	A=4.00	1,109	.5079	-.1101	B=3.91
2. No growth or loss (N=7; M=SS)...	55.0	E‡=0	E=0	770	.5921	-.0259	B=3.30
3. Different growth rates (M>SS; N=9).....	38.0	B=3.11	D=0.66	873	.6841	+.0661	B=3.34
4. Different growth rates (M<SS; N=5).....	49.2	D=0.40	B=3.20	278	.5621	-.0559	C=2.60

* $F'' = M/(M + SS)$, where M = membership size, and SS = Sunday-school size.

† $F' = .6180$, the Fibonacci proportion.

‡ E rate on growth = growth 0.0 (stationary), or actual loss.

TABLE 4
THE FIBONACCI SERIES

Term	Fibonacci Number Series	Ratios of Component Numbers in Odd Terms	Ratios of Component Numbers in Even Terms
(1).....	1+1=2	$\frac{1}{1}=1.000000$	.....
(2).....	1+2=3	.....	$\frac{1}{2}=.500000$
(3).....	2+3=5	$\frac{2}{3}=.666667$	.....
(4).....	3+5=8	.....	$\frac{3}{5}=.600000$
(5).....	5+8=13	$\frac{5}{8}=.625000$	.....
(6).....	8+13=21	.....	$\frac{8}{13}=.615385$
(7).....	13+21=34	$\frac{13}{21}=.619048$	.....
(8).....	21+34=55	.....	$\frac{21}{34}=.617684$
(9).....	34+55=89	$\frac{34}{55}=.618182$	.....
(10).....	55+89=144	.....	$\frac{55}{89}=.617978$
(11).....	89+144=233	$\frac{89}{144}=.618056$	.....
(12).....	144+233=377	.....	$\frac{144}{233}=.618026$
Etc.....	Etc.	Etc.	Etc.

terms are taken and the corresponding ratios computed, i.e., $\frac{1}{2}$, $\frac{2}{3}$, $\frac{3}{5}$, etc., these increase in size to the same limiting decimal value. For practical computations the round-numbered decimal .6180 may be taken as the approximate limiting value, which is approached by both series. Now, in the series of all these ratios, two numbers are necessarily involved as yielding either sums or ratios.

Is it worthwhile to test whether the two largest subgroups of these eighty churches, M and SS , would behave as sums and also as ratios in a manner approaching the Fibonacci series? That it is, is shown above and elaborated in Tables 2 and 3. Therefore, the Fibonacci proportions may be used as a mathematical model roughly descriptive of the behavior of relative size, that is, the behavior of the ratio $M/(M + SS)$. It follows, then, that the next step is to make deductions from other properties of the Fibonacci series to the empirical series of relative size of a church's two largest subgroups, M and SS . These deductions bear on such important concepts as integration, and balance or equilibrium (a sort of social homeostasis), as applied to church structure. It is done through the mediation of certain principles of symmetry of structure and harmony of processes of growth, both of which principles had previously been studied by architects in the use of mean and extreme ratio as a principle of design;¹² in the phenomena of phyllotaxis¹³ of botany, in the logarithmic spiral or curve of growth of snail shells and sunflower seeds, by biologists; and by mathematicians in the study of the phenomena of symmetry.¹⁴

¹² Jay Hambidge, *The Elements of Dynamic Symmetry* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1919, 1926); pp. xiv-xviii. For a much less restrained account of the concept of module in architectural design cf. Le Corbusier, *The Modulor: A Harmonious Measure to the Human Scale Universally Applicable to Architecture and Mechanics* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954), pp. 44-56; he lapses into mysticism and numerology.

¹³ A. H. Church, *Relations of Phyllotaxis to Mechanical Laws* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1901).

When the Fibonacci proportion .6180 is projected from its position (at a point which divides a line into segments in mean and extreme ratio) to form a rectangular area, and then again projected to form successively smaller (or larger) areas, the series of contained areas thus obtained may be used to generate the logarithmic spiral $\rho = e^{a\theta}$. This curve, potentially present as an implicit extension of the Fibonacci ratio applied to areas, ties together the concepts of growth and phases of growth, as well as the concepts of integration and equilibrium of social groups. The nexus between observations and the model may be made by the use of areas used as a convenient geometric device to represent different sizes of populations of social groups (see Figs. 1 and 2) as well as populations of cells in such diverse forms of life as sunflower seeds and snail shells.

A special application of these principles to churches is illustrated by the phenomenon of institutional church groups which may go through one stage of stable equilibrium to another in the size of their M and SS , and a later stage of integration whose size may be predicted by multiplying the present size of M and SS by a derived Fibonacci constant, 2.6180.¹⁵ In the absence of case his-

¹⁴ Cf. Hermann Weyl, *Symmetry* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 3, 19, 68, 70-72, and 127, 133, on bilateral symmetry, rotational symmetry and related symmetries, ornamental and crystalline, and the mathematical idea of symmetry.

¹⁵ This is the common ratio between successive odd numbers of the Fibonacci series taken as representing rectangular areas (populations) (see Table 4). This common ratio of 2.6180 was derived as follows: viewed in terms of areas (populations of groups), the Fibonacci numbers may be taken to represent balanced growth. Thus if the number 89 is taken as a start to indicate the area of a rectangle, then .6180 times this area would indicate the square area component, or 55; and the remainder, 34, would indicate the next smaller containing rectangle of the series. Proceeding in this manner, we note that the values of the odd-numbered terms of the series 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, etc., could then be set equal (numerically) to a series of smaller contained rectangles. If now, the values of the odd-numbered terms, namely, 2, 5, 13, 34, 89, etc., are each divided into the next larger number, we obtain a series of dividends which approach the limiting value of 2.6180. This means

tories of the individual churches to test this hypothesis, resort was made to testing substitute hypothesis. To test *simulated* growth phases, the present sizes of $M + SS$ of small young churches is taken as representing an earlier stage of integration and equilibrium in the larger and older churches of the same denomination. To perform this test, the present size ($M + SS$) of each younger and smaller church is multiplied by the constant 2.6180 to obtain the estimated size of the larger older church paired against it by religious denomination. If this procedure is valid, then it would be expected that the differences between the predicted sizes of older larger churches and the actual or observed sizes would be at least symmetrically distributed if they did not actually approach a normal distribution. This was indeed found to be the case among twenty-eight such pairs of churches (Table 5).

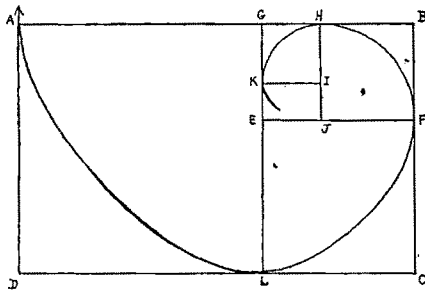


FIG. 1.—Fibonacci proportional areas and the logarithmic spiral. $ABCD$ is the largest containing rectangle divided into two subareas at .6180 of its longer side: square area $AGLD$ and a smaller rectangle $GBCL$. This smaller rectangle is then divided at .6180 of its longer side into square area $EFCL$ and a still smaller rectangle $GBFE$, etc. When points A, L, F, H, K , etc., are connected by curved lines, we obtain the logarithmic spiral $\rho = e^{a\theta}$, where ρ is the radii vector, a and e are constants, and θ is the angle ρ makes.

Table 6 shows that the differences between the age of older and of younger

that we might predict the value of the sum which appears in the ninth term by multiplying 34 by the common ratio 2.6180. When this is done, we obtain the value 89.01, which is a close approximation to the value 89.

churches form a frequency distribution which is skewed to the right, but, if two cases of extreme age difference are ignored for the moment, then a more symmetrical distribution appears. The mean age difference is 17.7 years. No clearly defined cycle is shown, although there is some evidence of a central tendency around an interval of eighteen years between stages.

	M.	S. S.	
	Obs. 608	373	$\Sigma = 981$
25	Theo. (1) 625	375	$\Sigma = 1,000$
	Theo. (2) 610	377	$\Sigma = 987$
	25	15	

FIG. 2.—Data of the Lyndale Congregational Church (Church No. 60) represented by a Fibonacci rectangle. (1) Membership (M) has an observed size of 608 and a theoretical or rounded-number size of 625 (a square, 25×25); and Sunday-school (SS) enrolment has an observed size of 373 and a theoretical rounded-size of 375 (a smaller rectangle, 25×15 units). This representation is made on the assumption that subpopulations may be shown by areas. Thus, if the total theoretical area is 1,000 units (Theo. [1] on the chart), then it may be composed of two subareas, one of which is 625 units (25×25) and the other 375 units (15×25). Such an ideal figure may then be compared with M (608 units) and with the size of SS (373 units), to illustrate the computational and prediction methods used in this article. (2) Similarly, if the total area of the theoretical figure (Theo. [2] on the chart) is taken as 987 units (the fourteenth term of the Fibonacci series shown in Table 4) and used as a model, then the fit is even closer to the observations on this church size. (3) The mean and extreme ratio (the "Golden Section") of Theo. (2) of the chart is $610:987::377:610$, or $610/987 = 377/610$, or $610 \times 610 = 987 \times 377$, or $372,100 = 372,099$ (a difference of 1 in over 372,000); and, by comparison for Church No. 60, $608/981 = 373/608$, or $608 \times 608 = 981 \times 373$, or $369,664 = 365,913$ (a difference of 3,751 in over 369,000).

Table 7 summarizes for several groups of churches¹⁶ the evidence of differences of age

¹⁶ Among these twenty-eight pairs of churches were the following numbers of pairs: Baptist, four; Congregational, three; Disciples, one; Lutheran, seven; Methodist Episcopal, six; Protestant Episco-

and size as related to (1) ratings on institutional strength (*CIC*), or equilibrium; (2) F'' -ratio; and (3) rates of growth. Row 1 supplies the data of two pairs, one Baptist and the other Congregational, to illustrate the sort of information summarized in row 2. This row (2) orders the data of the twenty-eight pairs of churches to three hypotheses suggested by Table 2. It will be seen that

TABLE 5

FREQUENCIES OF MAGNITUDES OF DIFFERENCES BETWEEN OBSERVED AND PREDICTED SIZE OF OLDER CHURCH AMONG TWENTY-EIGHT PAIRS

Differences between Observed and Predicted Size		<i>f</i>
(+)	1600- 1799.....	1
	1400- 1599.....	..
	1200- 1399.....	..
	1000- 1199.....	..
	800- 999.....	..
	600- 799.....	..
	400- 599.....	2
(+)	200- 399.....	1
	0-(+) 199.....	9
	0-(-) 199.....	7
(-)	200- 399.....	3
	400- 599.....	1
	600- 799.....	1
	800- 999.....	2
	1000- 1199.....	..
	1200- 1399.....	..
	1400- 1599.....	..
(-)	1600- 1799.....	1
Total.....		28

hypothesis H_1 , O greater than Y ,¹⁷ is confirmed in 60.7 per cent of these pairs; that hypothesis H_2 , O greater than Y , is confirmed in 78.5 per cent of them; and that hypothesis H_3 , O less than Y , is confirmed in 50 per cent. If less rigorous hypotheses, O greater, equal, or less than Y , are taken as a test, then hypothesis H_1 , O greater than or equal to Y , is supported by 92.8 per cent of

pal, four; and Presbyterian, three. Several other religious denominations were represented among the total of eighty churches, but no pairs could be made of these to satisfy the specified conditions.

¹⁷ It should be noted in regard to the ratio $M/(M + SS) = F''$ that high values occur when the components tend toward $M > SS$, and lower F'' -values occur when the components approach $M \leq SS$.

the pairs; hypothesis H_2 , O greater than or equal to Y , is supported by 78.5 per cent of them; and hypothesis H_3 , O less than or equal to Y , is supported by 75 per cent. In this case it is evident that the null hypothesis is not supported by the data. All in all, therefore, there is support¹⁸ here of the validity of this procedure for predicting a second or simulated stage of growth by multiplying the size of the younger smaller church by 2.618.

One could hazard a guess that at stages of equilibrium (as expressed in the approach of F'' to F') the forces of conservatism are in balance with those of growth and that

TABLE 6

AGE DIFFERENCES WITHIN TWENTY-EIGHT PAIRS OF CHURCHES

Difference in Years between Age of Younger and Age of Older Church		<i>f</i>
	0- 6.....	5
	7-13.....	8
	14-20.....	5
	21-27.....	4
	28-34.....	4
	35-41.....	..
	42-48.....	..
	49-55.....	1
	56-62.....	1
Total.....		28

during intervening periods of time the forces of growth in M and/or SS are in ascendancy. There are no data, however, to test this hypothesis other than those of Tables 8 and 9; adequate tests will wait upon continuous case histories. Meanwhile, the twenty-eight older churches make a much better showing than the paired younger churches on institutional strength and have lower rates of growth (Table 8); the older churches have higher values for F'' (Table 9).

This exploratory investigation suggests

¹⁸ It may further be noted that the mean F'' -value of fourteen pairs ($F'' = .6661$), in which every older church of the pair rated A on *CIC*, was nearer to the value $F' = .6180$, than were six pairs whose *CIC* rating was from C to D ($F'' = .4841$).

that, for the eighty churches studied, the optimum size of church may occur when the ratio $M/(M + SS)$ approaches the value .6180, or when $(M/[M + SS]) - .6180$ tends toward zero. This optimum size is that cluster of social traits associated with the relative size of the church's two largest subgroups, M and SS , which yields the maximum degree of continuity of security for group members by achieving a moving equilibrium (social homeostasis) among con-

tain forms of plant and animal life. Hence this ratio, .6180, may delineate the concept of optimum size. If so, then the optimum size of social groups also may be identified when their dimensions are in accord with the requirements of harmony and symmetry of form as these reoccur at certain stages of growth in size. Thus optimum size would seem to be a relative state and not an absolute attribute or condition. Metaphysical terminology has been excluded; the property

TABLE 7
TWENTY-EIGHT PAIRS OF CHURCHES OF THE
SAME RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION*

GROUPINGS AND PAIRS OF CHURCHES	CONDITIONS		Institutional Strength (CIC) $H_1: O > Y$	HYPOTHESES TESTED	
	Age $O > Y$	Size $O > Y$		F'' -Values $H_2: O > Y$	Growth Rates $H_3: O < Y$
1. Examples of pairs					
No. 2 and No. 15:					
No. 2 { O , older No. 7	45	1,158	A	.5785	1.5
No. 2 { Y , younger					
No. 1... No. 1...	39	415	C	.3975	2.5
No. 15 { O , older					
No. 10... No. 10...	71	2,209	A	.6423	1.8
No. 15 { Y , younger					
No. 13... No. 13...	42	784	B	.6122	2.5
2. All 28 pairs of churches, or 56 churches in all.....	All pairs	All pairs	$O > Y$ in 17 pairs, or 60.7% $O \geq Y$ in 26 pairs, or 92.8%	$O > Y$ in 22 pairs, or 78.5% $O \geq Y$ in 22 pairs, or 78.5%	$O < Y$ in 14 pairs, or 50% $O \leq Y$ in 21 pairs, or 75%
3. Fourteen pairs, older church rating A on CIC.....	All pairs	All pairs	.....	.6661†	1.70†
4. Six pairs, older church rating C to D on CIC.....	All pairs	All pairs	.....	.5379†	3.16†

* Seven religious denominations (see n. 15).

† Mean value or rate for older church of pair. As a matter of interest, the corresponding mean values of the *Younger Churches* of the fourteen pairs were $F'' = .5478$, growth 2.49; for the six pairs the values were $F'' = .4841$, and growth 2.25.

flicting social influences and is yet consistent with the preservation of group bonds.

The reasons for this may be that the ratio .6180 has been demonstrated to be associated with a harmonious relationship of parts to whole in both art and nature and that a series of areas obtained from the geometric projection of this ratio may be used to generate the logarithmic spiral of growth. These facts suggest, in turn, that the Fibonacci series is a mathematical model of growth in size during successive ages in cer-

TABLE 8
COMPARISON OF CIC AND GROWTH RATES OF
YOUNGER AND OLDER CHURCHES IN
FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS

RATINGS	INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTH (CIC)		GROWTH	
	Younger Church	Older Church	Younger Church	Older Church
A = 4.....	3	14	3	6
B = 3.....	11	8	12	3
C = 2.....	10	5	7	6
D = 1.....	4	1	3	10
E = loss..	..	..	3	3
Total...	28	28	28	28

of symmetry has been expressed in four frequency distributions (Tables 1, 5, 9, and 10), crucial to the argument, while the property of harmony, in the perceptual sense of harmony of proportion, has been defined in the way in which the M - and SS -values approximate the values of mean and extreme proportions of mathematics (Figs. 1 and 2). Moreover, integration was measured concretely in the rating on institutional strength. Balance, equilibrium, or social homeostasis was frankly a matter of hypothetical inference, a form of reasoning which has good scientific justification.¹⁹

TABLE 9

COMPARISON ON F'' -VALUES OF YOUNGER
AND OLDER CHURCHES

F'' -Values	Younger Church	Older Church
.8000-.8499.....	..	1
.7500-.7999.....	..	4
.7000-.7499.....	2	4
.6500-.6999.....	3	2
.6000-.6499.....	4	6
.5500-.6999.....	2	6
.5000-.5499.....	9	3
.4500-.4999.....	2	1
.4000-.4499.....	..	..
.3500-.3999.....	4	..
.3000-.3499.....	..	1
.2500-.2999.....	1	..
.2000-.2499.....	1	..
Total.....	28	28

The general implications of the Fibonacci proportions are:

1. The succession of expanding and containing rectangles in Fibonacci proportions offers a mathematical model which may be used to delineate successively larger populations composed of the two next largest subgroups which are in harmonious balance.

2. In the biological process of growth (in plants and in shells) there is sometimes found an approach to the logarithmic spiral as a norm of growth which in its symmetry

of proportion may apply roughly to social groups also. In such an event the interrelationships found in this study among age (the time factor), relative size of component subgroups, rates of growth, and strength of structure may indicate an over-all aspect of integration and equilibrium.

Two specific propositions may be useful in the search for a principle of determination of optimum size of institutional groups: (1) Growth in size of institutional groups may approach the Fibonacci series proportions as limiting proportions of the whole group and its two larger subgroups. (2) Growth in size is a series of spurts or increases of successive stages of sizes, in which relative balance or equilibrium between the two larger subgroups is expressed in the sizes of total populations that approach 2.618 as a limiting proportion. (3) An external criterion such as CIC , used to rate the institutional strength and the integration of the whole structure, yields higher ratings on those institutional units where $(F'' - F')$ approaches zero. In other words, where $M/(M + SS) - .6180$ approaches zero, and $F' = .6180$ as a limiting proportion indicative of optimum size. (4) It is deduced from the foregoing that the optimum size expressed when $M/(M + SS)$ approaches the value of .6180 may also be characterized by properties expressed in such concepts as harmonious balance or equilibrium of substructures, integration of component factors or parts, and the dynamic symmetry of self-regulating growth.

A possible answer to the question "Why?" may now be tentatively stated: the optimum size of the two largest subgroups of eighty churches seems to be that particular relative size which approaches most nearly the Fibonacci number series and proportions. A possible reason for this is that such an optimum size is characterized by a symmetrical relationship between the two largest subgroups (M) and (SS), which strikes a balance of equilibrium between the growth impulse, on the one hand (SS), and the pressure for the integration of social

¹⁹ The famous American logician C. S. Peirce, one of the precursors of modern symbolic logic, in his "A Theory of Probable Inference," *Studies in Logic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1883), has shown that the answer to the question "Why?" can only be in terms of hypothetical inference.

structure, on the other hand (M). While it is evident that there are many loose ends to be tied in with such an inference if any systematic theory of optimum size is ultimately formulated, at least the present exploratory study offers a productive beginning. Incidentally, the Fibonacci numbers and proportions have no special applicability to religious institutions but are equally applicable to the study of optimum size of large secular groups.

In conclusion attention should be directed to the problem of vitiating and validating factors in this analysis.

1. Do the factors M and SS , which are common to both the $M/(M + SS)$ ratio and to the criterion (CIC) of institutional strength, tend to vitiate our method of using institutional strength as the criterion of significance of the variations in the factors of age, size, and growth rates?

2. Examining more carefully this common-factor effect shows that it involves only four factors out of the total of sixty-nine whose combined weighting determines the CIC rating on institutional strength.

3. Consequently, while admitting the existence of these common factors, they may be regarded as a minor influence in vitiating the argument of this investigation.

4. Their greatest influence would be felt in the D group of small and simply organized churches whose rating on institutional strength depends primarily upon M and SS , since in these churches the programs are too simple to include many of the remaining factors in CIC . And yet the mean CIC rating on these seven D group churches departs somewhat more from the mean rating of the C and B group of churches (i.e., $1 - 2.56 = -1.56$) than does the mean of the A group of churches (i.e., $4.00 - 2.56 = +1.44$), a point which does not contradict the argument above.

5. The main argument for clues to optimum size rests on four points:

a) The approximate symmetry of the distribution of the ratio $M/(M + SS)$ for the eighty churches about the mean, mode, and

median roughly approaches the distribution of chance variations.

b) The approximate symmetry of the distribution of differences between the observed size and the predicted size of twenty-eight older churches among the twenty-eight pairs consisting of a smaller and a larger church of the same denomination also roughly approaches the distribution of chance variations.

c) The departures of the mean value of the relative size ratio $M/(M + SS)$ from

TABLE 10

ELEVEN CHURCHES ALL RATED A
ON INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTH
AND SHOWING GROWTH RATES
OF A OR B

F'' -Values	Number
.8000-.8999.....	1
.7000-.7999.....	2
.6000-.6999.....	5
.5000-.5999.....	2
.4000-.4999.....	1
Total.....	11
Mean F'' -value =	.6434
$(F'' - .6180)$ =	+.0254
Mean size =	1,896
Mean age =	37.3 years
Mean SS growth =	2.6
Mean size of staff =	3.9

the Fibonacci decimal .6180 (taken as a norm) increase in size from the group of churches whose institutional strength has the highest (A) rating to the lowest-rated churches on institutional strength thus:

A group ($F'' - F'$) = +.0400 (for $N = 25$)

B and C ($F'' - F'$) = -.0612 (for $N = 48$)

D group ($F'' - F'$) = -.0993 (for $N = 7$)

In other words, the stronger churches are nearer to the theoretical norm .6180 than the weaker churches.

d) When a subgroup of eleven churches rating A on CIC , with growth rates of B to A on M , are separately analyzed, we find: (i) the distribution of relative size, $M/(M + SS)$, shows a perfectly symmetrical distri-

bution about the central values of mean = mode = median = .6434 (Table 10), and (ii) the mean value .6434, for relative size of these eleven churches, is the nearest to the norm (.6180) of any subgroup of churches analyzed.

A possible clue is suggested to the idea of a range of size delimiting the elasticity of

institutional strength; for example, the limits of a normal range of structural elasticity, within which fluctuations do not disturb the over-all equilibrium, but beyond which there is a breakdown of the whole (a range in F'' from .5000 to .7999?).

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SOCIETAL COMPLEXITY: AN EMPIRICAL TEST OF A TYPOLOGY OF SOCIETIES¹

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ABSTRACT

Does the concept of societal complexity refer to a single dimension? Data have been gathered from a sample of forty-eight societies and scored according to Guttman's scalogram analysis. Six out of eight variables tested vary systematically and constitute an acceptable scale. This is empirical evidence for the relevance of societal complexity. The study demonstrates a technique for testing polar ideal types which allows the investigator to determine whether or not they are empirically based.

Among pairs of polar ideal types, one of the early and best known is Tönnies' *Ge-meinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*, terms by which he characterized two types of social organization.² Durkheim made a similar distinction in contrasting *solidarité mécanique* with *solidarité organique*.³ Contrasts have been drawn between sacred and secular societies,⁴—Robert E. Park, in his lectures in the twenties, contrasted sacred and secular societies—culture and civilization,⁵ kinship and territory,⁶ and more recently stated in the folk-urban continuum⁷ and in the dichotomy, tradition-directed and other-directed types of character.⁸ These, a few of

many similar distinctions, are polar ideal constructs, differing only in the emphasis which each places on some specific aspect of social patterning. They make the same basic distinction and consequently will be considered in the present analysis as concepts referring to societal complexity.

Some writers have argued that these concepts imply empirical relationships;⁹ others that they are distortions, albeit voluntary, of them. The latter writers would hold that, if these concepts have any utility whatsoever, it would be merely to sensitize observers.¹⁰ It is the judgment of the present authors that there is a measure of truth on both sides and that this seemingly, irreconcilable argument can be resolved through examining the nature of ideal typologies. First, such a typology "ordinarily connotes a plurality of correlated characteristics."¹¹ For example, geographical isolation, importance of kinship, and undifferentiated labor are presumed to be correlated in the folk so-

¹ Revision of a paper read at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society, September, 1955, reporting an investigation supported by a research grant (MH-439) from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

² Ferdinand Tönnies, *Fundamental Concepts in Society*, trans. and ed. Charles P. Loomis (New York: American Book Co., 1940).

³ Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society*, trans. George Simpson (New York: Macmillan Co., 1933).

⁴ Harry Elmer Barnes and Howard Becker, *Social Thought from Lore to Science*, Vol. I (New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1938).

⁵ Albion W. Small, *General Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1905).

⁶ Henry Sumner Maine, *Ancient Law* (London: J. Murray, 1861).

⁷ Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LII (1947), 293-308.

⁸ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950). Of his three types, these two are pertinent here.

⁹ Robert F. Winch, "Heuristic and Empirical Typologies: A Job for Factor Analysis," *American Sociological Review*, XII (1947), 68-75; and Horace Miner, "The Folk-urban Continuum," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (1952), 529-37.

¹⁰ Melville J. Herskovits, *Man and His Works* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 606-7; Redfield, *op. cit.*, and "The Folk Society and Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLV (March, 1940), 731-42; Howard W. Odum, "Folk Sociology as a Subject Field for the Historical Study of Total Human Society and the Empirical Study of Group Behavior," *Social Forces*, XXXI (March, 1953), 193-223.

¹¹ Winch, *op. cit.*

ciety. The correlation among these characteristics, or, more precisely, among the indexes of them, is an empirical matter. To be sure, the degree of correlation is frequently registered in an impressionistic, intuitive, even unwitting, manner rather than by formal operations. Second, the capacity of the typology to sensitize observers may be increased by assuming that pure cases exhibit extreme values, which constitutes the (voluntary) distortion, and to this extent the ideal typology departs from "reality."

This discussion does not solve the methodological problem. Criteria must be provided for accepting or rejecting a typology on the basis of the observed intercorrelations among its indexes.

Societal typologies involve the assumption of systematic differences among societies in a number of variables and thus of systematic variation among the variables themselves.¹² In the language of factor analysis, their interrelationship is described by the single-factor model; in scale analysis by the model of unidimensionality. Here, then, is a proposition amenable to empirical test: To what degree, if any, can the typology of societal complexity be shown to be a single dimension? If the model is consistent with the data, a set of cultural variables should vary systematically together as a continuum of a single underlying attribute. If, on the other hand, the model does not apply, then no empirical basis can be provided for the typology in question; it is a concept without a referent.

The aim of the present study is to select a set of societal variables regarded as registering societal complexity, to determine whether or not they constitute a single dimension, and hence to ascertain whether there is empirical evidence of a unitary attribute, societal complexity. The Guttman technique of scale analysis, which was employed,¹³ permits three possible outcomes: a single scale or quasi-scale; two or more

scales; or no systematic interrelationships at all. Only the first possibility would lend support to the hypothesis.

Developed for the study of attitudes, the Guttman technique involves the systematic ordering of complex qualitative data. It is reasonable to suppose that the scaling model may be as helpful in cross-cultural research as in the investigation of attitudes.

Selection of variables for this study raised some special problems. Some of the criteria for classifying societies as to complexity are ambiguous. It would be difficult to rank societies, for example, according to their degree of in-group feeling. Many of the terms employed in the ethnographic reports which are the only source of data are vague, making it difficult or impossible to compare their data. Therefore, variables were sought which the ethnographers would report with the minimum of interpretation. Eight such variables have been used. They have been dichotomized, and one category (designated *b* in Table 1) is construed as representing less complexity, while the other (designated *a*) represents greater complexity (see Table 1).

The characteristics treated in Table 1 cover in relatively unambiguous terms many of the major aspects of culture. The list is certainly not exhaustive, nor is it a random sample. However, Guttman has pointed out that such sampling is unnecessary in scale analysis, since demonstration of unidimensionality guarantees that all items represent a single universe.¹⁴ It is necessary only that the items all be drawn from a single universe—in this case, the various conceptions of societal complexity—and that they do not cluster at a single point along the continuum.

In sampling societies, there are two major difficulties. In the first place, the universe of man's societies, past and present, is unknown. Furthermore, there are known societies upon which no reliable data are available. Therefore, a random sample of societies would undoubtedly include some lacking adequate information for research. Second, Boas and others have stressed the

¹² Miner, *op. cit.*

¹³ Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *Studies in Social Psychology in World War II*, Vol. IV: *Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950), chaps. i-ix.

¹⁴ Louis Guttman, "The Basis for Scalogram Analysis," *ibid.*, pp. 80-82.

hazards in selecting societies which have been in contact with each other;¹⁵ they are no longer independent, and similarities among them could result from diffusion.

In order to insure independence and increase applicability, the sample was chosen to make the most of cultural variability. The forty-eight societies were selected by the procedure reported by Professor G. P. Murdock.¹⁶ The societies suggested by Murdock represent most major culture areas of the world, and their geographic and historical heterogeneity should certainly assure variability (Table 2).

Data were obtained from the Cross-cultural Survey and the Human Relations

¹⁵ Franz Boas, "Anthropology and Statistics," in W. F. Ogburn and A. Goldenweiser, *The Social Sciences and Their Interrelations* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1927).

¹⁶ George Peter Murdock, *Outline of World Cultures* (New Haven: Human Relations Area Files, 1954).

Area Files. Since an effort had been made to employ only relatively unambiguous variables and to require only dichotomous judgments and since, therefore, there was little room for the exercise of discretion, the reliability of ratings was not estimated. A schedule consisting of eight simple dichotomies was devised; so the investigator was required only to look under the appropriate classification and ascertain the facts, as, for example, whether the Koreans had a written language or not or whether the Aranda used a symbolic medium of exchange.

Application of Guttman's scaling model to the data did not yield a perfect scale. Two items—exogamy and mate selection—varied independently of the other six. The Israel Alpha Technique was employed to test for the presence of a quasi-scale.¹⁷ Results were

¹⁷ Louis Guttman, "The Israel Alpha Technique for Scale Analysis," in Matilda White Riley *et al.*, *Sociological Studies in Scale Analysis* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954).

TABLE 1

CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL COMPLEXITY IN THE SCALOGRAM ANALYSIS	
Characteristic	Classification of Complexity
1. Exogamy.....	{ <i>a</i> , Incest taboos extended only to include secondary relatives <i>b</i> , Further extension of taboos
2. Punishment.....	{ <i>a</i> , Crimes against person or property punished through government action <i>b</i> , Crimes avenged by the person wronged, his kin group, or the gods
3. Government.....	{ <i>a</i> , Full-time bureaucrats unrelated to government head present <i>b</i> , Part-time bureaucrats, bureaucrats related to government head, or none
4. Education.....	{ <i>a</i> , Formal, with full-time specialized teacher <i>b</i> , Informal, without full-time specialized teacher
5. Religion.....	{ <i>a</i> , Full-time specialized real priest—not diviner or healer—present <i>b</i> , No full-time specialized priest present
6. Economy.....	{ <i>a</i> , Symbolic medium of exchange—real money—present <i>b</i> , Barter and exchange the sole economic mechanisms
7. Mate selection.....	{ <i>a</i> , Beauty stressed in desirability of a mate either alone or along with skill and fertility <i>b</i> , Skill and fertility demanded to the exclusion of beauty
8. Written language.....	{ <i>a</i> , Written language present <i>b</i> , Written language absent

negative, and the two offending items were dropped, whereupon the remaining six formed a nearly perfect arrangement (Table 3). While reproducibility was not perfect for the six items, there were only nine scale errors, and the resulting array closely approximated the model.

Since scalability was not perfect, two techniques were used to evaluate the error.¹⁸

TABLE 2

SOCIETIES IN THE SAMPLE

<i>North America:</i>	<i>Oceania:</i>
Copper Eskimo	Balinese
Creek	Buka
Crow	Andamanese
Hopi	Maori
Menomini	Aranda
Navaho	Woleaians
Sanpoil	Ifugao
Yurok	
<i>Asia:</i>	<i>Russia:</i>
Vietnamese	Ukrainians
Koreans	Chukchee
Lepcha	Yakut
Formosan aborigines	Ossett
Lakher	Kazak
<i>Africa:</i>	<i>South America:</i>
Azande	Cuna
Chagga	Siriono
Hottentot	Cayapa
Mbundu	Tupinamba
Thonga	Jivaro
Twi-Ashanti	Yaruro
Venda	
<i>Middle East:</i>	<i>Europe:</i>
Iranians	Czechs
Riffians	Elizabethan English
Kababish	Imperial Romans
Ancient Hebrews	SE. American Negroes
Siwans	Lapps

Guttman's coefficient of reproducibility was equal to .97, well above the arbitrary minimum of .90.¹⁹ Menzel's coefficient of scalability produced a value of .76, again surpassing the suggested minimum, .60-.65.²⁰ The

data therefore clearly demonstrate a scale among six of the eight tested items: punishment, government, education, religion, economy, and written language vary together to form a unidimensional array.

In conclusion, the demonstration of unidimensionality among six characteristics is evidence that the items constitute a scale. Since these qualities are all subsumable under folk urbanism, *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft*, and the other polar constructs of that order, the conclusion is that Redfield, Tönnies, *et al.* have indeed been describing a unidimensional phenomenon—societal complexity.²¹ Furthermore, this analysis has established a series of scale types or positions of societal complexity (Table 4), which may be used to describe and arrange societies, as well as merely to sensitize observers, as some have claimed. The types characterize each culture as to the given variables; moreover, they allow comparison of the complexity of one culture with another. The result not only indicates the generalizability of cultural phenomena but provides suggestive material for constructing further theories of cultural form and process.

The variables themselves may also be systematically arranged, suggesting a whole set of diachronic hypotheses. Their arrangement in Table 4 might express the sequence of development as a society increases in complexity. Thus we might hypothesize that as a society of the least complex type became more complex, it would first adopt a money economy, then a formal legal system, full-time priests, educators, and government bureaucrats in that order, and, finally, a written language.

There is no reason to suppose that other items will not vary systematically with

¹⁸ E. F. Borgatta uses an "error ratio" in evaluating scalability, but, since there is neither a known distribution of this statistic nor even an arbitrarily suggested level for acceptability, it was not applied in this study (cf. E. F. Borgatta, "An Error Ratio for Scalogram Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIX [1955], 96-100).

¹⁹ Edward A. Suchman, "The Scalogram Board Technique for Scale Analysis," in Stouffer *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 91-121.

²⁰ Herbert Menzel, "A New Coefficient for Scalogram Analysis," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 529-37.

²¹ Cf. the experiment by L. T. Hobhouse, G. C. Wheeler, and M. Ginsberg, *The Material Culture and Social Institutions of the Simpler Peoples* (London: Chapman & Hall, 1915), which, though concerned with testing an evolutionary scheme, gave results consistent with those reported here.

TABLE 3
SCALE OF SOCIETAL COMPLEXITY

SOCIETY	CHARACTERISTIC											
	Complex						Non-complex					
	8	3	4	5	2	6	8	3	4	5	2	6
Vietnamese	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Czechs	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Iranians	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Koreans	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Lapps	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Riffians	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Elizabethan English	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Imperial Romans	X	X	X	X	X	X						
SE. American Negroes	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Ukrainians	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Ancient Hebrews	X		X	X	X	X		X				
Hopi		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Twi-Ashanti		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Creek		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Navaho		X	X	X	X	X	X					
Venda		X	X	X	X		X					X
Balinese			X	X	X	X	X	X				
Cuna			X	X	X	X	X	X				
Maori			X	X	X	X	X	X				
Chagga			X	X			X	X			X	X
Lepcha				X	X	X	X	X	X			
Mbundu				X	X	X	X	X	X			
Cayapa					X	X	X	X		X		
Lakher					X	X	X	X	X	X		
Thonga					X	X	X	X	X	X		
Sanpoil					X	X	X	X	X			
Osset			X			X	X	X		X	X	
Kababish				X		X	X	X	X		X	
Siwans						X	X	X	X	X		
Yurok						X	X	X	X	X	X	
Yakut						X	X	X	X		X	
Kazak				X			X	X	X		X	X
Woleaians					X		X	X	X	X		X
Azande					X		X	X	X	X		X
Aranda							X	X	X	X	X	
Siriono							X	X	X	X	X	X
Chukchee							X	X	X	X	X	X
Copper Eskimo							X	X	X	X	X	X
Ifugao							X	X	X	X	X	X
Tupinamba							X	X	X	X	X	X
Andamanese							X	X	X	X	X	X
Crow							X	X	X	X	X	X
Jivaro							X	X	X	X	X	X
Formosan aborigines							X	X	X	X	X	X
Hottentot							X	X	X	X	X	X
Menomini							X	X	X	X	X	X
Buka							X	X	X	X	X	X
Yaruro							X	X	X	X	X	X

those studied, allowing the generalizations to be extended further. That two variables—exogamy and mate selection—would not fit into the unidimensional scale indicates that some conceptions of complexity include

technique for testing cross-cultural theories. In using it, the investigator reveals the assumptions underlying the study and its logic. Furthermore, by this technique the concepts may be divested of unrelated char-

TABLE 4
SCALE TYPES OF COMPLEXITY

TYPE	COMPLEX CHARACTERISTIC*						FREQUENCY
	Written Language	Government	Education	Religion	Punishment	Economy	
6.....	×	×	×	×	×	×	11
5.....	..	×	×	×	×	×	5
4.....	×	×	×	×	4
3.....	×	×	×	2
2.....	×	×	6
1.....	×	6
							14

* × indicates the presence of a complex characteristic.

unrelated characteristics. Further studies must be made in order to determine which of the remaining hypothesized variables are related to the scalable set and which are extraneous.

Finally, this report has demonstrated a

acteristics on the basis of empirical evidence. The procedure has a wide range of applicability, including use where quantitative data are unavailable.

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BLAME AND HOSTILITY IN DISASTER

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ABSTRACT

Analysis of interviews with persons in disasters reveals that blaming for disasters arises out of seeking a satisfactory explanation for something which cannot be accounted for conventionally. Once persons have defined the situation sufficiently to assess responsibility, blaming occurs when people are convinced that the responsible agents will not of their own volition take action to prevent a recurrence and the agents are perceived as in opposition to basic values.

While psychologists and psychiatrists have been much concerned with aggression, in applying their theories to social situations, they have tended to impose pre-existent explanations upon what are often scanty and impressionistic data. Such has been the case with blame in time of disaster. To the limited extent that students have given it any systematic consideration, they have shared certain conceptions concerning the nature of blaming: Blame is conceived of as a relatively sudden and uncontrolled outburst of hostility, the culmination of irrational and fortuitous processes. The behavior is deeply rooted in individual, psychological processes which are triggered by the disaster. Blame is therefore considered a usual, if not inevitable, feature of disasters.¹

However, examination of interviews with persons who have survived disasters contradicts these general assumptions. It becomes apparent, first, that the manifestations of hostility are not simply precipitous outbursts but the culmination of a rather long, involved process. Second, the reasoning of respondents is quite consistent with their way of structuring the situation. In labeling it as "irrational," students of blame have tended to impose their own evaluative preconceptions on the situation. This has led them to ignore highly significant data as irrelevant to the "deeper" motivations. Third, the data clearly show that blame is defined

and channeled through social interaction and on the basis of shared understandings. Finally, blame is not a common feature of disasters: this behavior appeared in interviews made in only two out of eight disasters and even in those two among a minority of respondents.²

These observations strongly suggest that any investigation should begin with a careful examination of what happens following disasters in order to set the analysis in appropriate terms, beginning with what appears to be the genesis of blaming and tracing the stages through which it evolves.

The data utilized in this study were obtained by the Disaster Team of the National Opinion Research Center. Of the various community disasters studied by the NORC team, only in Elizabeth, New Jersey, which suffered three plane crashes, was there blaming. Therefore, the analysis focuses upon the Elizabeth data, with broadly comparative material from other disasters.³

² Proponents of various shades of aggression theory might argue that blame *for* the disaster is but one form that postdisaster aggression takes and that aggression in any form is easily diverted in this direction. However, data on attitudes toward relief organizations and various interpersonal relationships gathered by the National Opinion Research Center Disaster Team do not reveal any significant amount of local hostility among disaster victims. On the contrary, the dominant attitudes appear to be appreciation of efforts of organized groups and a general heightening of group solidarity (see "Human Reactions in Disaster Situations" [National Opinion Research Center Report No. 52 (Chicago, June, 1954)] [unpublished]).

³ The writer wishes to thank the National Opinion Research Center for permission to use the data gathered by the disaster team. The writer was a

¹ For a detailed discussion of this literature within its theoretical context see Rue Bucher, "Blame in Disasters: A Study of a Problematic Situation" (unpublished Master's thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1954), pp. 9-20.

The Elizabeth crashes occurred on December 16, 1951, and January 22 and February 11, 1952, in neighborhoods ranging from lower and middle class to the highest socioeconomic area in the city. In the first crash no residents were involved, but both of the later crashes struck residential structures, killing and injuring a number of the occupants. NORC field teams were there within two days after each event, and interviewing continued from four to eight days.

An effort was made to interview a range of from highly to minimally involved persons. For the purposes of this paper, interviews were eliminated if the respondent was under eighteen or in an official position and if the statement did not bear on the problem of blame. The resulting fifty-four interviews were analyzed and compared.

The interviews were unstructured and were almost all tape-recorded. Interviewers were instructed to obtain as completely as possible an objective and subjective chronology of the respondent's experience, told in his own way. The material bearing on blame, therefore, was spontaneously introduced and elaborated by the respondents, with a minimum of prompting and probing.

HOW CAUSATION BECAME AN ISSUE

Whether a tornado or a gas explosion, an earthquake or a plane crash, people seem to feel the need for understanding why a disaster occurred and what it means. Disasters are recurrent phenomena, and various explanations of them have become conventional. For most, this leads readily to a satisfactory explanation for the event as the result of known forces which, since they be-

long in the conventional system of expectations, can be dealt with in prescribed ways.⁴

However, when the disaster cannot be assimilated to a conventional frame of reference, the cause of it becomes a prolonged and serious issue. People continue to puzzle over what kind of disaster it was, why it happened, and under what conditions it may happen again. In our data blame arose out of this process of inquiry which followed when conventional explanations failed.

Plane crashes were familiar phenomena to the people of Elizabeth, and they had preconceived notions of what accounts for them. A number of respondents were able to explain one or more of the crashes in these familiar terms, comparing the particular disaster to similar events. Certain features of the case were likened to what would be expected from a general class of events. The most common method of defining the crashes in these non-problematic terms was as an "accident," comparable with automobile accidents, train wrecks, explosions, and accidents at home. Accidents are "just bound" to occur occasionally. All that can be done about them is to take "precautions," which, as one respondent remarked, "won't cure but might alleviate." As accidents, the crashes could be accepted as an inevitable part of life.

Other respondents referred to more specific causes which were previously known to account for plane crashes. When they saw the same features in this situation, they contented themselves with familiar explanations. In effect, they could rest because their world was still in order; for example:

Another thing in the first crash is, you know it was a so-called non-scheduled plane. And most of us can blame that—rightly or wrongly—we blamed it in our mind on the fact that the maintenance was not what it should have been,

member of the disaster team and participated in each of the field trips to Elizabeth. Other disasters studied by NORC which are taken into account in this study include: (1) the Arkansas tornadoes of March 21, 1952; (2) a series of gas explosions which destroyed a number of homes in Brighton, New York, in September, 1951; (3) a plane crash into an air-show crowd at Flagler, Colorado, in September, 1951; (4) the West Frankfort, Illinois, mine explosion of December, 1951; (5) the Bakersfield, California, earthquakes of August, 1952; and (6) a porch collapse in a private home in Chicago.

⁴ Of the other disasters studied by NORC, the Elizabeth disasters seem to be the only ones in which causation became a serious issue. The Brighton explosions may have eventually been defined problematically by at least some members of the community, but at the time the interviewing took place they were still uncertain of what attitude to take toward it.

and—in other words, there was some excuse for the thing. And in the second one, it was again in the daytime and although a scheduled airliner, the weather was very bad. We could sort of satisfy ourselves—if you can use that word—by saying it was due to the weather.

There are two ways that people in Elizabeth came to view the disasters as a problem which must be unraveled. One type of definition saw the crashes as a “violation of expectations.” In the second type it was “emergent features” which caught their attention.

For the “violation of expectations” type, the disaster violates all conceptions of the usual and acceptable. Features which would be expected to be present in the situation according to prior conceptions are not only lacking, but the features which are present are directly contrary to expectation. They attempted to apply one previous notion after another, only to eliminate them all. This indicated something drastically wrong which had to be carefully examined. This may be seen in the following excerpt:

I couldn't believe it could be another plane crash. After all, it was a beautiful clear night, clear as day, the moon was shining, it was just as clear as daylight, and I said, well, how could it be another plane crash—so soon after the other one. . . . Why should that motor conk out in such a short time from leaving the airport? There must have been something wrong. I mean something could go wrong mechanically, yes, but not to have two motors go out—you know there's something far wrong in that altogether.

This respondent was able to “excuse” the second crash because of the weather. Her first response, when she heard of the third, was to think of the weather; but the weather could not account for it. Then, other features struck her as contrary to expectations—that this crash followed so soon after the previous one, that it happened so soon after takeoff, and that two motors had failed. Said another respondent after the third crash:

The conditions that seemed to exist the other night—such perfect flying weather—a four-

motored plane—the other two were two-motor—four-motor most of us have considered safer than two-motor . . . perfect flying weather and nationally known airline and a four-motored plane—well, there's nothing that you could sort of lean back on.

For a number of respondents, the fact that three crashes took place so close together was proof something was wrong. The third crash violated all conceptions of probability, was “an impossibility,” “beyond all law of averages”; accidents could happen; yes, but not three in a row.

In the case of the “emergent features” type, the situation is initially labeled in accordance with prior conceptions, but there are aspects to this particular case which shed a different light on previous notions. A new and unique situation exists, one which requires special evaluation. These respondents did not see the crashes as just another accident. This is quite a specific accident. Rather than brushing aside the particular aspects of the situation, it is quite carefully and deliberately distinguished from other accident situations. As one respondent expressed it:

They were saying, well, we have flown and there aren't many accidents, but there are many accidents on railroads and on cars . . . that there will always be accidents—of course there will be, but that's not the point. The point is that it is coming in for a landing and going up in a congested area . . . the greatest danger is during your ascent from the field and your descent in landing, and a crash landing is impossible over a congested area during this period.

In neither the “violation of expectations” or “emergent features” type can the disaster be accounted for by conventional explanations. For these people something out of the ordinary is going on, something which it is necessary to get to the bottom of, and something which will require out-of-the-ordinary courses of action to alleviate. In contrast, for those respondents who did not define the crashes problematically, there was no necessity for seeking special solutions or courses of action. The question of blaming someone for the disasters did not arise for these

people, since there was nothing to blame for. The disasters had to be viewed as an issue calling for special consideration before the possibility of blame could arise.

CAUSATION AND APPROPRIATE ACTION

When conventional explanations failed to account for the disasters, people sought other explanations and appropriate courses of action. Before they could advance a firm opinion of what should be done about this problem, they had to have some understanding of what conditions were behind it. Not all the respondents achieved enough certainty about the nature of the situation to put forward a definitive solution. At the time they were interviewed, twelve of them were still involved in attempting to define the situation.⁵ A comparison of these indecisive cases with those who had succeeded in arriving at a satisfactory explanation gives some crude basis for seeing how people arrived at a clear definition.

In order to organize their thinking about this situation, the respondents had to see in what way their previous knowledge applied to this particular case. The way in which this was accomplished was through a classification of this situation as being of a certain general type. This situation was seen as analogous to certain other situations. Classification, which entails placing an object with some objects and separating it from others, proceeds through analogy.⁶ When the situation can be seen as like or unlike other situations, it can be dealt with. When the respondent was able to label the situation as being basically of a certain kind, he could

proceed to collect and evaluate the facts of the case.

With the relevant knowledge as given, the situation was scrutinized for significant features. There were myriads of facts available to these respondents. In order to make any sense out of them at all, they had to be weighed against some reference points. It was on the basis of the analogies aroused that significant facts were picked out and evaluated. Definition involved a process of ordering the facts of the situation with respect to each other and a central analogy. Without the central reference point involved in analogy, the facts would have been, and in the cases of some respondents were, a maelstrom. With this central reference point, they took on meaning.

The particular facts which respondents selected are significant because it was on the basis of the particular facts that they decided what action should be taken to remedy the situation. When the situation was classified and the appropriate knowledge aroused, these operated as givens with which to sift and weigh the specific features. But the specific features determined the way in which these givens applied to this particular situation. The working-out of the action to be taken involved seeing the way in which the givens could be applied to the facts peculiar to this case. It was a kind of testing of the usefulness of the analogy in which the particular facts determined how it was to be used.

Two distinct analogies were utilized by the Elizabeth respondents, which gave rise to two separate schools of thought concerning the causes of the crashes and what should be done about them. However, both schools of thought conceived of the disasters as recurrent. The conditions behind the disasters were viewed as constantly operative, so that extraordinary action was necessary to remove them.

One school of thought visualized the airplane as a machine which will always have defects, and weighed such facts as the location of the airport, the increase of air traffic,

⁵ Several of these indecisive respondents were re-interviewed after subsequent crashes, at which time each had resolved his indecision and taken a definite stand toward the situation.

⁶ For a discussion of the relation between naming situations and the process of analogy see Kenneth Burke, *Permanence and Change: An Anatomy of Purpose* (2d ed.; Los Altos, Calif.: Hermes Publications, 1954), Part II. See also Nelson Foote and Clyde Hart, "Public Opinion and Collective Behavior," in *Group Relations at the Crossroads*, ed. M. Sherif and M. O. Wilson (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), pp. 308-31.

and the danger of takeoffs and landings. These facts, in conjunction with the machine analogy, converged on the conclusion that the airport should be moved. The other school of thought conceived of machines as requiring care to operate properly. Facts cited by the other school of thought were brushed aside as irrelevant, and these people considered instead such things as differential accident rates between airlines, amount of time elapsing between motor overhauls, adherence to Civil Aeronautics Board standards, qualifications of mechanics, etc. Remedial action for these respondents therefore consisted of correcting "hitches" in the servicing procedures.

Most respondents were aware that alternative ideas of what should be done were current in the community, and these divergent opinions were easily handled from the point of view of their organization of the material. This contrasts strongly with those respondents who were still indecisive about the situation. Lacking a clear conception or organization of the problem, they were pulled hither and yon by divergent and contradictory ideas. Consideration of these interviews indicates that the definitional process involves a gradual integrating and pulling-together of material. The indecisive respondent may not have any working analogy to apply to the situation, or he may have only tentative contradictory analogies. He considers many contradictory and unrelated facts and contradictory solutions which he is still trying to relate to some working analogy. The various ideas have not been assimilated, and what is relevant and irrelevant has not been finally determined. Until he is able to organize this material, he is unable to take a consistent stand toward it.

RESPONSIBILITY

The assessment of responsibility for the disasters proceeded directly from what people thought should be done about them. Responsibility was laid where people thought the power resided to alleviate the conditions underlying the crashes. It was not instrumentality in causing the crashes

which determined responsibility but ability to do something to prevent their recurrence. The problem was who had control over these conditions and who had the power to see that they were corrected. It was who people perceived as having this kind of power that determined responsibility. Responsibility thus tended to shift upward in a hierarchy of authority.

Respondents consistently passed up lesser figures perceived as having a hand in the situation in favor of those viewed as higher authorities. A considerable number of respondents mentioned figures who directly carried out actions leading to the crashes, such as pilots, mechanics, those manning the control tower, etc. But in no case were these figures held responsible. Usually, respondents would exonerate these people, with such phrases as "They did the best they could," or "They only did their job." Even when these lesser figures were accused of incompetence, the responsibility was shifted upward onto higher authorities. One respondent said, for example:

That was the fault of the people who checked those planes. . . . I don't know whether the airport's responsible for that or if it's the airlines themselves that are responsible . . . whoever hired those men to check those planes, it's up to them to see those men check those planes.

Most of the respondents never thought in terms of those who directly performed actions leading to the crashes at all but thought only in terms of the organizations which they believed had control over the situation. And, in every case in the sample, responsibility was ultimately laid either with organizations or with quite high authorities who had control over organizations.

There was considerable variation in the degree to which respondents showed recognition of the complexity and interrelation of authority involved in the operation of the airport. What they knew about the structure of authority was a major determinant of where responsibility was laid. A few respondents talked in terms of vague "higher-ups" who had the power to do something.

Most of the respondents recognized the Port of New York Authority as having control over what went on at the airport, and, accordingly, more people held the PNYA responsible than any other organization. There were a number of more sophisticated respondents who went beyond this level of responsibility to various governmental bodies and public officials whom they viewed as in a position to put pressure upon the PNYA. It was up to them to see that those lower in the power system did something to correct the situation. The following quotation illustrates this:

[A high state official] should be compelled by the legislature to curtail them. They claim [he] is helpless, but what do we have government in New Jersey for if they can't curtail an operation? But who gave the Port Authority its power? Whoever gave it to them can remove it. . . .

The important point in regard to the problem of responsibility is that people traced the line of responsibility upward in the hierarchy of authority and placed it where, in their eyes, the power to remedy the situation lay. Thus, the assessment of responsibility was dependent upon some conception of the causation of the disasters, together with the belief that it was possible to do something to prevent their recurrence.

BLAME

The laying of responsibility should not be confused with blame. The majority of our respondents had defined the situation sufficiently to assess responsibility, but not all of them were actually *blaming* those held responsible. Two further conditions distinguish those who were blaming from those who were merely assessing responsibility:

First, those who blame the agents of responsibility are convinced that the agents will not of their own volition take action which will remedy the situation. The persons who have the responsibility are deliberately refraining from taking the steps which will prevent a recurrence of the disaster. This is where the significance of our respondents' reaching some conclusions

about what action should be taken becomes apparent. Before blame can be applied, people must know that there is something that can be done about the situation. There are courses of action open to the agents if they will but follow them—courses of action which are possible both in the sense that they will correct the conditions behind the disasters and in the sense that they are practical. But, instead of taking measures which would prevent a recurrence of the disasters, those responsible were letting things go on as usual. Or they were seen as even taking measures which would make the situation worse. Quite a few respondents pointed out that the PNYA was enlarging the airport, and this, more than anything else, convinced them the PNYA was not going to do anything about the crashes.

The following quotation illustrates the respondent's conviction that nothing will be done:

The planes fly right over the same routine . . . and still nothing's been done about it. Now if there were another crash, it could happen now, it could happen tomorrow, who knows—what would they come up with then? We're going to shift the airplanes, or we're going to put the—in fact I believe that they're supposed to have the planes taking a circular route now to get to the airport. In fact, that was decided upon at the first crash. But I sit here night in, night out, and the planes are right overhead, no changes . . . what goes through my mind is, well, who's throwing the bull now. . . . As I'm sitting talking to you now, I don't think they've done a damn thing right up to this minute . . . and if they haven't done anything now, what are they going to do a month from now or two months from now?

Another respondent remarked:

I'm definitely assured that they will open the airport again. Sure, you can complain and beef as much as you like, but if they want to open it up, they are gonna open it up . . . the old boys down there, they will hold an investigation and find everything is quiet, well, they will start them rolling again.

Most of the respondents thought that, if the airport had not been closed down after the third crash, violence would have result-

ed, and a number of the blaming respondents indicated that they personally would have been in the thick of it. This violence was directed not against persons but against the airport, and, for the most part, it was phrased in terms of merely stopping the operations of the airport, although some respondents went further:

The people probably would have taken it in their own hands if the airport hadn't closed. It's not just crackpots who feel that way. . . . I know I have felt just like a she-wolf about it. I mean I want to protect my children. And I would, if no action will be taken to move the airport or to improve the situation, I would be willing to go over there with a club.

I was really filled with a good deal of indignation . . . and that indignation, anger, seemed to be principally directed at the airport. The fact that it had not been shut down and there'd been all this resistance to any discontinuation of its operations. I really felt very violent. I had a feeling as if I would like to have a ball bat. Go out there and knock all the windows in. I'm not usually a very violent individual.

Notice that these outbursts by respondents were explicitly tied to their expectation of what the authorities would do. The important thing in regard to these intimations of violence is that, although these respondents were very angry, they were not "looking for a scapegoat."⁷ Their anger was related to a definite purpose—to do something about a dangerous situation. It was focused in a direction to accomplish that purpose, and it was based on a definite contingency: the expectation that the authorities would do nothing to alleviate the danger. They did not become angry first and look for an object later. The anger arose as the affective component in the

process of assessing the situation in a particular way.

Respondents who are blaming contrast strongly with other respondents who think that those responsible will do something to alleviate the situation. The number of blame cases progressively increased from one crash to another. There was only one blame case in the sample interviewed after the first crash, a woman who lived near the airport and had been active in groups fighting for reform on this matter for years. There were six blame cases in the sample interviewed after the second crash, and eleven in the sample interviewed after the third crash. If this reflects a real increase in blaming in the community, all the evidence indicates that the reason for the increase in the extent of blame after the later crashes is that, in the earlier situations, those people who had fully defined the situation felt assured that some action would be taken. Among our respondents, hope began to pale later on, when they saw no indication of the beginnings of proper action. Even after the third crash, though, there were still some respondents who felt that surely the authorities would do something now.

The second condition that must be met before blame occurs is that those responsible must be perceived as violating moral standards, as standing in opposition to basic values. Blame involves setting the blamed apart from other people, and they are set apart on the basis of certain reprehensible characteristics. Action is not enough to do that, since the intent of the action must be evaluated.⁸ Failure of the authorities to take remedial action was not enough in itself, because the meaning of this had to be assessed. In order to evaluate their lack of action, the responsible agents had to be iden-

⁷ A number of respondents stimulated themselves up to quite a pitch when they touched on these points during the course of the interview. However, the point should be made that anger is not necessary to blame. Respondents did blame without apparent anger. The state of anger, as manifested in the interview, resulted from a process of self-stimulation in which the respondent progressively convinced himself of the truth of his observations about those responsible for the situation.

⁸ Corroborating evidence for these ideas comes from the work of Peter McKellar, who emphasized the role of perception and judgment in the development of anger. In a case study of instances of anger and resentment he found that a judgment of malevolent intent on the part of the resented person is essential to the development of hostility ("Provocation to Anger and the Development of Attitudes of Hostility," *British Journal of Psychology*, XL [1950], 104-14).

tified as particular kinds of persons. They were seen as belonging to a class of persons, a designation which carried with it ideas about the characteristics of these persons and the motives which actuate them.⁹ When the class designation involved reprehensible character and motive, the respondents blamed.

Respondents classified those held responsible as "big corporations," "big business," "executives," "big airlines," etc. This carried along the appropriate notions of what kind of people were involved or what kind of policy they would follow. One respondent, for example, classified the PNYA officials as "businessmen and men with money—and the man with money has no regard for the working man." Characteristics ascribed to the agents included being "domineering" and "drunken with power," but the most frequent themes described the agents as callous and unconcerned about human lives. As one respondent put it:

The only time it will strike home to the [high state officials] or to the members of these boards is if it happens where they live. They live in rural areas in big mansions, they don't have to worry about planes, so they don't care how many guys are killed here, or what expansion of the airport's going to do . . . they don't give a damn what happens to the public.

Politicians and public officials, when they were blamed, were described as connected with big-business interests. They were either aligned with them for their own profit or afraid to touch them.

When the agents were described in terms of motives, it was money and profit which were most frequently ascribed. The following are examples of the kind of motive attribution which respondents engaged in:

Some men just believe in terms of money, power, and that's what the PNYA is thinking of today.

⁹ For discussions of motive attribution see C. W. Mills, "Situating Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," *American Sociological Review*, V (1940), 904-13; Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945).

A thing like that really, basically, goes back to a desire for people to save time, and corporations to operate at a profit, and so on, quite regardless of what you might regard the legitimate rights of citizens.

I think they should stop it themselves if it isn't safe . . . but it's the same old battle cry, I guess there is a lot of money made over at Newark airport. Dough makes a lotta noise, you know.

It is this designation of agents as deserving censure by virtue of the characteristics attributed to them which constitutes blame proper. Blame involves condemnation for something, and the something which allows the condemnation to occur is the evaluation of the agents in reprehensible terms. If the agents were not perceived as these kinds of persons, they could not be blamed. All the evidence indicates that it is the respondents' conviction that those responsible will not remedy the situation which sets off this ascription of reprehensible characteristics.

However, there is evidence that the negative evaluations of the agents serves to reinforce and intrench the idea that they will not take steps to prevent a recurrence of the disasters. When the agents are seen in a negative light, then the notion of their intent is firmly established. From the respondents' viewpoint, the agents are failing to take action not for some good reason but because they are the type of persons who would not do the right thing. So the process seems to operate in a spiral fashion, with the attribution of reprehensible characteristics to the agents reinforcing the conviction that they do not intend to do anything, which again leads to further attribution of negative traits and condemnation. There are, then, degrees of blaming, with some respondents being considerably more intense in this behavior than others.

Further evidence indicating the crucial part which evaluation of the agents' intent plays in blame behavior comes from the minority of cases in the sample who positively exonerate the agents from blame. When they are evaluating the fact that no

action has been taken, these respondents bring up various considerations which show that it is not a matter of volition or deliberation on the part of the agents. Instead of separating the agents into a class apart, such a respondent may identify them with other people, or he may attribute positive motives to the agents. If the failure of the agents to take action is evaluated in these positive terms, blame is prevented. It is when the agents are perceived as standing in opposition to basic values that respondents are convinced they have no intention of doing anything about the situation. The blaming process is then under way.

CONCLUSION

The series of conditions eventuating in blame and hostility which we have sought to outline above has been focused on emerging individual definitions of the situation. The social matrix of this behavior has only been

implied. Although the type of interview data we have used is of limited use in studying problems of social interaction, it affords tantalizing glimpses of the social context through which these definitions emerged: avid following of mass media, consultation with friends and acquaintances, circulation of rumors, rhetorical manipulation of social images and cherished values, and the lining-up of opposed groups within the community. These observations suggest that, in addition to testing the adequacy of the formulations presented here, future research might profitably be addressed to developing hypotheses concerning the significant contingencies involved in the interactional processes surrounding the emergence of blame. The interaction should probably be particularly examined with respect to perceptions of power structure and images and expectations of authorities.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

INSPIRATIONAL RELIGIOUS LITERATURE: FROM LATENT TO MANIFEST FUNCTIONS OF RELIGION¹

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ABSTRACT

The very popular inspirational religious literature, sampled for the last seventy-five years, shows pronounced tendencies toward emphasis on salvation in this world, toward general decline of eschatological interest, and toward further secularization in the form of devaluation of suffering and instrumentalization of the deity. This last feature of instrumentalization, in combination with others, serves both to mark the emergence of a distinctive "spiritual technology" in the literature and to stress that its writers incline more or less deliberately to make what have been certain "by-products" of religious activity into "goals." The drive to make religion useful is possibly self-defeating.

The inspirational religious literature is known to be enormously popular. The books of Norman Vincent Peale today, of Bruce Barton a generation ago, and of numerous of their close intellectual relatives and imitators have achieved staggering sales.² Sociologists have left comment on it to journalists or theologians or gifted outsiders.³ But it is of significance for the analy-

sis of "cultural drift," with broad general implications. In this article, a brief survey of the inspirational religious literature and a summary of its dominant trends and themes, attention is given to a special phase which is of considerable sociological import.⁴

The literature is by no means unitary, but strains or trends in it exhibit prominent elements of unity.⁵ Ralph Waldo Trine's *In*

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² A two-page advertisement in the *New York Times Book Review* (April 8, 1956) announces that Peale's *The Power of Positive Thinking*, "the best-loved inspirational book of our times, reaches its 2,000,000 copy anniversary." A generation ago it could be remarked that "few realize that the field of religious books often furnishes the most spectacular and continuing records in book sales. While novelists may vie with each other for records of a hundred thousand, there are continually springing up in the field of religious books titles that go far beyond that, and even into the million" (*Publisher's Weekly*, February 19, 1921, p. 513).

³ See, however, Everett C. Parker, David W. Barry, and Dallas W. Smythe, *The Television-Radio Audience and Religion* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1955), for a sociological analysis of the output of inspirational religion on television and radio in New Haven. Other discussions are: William Lee Miller, "A Passionate Faith in the Great Whatever" (review of Edward R. Murrow's *This I Believe*), *The Reporter*, X (April, 1954), 46-48, and "Some Negative Thinking about Norman Vincent

Peale," *ibid.*, XII (January, 1955), 19-24; and Gustave Weigel, "Protestantism as a Catholic Concern," *Theological Studies*, XVI (June, 1955), 214-32.

Detailed statistical verification of some points made here will be provided in a forthcoming paper, "American Inspirational Religious Literature, 1880-1955."

⁴ It reports part of a study of a sample of over thirty best-sellers published since about 1880.

⁵ Individual writers differ; e.g., there are marked differences between Peale and Harry Emerson Fosdick and between them and Bruce Barton or between all three and British writers who have found a sizable American public, like Harold Begbie, who in *Twice-born Men* (Boston: F. H. Revell, 1909) praised the "inspiration" afforded the poor of the London slums by the Salvation Army more than a generation ago, or like Daphne du Maurier, who ranges herself, in *Come Wind, Come Weather* (New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1940), with the followers of Frank Buchman. Catholic writers, like Bishop Sheen, are in quite a different universe, to which the characterization below will not apply well. This should not, however, suggest that there are no important resemblances between Catholic and other writers; many, for example, share the view that "social salvation" or social reform is to be achieved more or less exclusively through the reform of the

Tune with the Infinite, Bruce Barton's *The Man Nobody Knows*, Henry C. Link's *The Return to Religion*, and Peale's *A Guide to Confident Living* and *The Power of Positive Thinking* suggest for purposes of definition four criteria to which the items of literature should conform: (a) they assume the general validity of the Judeo-Christian religious tradition; (b) they aim to inspire with the hope of salvation here or in an afterlife; (c) they recommend use of techniques to achieve salvation, in whatever sense salvation might be understood; and (d) they address themselves to the "everyday problems" of "everyday people." The books vary in the balance among the four points.

The general validity of the Judeo-Christian tradition is assumed among these works with significant vagueness. Specific theological doctrines, such as of Christ's soteriological mission, or specific theological discussions, as of Christ's status as a member of the Trinity, are hard to find. More likely, there will be found discussion of a transcendent "something" about which a professed theologian could say practically nothing. Daniel Poling confesses, "I began saying in the morning two words, 'I believe'—those two words with nothing added."⁶

The literature also holds forth the hope of some kind of salvation. In the seventy-five years covered in the survey eschatological interest has declined. But, while concern with the next world fades increasingly, salvation comes quite conclusively to mean salvation in this world: release from poverty or handicapping inhibition in personal relations or from ill health or emotional disequilibrium. But salvation in this secular sense is

individual and increased numbers of reformed individuals. Thus, Bishop Sheen, who avers that "world wars are *nothing but* macrocosmic signs of the psychic wars waging inside microcosmic muddled souls" (*Peace of Soul* [New York: PermaBooks, 1954], p. 8) (*italics ours*), allies himself on this point with Daphne du Maurier and Henry C. Link.

⁶Quoted from *Parade: The Sunday Picture Magazine*, September 19, 1954, by Will Herberg, *Protestant—Catholic—Jew* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1956), p. 282.

held forth as a definite hope and even a promise.⁷

The inspirational literature bristles with techniques to attain peace and power which range from putting one's self "in tune with the infinite" by some intuitive twist of the psyche to sensing a deity in the chair by one's bed at night; from reconstructing failures as trifles or even as successes to whispering to one's self a promise of good things to come. These practices, finally, are represented as helpful to ordinary men and women in solving their everyday problems, but this point needs no elaboration here.

Elements of this kind may be found in a variety of other places, for example, in Augustine's *Confessions* or Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. But these documents differ in affirming faith unequivocally. Moreover, the salvation they envisage is not of this world. The ends they set out lack the concrete, tangible quality of such goals as business success or emotional "adjustment," and, consequently, they hardly bristle with the techniques with which the modern literature is filled. True, in a certain sense there is some overlap, as, for instance, in the case of prayer, which is often recommended; but there are obvious differences between devotional prayer and prayer that, not very subtly, is instrumental.⁸ On the other hand, the literature, not only on its own recognizances, is in some sense "religious." Advertisements that promise to add six inches

⁷ So Emmet Fox: "If only you will find out the thing God intends you to do, and will do it, you will find that all doors will open to you; all obstacles in your path will melt away; you will be acclaimed a brilliant success; you will be most liberally rewarded from the monetary point of view; and you will be gloriously happy" (*Power through Constructive Thinking* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1932]), p. 23.

⁸ A qualification rather unusual in the literature is: "Too often the whole value of a prayer is judged by emotional awareness of change in one's inner states, and if one does not feel differently after having prayed, he begins to wonder if there is anything to it." The writer adds, in even more unusual vein, that "to make such a test is to forget that prayer is directed toward God, not toward ourselves" (Georgia Harkness, *Prayer and the Common Life* [Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1948], p. 66).

to the chests of scrawny men are "inspirational" in tone, but they make no pretensions to being religious and cannot qualify as inspirational religious literature.

A dominant trend in the literature through the decades is secularization; for instance, suffering has lost its "meaningfulness" and more and more is described as senseless misery, best gotten rid of. No longer divinely or transcendently significant, suffering figures as a pathological experience calling for a psychiatrist or a minister trained in counseling. Again, the deity as represented in the literature is in process of transformation: his existence in some objective sense is no longer insisted upon, and he often approximates a consciously useful fiction. The "hero" appears more and more as the "well-adjusted" man, who does not question existing social institutions and who, ideally successful both in a business or in professional sense,⁹ feels no emotional pain. Finally, there is a strong bias against the "unscientific" and for equating religion and "science."¹⁰

⁹ Bruce Barton in one strategic sentence sets off two dominant strains in the literature in speaking of the life of Christ: "Stripped of all dogma, this is the grandest achievement story of all" (*The Man Nobody Knows* [Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1925], p. 9). Surprisingly little attention has been given by sociologists to the success theme and the support for it in American religion, especially in view of the leads given by Weber and Tawney. The Reverend Russell H. Conwell's "Acres of Diamonds" speech, with its forthright assertion that "the foundation principles of business success and the foundation principles of Christianity, itself, are both the same" (*Acres of Diamonds* [New York: Modern Eloquence Corp., 1901], pp. 138-68). On p. 148 is a pertinent and well-known item, but Weber would also have been interested in numerous similar items, such as the contention of Mrs. Stetson, the Christian Scientist, that poverty is a form of evil and error, while prosperity is both symbol and consequence of spirituality (see E. S. Bates and J. V. Dittmore, *Mary Baker Eddy: The Truth and the Tradition* [New York: A. A. Knopf, 1932], p. 381).

¹⁰ Perhaps simply an exaggeration of an already fundamental strain in Protestant philosophy of religion and theology (cf. George F. Thomas, *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Arnold S. Nash [New York: Macmillan Co., 1951], pp. 99-100).

In American thought William James,¹¹ in effect, substituted, "I believe because it is useful" for "I believe because it is so"—or even, with Tertullian, "because it is impossible"—an idea which abounds in the inspirational religious literature. Or the best is made of both worlds in a combination such as, "I feel it is absurd; but, since it is useful, I shall insist that it is true." Thus, Henry Link avers, "I believe in God because I have found that without the belief in someone more important than themselves, people fail to achieve their own potential importance." And he adds later: "Agnosticism is an intellectual disease, and faith in fallacies is better than no faith at all."¹² Writers like Harry Emerson Fosdick will go only a certain distance in this direction. Fosdick asserts:

The explanation of the rise of cults like Christian Science and New Thought is obvious. While the old-line churches were largely concerning themselves with dogma, ritual, and organization, multitudes of folk were starving for available spiritual power with which to live. These cults arose to meet this need, and with all their mistaken attitudes . . . they have genuinely served millions of people by *translating religion into terms of power available for daily use*.¹³

But if Fosdick is willing to go only thus far, others are willing to go beyond him. The

¹¹ Cf. his *Varieties of Religious Experience* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902) and *Essays on Faith and Morals* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1949). From James comes, apparently, much of whatever intellectual stock in trade the inspirational literature manifests. "Believe," he says, at one point, "that life is worth living, and your belief will help create the fact" (*Essays on Faith and Morals*, p. 31). However, the literature, taking the stance that "faith is the answer," hardly bothers with instances in which the most devoted faith has not brought emotional calm or brought it only after long struggle, such as are often found in James.

¹² *The Return to Religion* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1936), pp. 34, 63. This may also be simply an exaggeration of trends found throughout American Protestantism (cf. Willard L. Sperry, *Religion in America* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1947], pp. 153-54).

¹³ *As I See Religion* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1932), pp. 17-18 (italics ours).

literature consistently emphasizes "God-power" as divine flow into men, sustaining and aiding them in some materially useful sense to the point where the deity often becomes simply a psychological device. The strain toward instrumentalization is so strong in Peale, for example, that one must by inference from his work assign to God as a primary function the dispensing of divine vitamins to men eager for health and wealth.

A kind of spiritual technology has also been developed, inseparable, of course, from the instrumental element. Standard religious procedures like prayer are constantly recommended, although often with a characteristic twist, as in Peale when he urges: "Learn to pray correctly, scientifically. Employ tested and proven methods. Avoid slipshod praying."¹⁴ Self-exhortation, another frequently suggested procedure, undoubtedly has affinities with more "classical" religious procedures, for example: "I believe," "Christ is with me," "In everything I do God helps," "I cannot lose." Again, stress is placed on special psychic states, perhaps with physical props simultaneously suggested—for example, a state of receptivity to "God-power." A notable set of recommendations depends upon converting spiritual principles into magic. Thus, as in some of the work of Lloyd Douglas, which is frequently only a fictional transcript of inspirational religious literature, he who gives without letting anyone know it is repaid a thousand fold, both magically and materially; he becomes a great success. An outcome not only of impossible physics but—in the light of the principle, "cast your bread upon the waters" and cognate exhortations—of a dubious spirituality, this can be described as spiritual technology.

Other trends include, as the quotation above from Fosdick illustrates, a definitely antiritualistic,¹⁵ antidogmatic, anti-institutional (antiorganizational) strain. The stress is most emphatically on religious "experience" as might be expected.

¹⁴ *A Guide to Confident Living* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 114.

In marking the transition from latent to manifest functions of religion, one must distinguish between a *primary* and a *secondary* religious sequence. A good enough text for the primary sequence is afforded by the biblical prescription and promise, "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things shall be added unto you." "Faith" is thus urged, but it is urged as primary; its possible "fruits" are only hinted at. The notion that Job might have been seeking to be "well adjusted" simply on the basis of the Book of Job is incongruous. The primary religious sequence may be roughly rendered, then, as follows: Faith → Action → "Results" (for example, emotional equanimity).¹⁶

But the modern inspirational literature more or less deliberately reverses this sequence. It starts from the observation (here assumed to be correct) that what is loosely called "faith" *can* bring about "peace of mind" and cognate desired ends. It does not, so to say, start with "the Kingdom of God," that is, with what may be called "classical" religious belief, because the belief is thought to be *true*. (Of course, it may incidentally hold out for the truth of such doctrine as it happens to retain.) It relies on a secondary sequence that begins with a projection or presentation of the desirability of all manner of "good things," mainly wealth and emotional or physical health. This secondary sequence becomes, then, "Results" (in prospect) → Action → Faith (or, possibly, also "Results" → Faith → Action), "action" being largely on the lines of spiritual technology. The modern spiritual technology may in a number of ways be a substitute for

¹⁵ Cf., e.g., E. Stanley Jones: "Nothing is essential but God, and no rite or ceremony is essential in finding him" (*The Christ of Every Road* [Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1930], p. 150).

¹⁶ An anthropologically or psychologically simplistic view is not being suggested. If "faith" can lead to "action," under "action" including ritual or ceremonial behavior, there is no implication that this is a *necessary* sequence. It is quite possible for "action" to reinforce "faith" or for each to reinforce the other. Moreover, it is not suggested that a *necessary* outcome of "faith" is "peace of mind"; merely that this is *sometimes* the outcome.

older religious ritual. If it is acknowledged that at times, when men have believed sincerely and devotedly, serenity or calm has come to them, it has clearly often come as a *by-product*. Serenity, calm, and the like have been latent functions of religious faith and devotion. It is not necessary to claim that they have been *unqualifiedly* latent; differences of degree may well be crucial. But the inspirational religious literature makes these latent functions of religion manifest and pursues them as aims.

The shift from latent to manifest raises the question: Can the same "results" be obtained? A task facing sociological theory is the classification and explanation of cases in which the transition has different kinds of results. If, say, factory workers can be inspired by a demonstration of the full nature and final uses of the product to which their seemingly disjointed individual efforts have led, it does not follow that an analogous service will always be performed by a demonstration to the religious that their efforts to "find God" afford them "peace of mind." Nor is there any reason to think that faith will be enhanced if it is also shown, directly or by implication, that gaining peace of mind is the point of religious practice in the first place. Here, too, differences of degrees are important. That the inspirational religious literature does not always make an outright and unqualified shift from latent to manifest but often stops short of an uninhibited assertion that the *object* of faith is to attain power or peace of mind is of sociological interest.

But the sheer fact that there has been a shift on the lines indicated is easily documented and, for that matter, not only in the inspirational religious literature. Thus, Marshall Sklare notes a similar development in Conservative Judaism:

According to tradition, the Jew should observe the Sabbath because it is God's will that he do so. In appealing for a reinvigoration of the holiday, Conservatism, however, speaks in terms of *social utility*—in this case the potential contribution of observance to better mental health. Only secondarily is it suggested that the

Sabbath may have something more than therapeutic significance, and, furthermore, no Divine sanctions are inferred. The performance of a religious obligation becomes a technique for achieving personality adjustment.¹⁷

Thus, curiously, the religious begin to look on their own activity in the manner of functionally oriented sociologists and psychologists. The question is whether, in doing so, they do not endanger the religious function; or perhaps these are all signs that faith has already lapsed, the efforts to exhibit its virtues being proof. In this connection it is pertinent to look back to a recent paper by William Kolb, who poses a "moral dilemma" for sociologists of religion who affirm the "integrating" function and necessity of belief in ultimates while themselves holding that belief to be illusory:

To spread the idea that a belief in ultimate validity of values is necessary but illusory would be to destroy society through destroying or confusing this belief. Yet to urge people to accept the idea that there is an ontic realm of values while believing oneself that such an idea is false is deliberately to deprive people of the knowledge necessary for their freedom and dignity.¹⁸

Many of the purveyors of inspirational religion may represent a kind of halfway house. At one extreme we would find followers of the "old-time religion," unreserved believers that their creed has objective validity, who, at times, incidentally reap material benefits from it. At another extreme, are "positivistic" functional sociologists, quite prepared to find religion increasing the solidarity of the group, drawing the deviant individual back to it, and so on,

¹⁷ *Conservative Judaism* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 121–122. Sklare also quotes from a wall poster that avers the Sabbath has afforded the Jew "a blessed opportunity for personality adjustment" and the opportunity, furthermore, "to preserve our psychological, physical, and spiritual equilibrium" amid the tensions of daily stress (*ibid.*, p. 122).

¹⁸ W. L. Kolb, "Values, Positivism, and the Functional Theory of Religion: The Growth of a Moral Dilemma," *Social Forces*, XXXI (May, 1953), 309.

while unconvinced themselves. Inspirational religion is somewhere between these extremes, somewhat fluctuating and unsure, yet with a powerful instrumental bent. Faith, again, is "the answer"—enjoined in the first instance not because the religious content that it affirms is above all "true," but just because it is "the answer." The concentration on "the answer," the results, already half-suggests an "illusion."

The presumed primary "truth," put into the background from the very absence of attention to it, becomes the more dubious the less stress it receives and the vaguer it gets. The impulse to make religion "useful" is understandable, but the deliberate effort to do so may be self-defeating.

PURDUE UNIVERSITY
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MILITARY EXPERIENCE AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY¹

DONALD T. CAMPBELL AND THELMA H. McCORMACK

ABSTRACT

The effect of military experience on attitudes toward authority was measured by testing a group of Air Force cadets in their first week of training and again one year later and by comparing populations with varying periods of military experience. Contrary to expectation, authoritarianism and orientation toward superiors decrease with increasing military experience. The principal measures used were the *F*-scale measure of authoritarian personality trends and a test of leadership knowledge, scored for orientation toward superiors or subordinates.

The focus of this study is changes in attitudes of Air Force officers toward authority as a function of amount of training and military service. In all, five different instruments and five different populations have been used. These data are treated as two studies, the first and most important being a retest study; the second, a comparison of populations varying in amount of military service.

The major hypothesis with which the study began was that military experience produces authoritarian attitudes. Since presumably the military situation is more rigidly hierarchical and authoritarian than the homes, schools, and jobs from which the military personnel were drawn, and since human beings usually accommodate themselves to environment, one would expect to find that those with the greater military experience most readily accept the hierarchical exercise of authority. The fact that the men under study had voluntarily sought officer status should further insure their conformity to authority.

A minor hypothesis, still better buttressed by accumulated findings, was that among the officer cadets of the retest study, as time passes, attitudes become more homogeneous. At the end of the year of train-

ing the homogeneity of environment and recent experience among them was much greater, of course, than at the time of the initial testing when they were freshly assembled, a fact which could be expected to bring about a similarity in attitudes. During the year, too, the cadets had grown into a face-to-face group, a circumstance that has repeatedly been found to produce increased consensus.

THE RETEST STUDY

The data were collected through group-administered questionnaires. The population was initially tested at Lackland Air Force Base, Texas, in January, 1953, during the first week of pilot cadet preflight training. The second testing was conducted at nine advanced flight-training schools during February and March, 1954. Four research instruments were involved.

The F-scale.—The best-known measure of attitudes toward authority is the *F*-scale measure of authoritarian personality trends.² Its use reflects neither conviction as to its validity nor neglect of the distinction between attitudes toward authority per se and authoritarian personality trends. However, the general claims for the instrument are such as to make it appropriate as an object

¹ This study was supported in part by the United States Air Force under contract No. AF 18(600)-170 monitored by the Crew Research Laboratory, Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center, Randolph Air Force Base, Randolph Field, Texas. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication, use, and disposal in whole and in part by or for the United States government.

² T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswik, Daniel J. Levinson, and R. Nevitt Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950), chap. vii, pp. 222-79. For evaluation and a review of more recent literature see Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda, *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

of inquiry. Twenty items³ were used, with five levels of response ranging from "Strongly agree" to "Strongly disagree," scored dichotomously to lessen the effect of response sets.⁴

Surprisingly enough, this test not only fails to confirm the hypothesis of increased authoritarianism but actually produces a highly significant opposite effect. The mean number of items answered in the authoritarian direction by the 146 cadets in the 1953 testing was 11.7. In 1954 the mean had dropped to 10.7, giving a *t* ratio of 3.65, significant by a two-tailed test at the .0004 level. (A test-retest correlation of .65 helps the small apparent difference achieve significance.) The second hypothesis fares almost as poorly: the variability of the scores within the group showed an increase from a standard deviation of 3.7 in 1953 to one of 3.9 in 1954. This difference does not achieve statistical significance.

In view of the heterogeneous and highly inferential nature of the *F*-scale, more tangible information on the basic level of attitudes for the group and the nature of the change can perhaps come from inspecting trends of individual items. Of the twenty items, fifteen resembled the total score in showing a decrease in authoritarianism. The most extreme shifts were on the following items (the percentages are for the total of the two agreement responses, "Strongly agree" and "Agree"):

People can be divided into two distinct classes, the weak and the strong [28 to 14 per cent].

³ Items used were: Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, pp. 255-57 (items numbered 1, 2, 6, 9, 13, 19, 21, 23, 26, 27, 31, 34, 38, 41, 42, 43), p. 248 (item 44), p. 235 (item 55), and p. 238 (item 67).

⁴ Lee J. Cronbach, "Response Sets and Test Validity," *Educational and Psychological Measurement*, VI (1946), 475-94, and "Further Evidence on Response Sets and Test Design," *ibid.*, X (1950), 3-31. The undecided category was placed with whichever of the "agrees" or the "disagrees" gave the more even split. The reliability of the test thus scored was .70 in 1953 and .73 in 1954. This is a type of internal consistency coefficient, computed by formula 11 in Harold Gulliksen, *Theory of Mental Tests* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1950), p. 224.

No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative [66 to 50 per cent].

Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places [43 to 37 per cent].

It is essential for learning or effective work that our teachers or bosses outline in detail what is to be done and exactly how to go about it [40 to 28 per cent].

These changes, while interesting, may seem to have little to do with attitudes toward authority. The *F*-scale was initially designed as an indirect measure of antiminority attitudes and presumably is also indirect if employed as a measure of attitudes toward authority. Some of the items do have more manifest authority content than does the above sample. However, on these other items the shifts were not individually statistically significant although predominantly in the same direction.

These findings being in direct opposition to the *a priori* consideration, it is well to bring into consideration the one other relevant research with the *F*-scale. Christie tested a group of new infantrymen prior to and after six weeks of basic training.⁵ For the group as a whole there was no significant shift, although one subgroup of 55 showed an increase of marginal significance. The difference in levels of confidence and length of time involved as well as in other details of setting makes his findings neither clearly support the *a priori* hypothesis nor clearly contradict the present data.

The Leadership Knowledge Test.—The second test, a multiple-choice information test,⁶ contained 77 items based upon recent research in the field of leadership and supervision. The instructions were as follows:

The questions on this test are taken from the findings of scientific research on problems of

⁵ Richard Christie, "Changes in Authoritarianism as Related to Situational Factors," *American Psychologist*, VII (1952), 307-8.

⁶ More detailed information on it is provided in Fred L. Damarin and Donald T. Campbell, "Measuring Leadership Attitudes through an Information Test" (manuscript submitted for publication).

leadership. You are not expected to have read these research reports but by using your experience and common sense knowledge about principles of leadership, you will be able to pick the right answer to many of these questions. Some persons will do much better than others on this test, because of their experience in leadership or because of their better understanding of leadership problems.

The topics touched on were selected to elicit the expression of an orientation favoring pressure from superiors rather than from subordinates where there is a clash; in addition to the correct answer, the items offered other possibilities. While the test could be scored for accuracy, the principal interest was in the direction of the choices, for it was intended as an indirect test of attitudes,⁷ or as a deliberate effort to follow Myrdal's suggestion to measure valuation by the analysis of belief.⁸ Scored for expression of attitude, it provided an internal consistency reliability of .59 in 1953 and .61 in 1954 for the 124 persons tested on both occasions. While lower than the values for the *F*-scale and for the usual direct attitude test, these values are reasonably high as indirect tests of attitudes. While the question is not usually asked, it may be of interest to note that, following Hoyt's analysis,⁹ a reliability value as low as .36 would be significant here beyond the .001 level. The correlation of the score from one year to the next was .43.

The mean attitude score on the Leadership Knowledge Test was 37.6 in 1953 and 36.0 in 1954. The *t* ratio for the difference is 2.54, significant at the .01 level. The standard deviation was 6.1 in 1953 and 6.2 in 1954; the difference is not significant. Thus, as for the *F*-scale, this test fails to support either of the *a priori* expectations and also shows a significant decrease in orientation toward superiors. A sample illustrates this general trend.

⁷ Donald T. Campbell, "The Indirect Assessment of Social Attitudes," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLVII (1950), 15-38.

⁸ Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma* (2 vols.; New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), II, 1136-39.

GENERAL TRAITS ASSOCIATED WITH LEADERSHIP¹⁰

The following questions are based on a summary of a number of studies of the characteristics of leaders in many different situations. Certain traits seem to characterize leaders in so many different situations that they may be called general traits for leadership. You are asked to use your judgment and experience to decide which of several possible traits are most likely to go with being a leader.

- | | | |
|---|------|------|
| 1. Comparing leaders and followers in several situations, the leaders are: | 1953 | 1954 |
| A. generally older than other members of the group..... | 65 | 52 |
| B. generally younger than other members of the group..... | 0 | 1 |
| C. sometimes older and sometimes younger. (correct)..... | 35 | 47 |
| 2. Leaders are: | 1953 | 1954 |
| A. likely to come from a higher social and economic background than their followers (correct).... | 37 | 20 |
| B. likely to come from a lower social and economic background than their followers..... | 4 | 28 |
| C. likely to come from the same social and economic background as their followers..... | 59 | 52 |

LEADERSHIP IN DIFFERENT TYPES OF GROUPS¹¹

Individual members of 500 different groups were asked to describe what the group was like, how the leader of the group behaved and how effective he was as a leader. A wide variety of groups was studied, including football teams, private clubs, army platoons, section gangs, etc. The study was designed to show how effective leaders acted in different kinds of groups. There was the expectation that to some extent at least, what was good leadership in one situation might not be in another.

In all of the following questions, assume that the leader is rated as *poor* or *very bad* by the members of the group.

⁹ C. Hoyt, "Test Reliability Obtained by Analysis of Variance," *Psychometrika*, VI (1941), 153-60.

¹⁰ Ralph M. Stogdill, "Personality Factors Associated with Leadership: A Survey of the Literature," *Journal of Psychology*, XXV (1948), 35-71.

¹¹ John K. Hemphill, *Situational Factors in Leadership* (Bureau of Educational Research Monographs, No. 32 [Columbus: Ohio State University, 1950]).

1. In a <i>very small group</i> the poor leader is:	1953	1954
A. more likely to be described as "enjoying ruling the roost" than "letting other members get the better of him".....	49	61
B. more likely to be described as "letting the other members get the better of him" than "enjoying ruling the roost" (correct)....	48	30
C. no difference.....	3	9
2. In a group that is <i>part of a larger organisation</i> the poor leader is:	1953	1954
A. more likely to be described as "breaking the rules that he wouldn't let others break" than "allowing exceptions to the rules" (correct).....	52	70
B. more likely to be described as "allowing exceptions to the rules" than "breaking rules he wouldn't let others break".....	37	26
C. no difference.....	11	4

Direct attitude items.—Twenty-four items were designed to elicit a direct expression of orientation to either superior or subordinate. They were not a homogeneous set. With 146 cases the internal consistency reliability was .31 in 1953 and only .05 in 1954. The test-retest correlation was only .24. The mean superior-orientation score was 11.1 in both years, and the standard deviation likewise was constant at 2.3. Taken collectively, then, these items show no trends, and the internal consistency data argue against it. However, some individual items do show significant shifts. Some items were worded in the direction of superior orientation and others toward the subordinate. Four subordinate-oriented items showed a significant decrease in indorsement:

For an officer preparing for wartime conditions, the most important consideration is winning the loyalty of his men [84 to 66 per cent].

In the long run, the officer does best who looks out for the interests of his men above all else [75 to 53 per cent].

Most businesses and military units would be run a lot more efficiently if the managers listened more to what the underlings had to say [64 to 54 per cent].

The average commanding officer gets humored and protected too much by his subordinates [44 to 37 per cent].

There was significant increase in the frequency of indorsement of one subordinate-oriented item:

The average junior officer is too much worried about what his superior officers think of him [66 to 78 per cent].

The trends of these items do not support the trends of the first two tests: in part they seem to reflect a decrease in the indorsement of pious platitudes. It is noteworthy that no items worded in the superior-oriented direction showed a significant shift in either direction, nor did those expressed as multiple choices. The specificity of the changes to this one wording and the absence of changes in total score make it hazardous to generalize on the basis of the apparent content of the items.

Sentence-completion test.—A few data on a sentence-completion test are introduced both to extend the available data and to make possible comparison of the method with that used in Adams' study which will be discussed below.¹² For 48 cadets, repeat-test responses were available on a twenty-four-item sentence-completion test, designed to measure superior-subordinate orientation.¹³ Sentence stems such as the following are characteristic:

He liked to be with a leader who. . . .

He felt the men over him were. . . .

He thought the men under him were. . . .

The average enlisted man. . . .

Raters scored the responses on a five-point superior-subordinate orientation scale, with an interjudge reliability of .89. The internal consistency reliability was .69. The test-retest correlation for the 48 cadets was only .12. The mean score was 2.90 for 1953 and 2.89 for 1954. This difference was not sig-

¹² Stuart Adams, "Social Climate and Productivity in Small Military Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 421-25.

¹³ Leroy S. Burwen, Jerry Kidd, and Donald T. Campbell, "The Use of a Sentence Completion Test in Measuring Attitudes toward Superiors and Subordinates," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XL (1956), 248-50.

nificant, nor was there a significant difference in variability.

COMPARISON OF POPULATIONS

In the earlier study most directly relevant to the present inquiry, Adams compared responses of bomber officers of "old" and "new" crews to a sentence-completion test designed to measure equalitarian-authoritarian attitudes.¹⁴ He found the old crews significantly more authoritarian than the new. So confident was he that military experience makes for authoritarianism that he presented this as evidence of the validity of the test. His argument necessarily assumes that the crews are comparable except for length of service—that differences cannot be attributed to differential recruitment, differential indoctrination, or selective retention. Yet his old crews were made up of Air Force career men, while the new were reservists, recalled for the Korean emergency after five years of civilian life. The officers of the new crews were probably older, on the average, than those of the old and probably had seen more combat duty in World War II. In the face of contrary data, Adams' comparison does not seem adequately enough controlled to be interpreted with confidence. Some population comparisons are also available for instruments of the present study and are at least as relevant to the relationship of military experience to authoritarian attitudes as Adams' data.

The cadets are significantly more authoritarian than males in introductory psychology courses at Northwestern University. This is true (at the .001 level) on the *F*-scale, on an improved version of the direct superior-subordinate orientation scale, and on the Leadership Knowledge Test. In the 1954 testing the instructors of the cadets were also tested and found to be less authoritarian than the cadets on the *F*-scale ($p < .05$), not significantly different on the Leadership Knowledge Test, and more superior-oriented on the improved direct superior-subordinate orientation scale ($p < .001$). The instructors were more superior-oriented than

the Northwestern men on all three measures ($p < .001$).

For the Leadership Knowledge Test alone, comparisons are available with a population of Air Force majors and lieutenant colonels, tested in classes at the Air University, where they were assigned for advanced study. These two groups scored the most subordinate-oriented of any of the populations. The colonels were significantly less superior-oriented than the majors ($p < .01$) and the Northwestern men ($p < .001$). The majors were significantly less superior-oriented than the cadets and their instructors ($p < .0001$).

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG MEASURES

At the present stage of knowledge the social scientist is likely to assume that all attempts to measure what he considers a homogeneous area of attitudes are equivalent until proved otherwise. Thus Adams¹⁵ assumes without any evidence that the *F*-scale as used by Christie¹⁶ and the sentence-completion test employed by himself are comparable and interchangeable. The present study offers some evidence on this point.

Owing to the shortness of testing time, not all cadets received all tests, and the number of cases available for correlation between tests is less than that available for internal analyses. Thus, of the 146 who took the *F*-scale twice, and of the 124 who repeated on the Leadership Knowledge Test, there were only 40 who had had both tests both times. For these cases the correlation between the two tests was .48 in 1953 and but .14 in 1954. This drop in correlation was also found in the larger populations from which the matched cases were taken—from a value of .31 ($N = 259$) in 1953 to .18 ($N = 443$) in 1954, the latter value being equal to that found for the Northwestern University men. It should be noted that, while low, the .18 value in 1954 is nonetheless significant at the .001 level. The direct items on attitude in the test-retest study

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Op. cit.*

¹⁴ *Op. cit.*

showed no significant correlation with any other measure. The expanded direct test of superior-subordinate orientation, used in the population comparisons, correlated .06 with the *F*-scale and .37 with the Leadership Knowledge Test score, for a combined population of cadets and instructors. The sentence-completion test in the 1954 cadet population showed a correlation of .01 with the *F*-scale, .27 with the Leadership Knowledge Test score, and .32 with the direct test of superior-subordinate orientation.

Thus, while there is some evidence of low positive correlation among the measures, there is no homogeneity such as to justify treating all the measures as symptoms of a single attitude syndrome.

Does military experience lead to authoritarian and superior-oriented attitudes? The difficulty in interpreting the findings of this and other studies is in part due to the differences in instruments and populations and in the trend of individual items. One longs for the seeming certainty of the single-instrument, two-application type of study. Here, however, in spite of the many inconsistencies, some general conclusions can be stated.

The two initial hypotheses have received almost no support and much direct contradiction. Longer experience in the Air Force has not led to increased authoritarianism. Longer experience as a face-to-face group and more homogeneity of environment have evidently not led to increased consensus or homogeneity. Previous expectations and partial findings along these lines are in error as tested against the present data, which, for all their faults, are the most adequate yet available.

Certain other conclusions can be stated. Air Force cadets and their instructors, who are of the lower officer ranks, are clearly more authoritarian and superior-oriented on all three measures than the sample of college men of comparable age. Furthermore, these differences must be primarily a matter of recruitment of the Air Force personnel from the more authoritarian segments of the population, inasmuch as military indoctrination

and experience seem to have no such effect. Such a difference in recruitment may very well have been absent during World War II. If so, this would provide an explanation for both Adams' findings and our own comparison of the cadets and instructors with the higher Air Force officers. If, in addition, promotion boards tend to select the less authoritarian officers, presumably not directly but through selecting intelligent and well-liked men,¹⁷ a sampling explanation is provided for some of the differences within the Air Force, although the explanation is not appropriate for the test-retest findings.

For the test-retest findings certain hypotheses rival each other, owing to the non-experimental nature of the study. Thus the differences found could be due to the fact of retesting per se. For example, on intelligence tests, a retest shows an average increase of 3 to 5 points, even though correct answers are not given. Owing to the long period of time, the great stability shown on many items, and the absence of uniform shifts, this competing explanation is not acceptable to us. More serious is the possibility of a shift in conditions of test administration and in attitudes toward taking the tests. The initial testing was done as a part of a larger schedule of experimental testing which took up a good part of the first week of cadet duty. While the men knew they had been accepted for cadet training, they were told at the beginning of the week that the test scores would be a part of their records. The second testing, too, was compulsory for the cadets, but it was more clearly a research rather than an administrative procedure, and, moreover, it came near the completion of flying training when the major sources of anxiety were focused on flying performance rather than on the more bureaucratic aspects of military life. Hollander has shown that the *F*-scale responses of a group of Naval Aviation cadets were significantly more authoritarian when they deliberately

¹⁷ Christie and Jahoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-72, and E. P. Hollander, "Authoritarianism and Leadership Choice in a Military Setting," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIX (1954), 365-70.

attempted to make a "good" score on the test, assuming it to be a test of military leadership potential.¹⁸ In the present study such an effect, if present, would make the results of the initial testing more authoritarian than those of the second. While this explanation cannot be ruled out, we do not believe it valid. First of all, it does not explain the congruent findings in the comparisons of the populations. Second, distortion pressures in the first testing would seemingly be greatest for those items of the direct attitude scale which dealt with deference to superiors; yet, by and large, these items showed no differences. Furthermore, many of the shifts in individual items do not plausibly follow from the assumption of a desire to "fake good" on the first administration.

The *F*-scale shows decreased authoritarianism with greater military experience in both of the two comparisons available: in the retesting of the cadets after one year in the service and in the comparison between the cadets and their more experienced instructors. But this need not be interpreted as a shift in attitudes toward authority. Initially the *F*-scale was designed as an indirect measure of attitudes toward minorities and took the form of a collection of attitudes symptomatic of ethnocentrism in general for which the term "authoritarian" became a label. The appropriateness of the label and the proper interpretation of the scores must in the long run be discovered on the basis of the correlations found with other variables. So far, two major dependable correlates of the *F*-scale have emerged: the *F*-scale will apparently correlate with any measure of hostility to outgroups; and it correlates consistently, to a level as high as $-.50$, with measures of education, sophistication, and test intelligence.¹⁹ Lacking any evidence that it correlates with independent measures of authoritarianism, it would seem just as legitimate to say that the cadets during their first year had increased in sophistication as to say they had become less authoritarian. Inspection of the individual

items increases the plausibility of this latter interpretation.

On the leadership-knowledge indirect measure of attitudes, data are available for the retested cadets and for a range of comparable populations which, likewise, show a considerable consistency. The cadets over the year became less superior-oriented. Among the Air Force populations the four groups rank in amount of military experience from least to most in this order: cadets, instructors, majors, lieutenant colonels. Among the three adjacent-step comparisons, there is a significant drop in superior orientation between two, and no significant difference, either way, for the comparison of cadet with instructor. The bulk of these data thus agree in trend with the *F*-scale data. Inspection of the shifts in individual items does not lend credence to interpreting the change as due to growing sophistication. No correlations of the test with intelligence or educational level are available to assist in assessing the hypothesis.

If experience in the Air Force has any effect upon general attitudes toward authority, it is to make them less authoritarian. In view of the discrepancy between this conclusion and what we take to be the prediction of social scientists in general, we have been reluctant to state this as a conclusion. Instead, we have introduced such rival hypotheses as recruitment differences, shifts in conditions of testing, and increased sophistication. But very possibly the apparent shift is real: possibly it is wrong to assume that the military situation is more authoritarian than civilian organizations of comparable size. Speier has persuasively argued such a case.²⁰ Certainly, in the arbitrary exercise of power by one person over others, the military is less authoritarian than many civilian organizations. And the freedom of a subordinate to criticize a superior, or to bypass his immediate superior in appealing to higher authority, is greater in the military

¹⁸ Hollander, *op. cit.*

¹⁹ Christie and Jahoda, *op. cit.*, pp. 167-82.

²⁰ Hans Speier, "The American Soldier and the Sociology of Military Organization," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier,"* ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950).

than in many industries. A rational, legalistic bureaucracy offers protection against arbitrary exploitation of authority as well as machinery for the enforcement of legally constituted decisions. The bulk of military law designed to protect subordinates against the arbitrary use of power is probably as voluminous as the law insuring obedience to command.

But one need not go so far as to make such a case for the total military establishment. Our data come from special settings and are possibly unique. The cadets during the one-year period under observation occupied the status of students: they had not yet taken their place in the hierarchy; they had no real command over an echelon of subordinates, except as synthesized by the assignment of cadet ranks among themselves. Their important relationships were with their officer-instructors and their peers. In proximity, number and power, peer relationships were more important than they would be in most military settings. In a year of such experience the changes may not represent military experience in general or a year's experience as an intermediate member of a military hierarchy in particular. And for the advanced officer in the Air Force there may likewise be stronger peer pressures than is typical. The Air Force, in contrast with the other services, has a high proportion of officers, for many of whom, particularly at higher echelons, the great bulk of working contacts are with other officers. In the absence of a thorough sociological analysis, one may judge that these contacts are less affected by considerations of formal rank and authority than are working relationships involving officers and enlisted men or those among enlisted personnel. Thus, perhaps, in other military settings the expected findings would hold. But, until such research is done, the present findings should give caution to our generalizations.

EPILOGUE ON AN IDEAL DESIGN

The interpreting of time and group differences found in the present and related studies has been hampered by serious lacks

in the control of extraneous factors. Perhaps ideally one should have had a true experiment in which equated groups were assigned by lot to various military and civilian life experiences and their attitudes compared after an appropriate period of time. But such an experiment not only is unfeasible but would not even then be ideal, as the experimental assignment would inevitably be obvious to the participants and as such would be so special a source of resentment and self-consciousness as to preclude generalization to the normal.

The true experiment demands the power to control the "to whom" and "when" of the experimental variable and the "to whom" and "when" of the process of observation or measurement. Typically, in the field the social scientist is limited to control over the "to whom" and "when" being measured. But, even with this limited control, he can create quasi-experiments far better than are usually achieved or aspired to. Consideration of the imperfections of the comparisons in the present and related studies have implied there are models of more ideal comparisons, and it seems appropriate to make these explicit as one product of the present investigation. Limiting ourselves to two testing periods one year apart, and combining the "longitudinal" and "cross-sectional" approaches employed haphazardly in the present study, we achieve the following design:

GROUP	TESTING PERIODS	
	1957	1958
1957 Inductees, sample <i>a</i>	Test ¹	Test ³
1957 Inductees, sample <i>b</i>	.....	Test ⁴
1956 Inductees.....	Test ²	.....
1958 Inductees.....	.....	Test ⁵

The intended comparisons and controls are as follows: The 1957 Inductees, sample *a*, are tested when first assembled (Test¹) and one year later (Test³). The difference found, if any, could be attributed to the effects of taking the test twice. To check this, equivalent sample *b* is selected in 1957 but not tested until 1958. If the samples are random equivalents and of sufficient size, the Test¹-Test⁴ comparison is as valid a

measure of change as the Test¹-Test³ comparison and should confirm it. But a change thus established, over and above any test-retest effect, still has multiple interpretations. Rather than a result of the intervening military experience, it could be the result of more general historical events unique to that year, such as the onset or cessation of a war. In the design are two "cross-sectional" comparisons in which groups of different amounts of military experience are tested at the same point in history. If the comparisons of Test¹ with Test² and of Test⁴ with Test⁵ confirm the difference found between Test¹ and Test⁴, such extraneous causes are ruled out. Similarly, replication of the "cross-sectional" comparison at two different times, plus the confirmation of the findings in the longitudinal comparison (Test¹ versus Test³), rules out explanation in terms of shifts in the recruitment of inductees. The Test¹ versus Test³ comparison likewise makes it possible to rule out an explanation of cross-sectional differences as due to the selective survival of persons with certain attitudes.

Thus, without more extensive comparison of groups or times than employed in the present study, and with no experimental rearrangement of the careers of the personnel, something much closer to experimentation could be obtained. The difference lies in the deliberate planning of the collection of data to approximate experimental control. The technique involves applying jointly the longitudinal and the cross-sectional procedures already used separately.

One other set of comparisons is seriously needed. A difference in attitudes confirmed in the three appropriate comparisons above might still be attributed to a general maturational process occurring in most young men of these ages. While the design could have firmly established the difference as a

change in the attitudes of persons, there is in the design no justification for attributing the change specifically to the military experience. For this purpose, samples of civilians of comparable age and socioeconomic background and representative for the age group as far as non-military occupation was concerned should be tested in a parallel design. Since studies over time in college and high-school situations would not suffice alone, this aspect of the design could be the most expensive.

Because such a study would avoid the arbitrary disruption of individuals' lives required in a true experiment, it probably would provide a better base for generalization than would a true experiment, even if the latter were possible. At the same time, it is not a true experiment and, as a result, has certain residual uncertainties of interpretation. The military inductees and their civilian age-mates are not random selections from the same universe. Differential recruitment can manifest itself, for one thing, as a "main" effect. This would be shown by initial differences in the test scores and could be discovered and partially corrected for in the present design. But, even if there were no initial differences, interaction might affect recruitment, so that one group was more susceptible to change in a given direction or more responsive to certain experiences, etc. Such effects of interaction seem extremely unlikely, but, if they were to exist, the suggested compromise experiment would not reveal them or distinguish them from a main effect of a year's military experience. However, this limitation should not be allowed to distract attention from the great gains in precision of inference.

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PREFERENCES IN SIZE OF FAMILY AND EVENTUAL FERTILITY TWENTY YEARS AFTER

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ABSTRACT

Assumptions frequently made as to the value for purposes of prediction of stated preferences in size of family and the reliability of the recall of original preferences are called into serious question. Data collected from a small panel of couples married nearly twenty years and living together reveal that, although the estimate from the initial average preference to the eventual aggregate number of children of the whole group is fairly accurate, the correlation between the two variables is quite low. The high level of accuracy of the aggregate prediction appears to be a statistical artifact resulting from the sample proportions of couples who planned all pregnancies and those who did not. Recall of originally stated preferences after passage of time and intervening experience reveals considerable error, associated with both success in planning and actual size of family.

In recent years research on preferences in size of family has assumed increased significance for the study of differential fertility. As familiarity with effective techniques of family planning spreads throughout a population, the number of children born becomes increasingly a function of the number of children wanted. This is evident in recent interview data secured from specified samples of respondents such as the Indianapolis Study of Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility,¹ the British Royal Commission research,² and other studies.³ In the United States in a number of investigations recently completed or in process, considerable attention has been devoted to the prob-

lem of determining preferences in size of family and of assessing their significance for actual fertility.⁴ Similar studies have also

³ Some of these studies are summarized in Muhsam and Kiser, *op. cit.*, and in Robert G. Potter, "A Critique of the Glass-Grebenik Model for Indirectly Estimating Desired Family Size," *Population Studies*, IX (March, 1956), 251-70.

⁴ See R. Freedman and H. Sharp, "Correlates of Values about Ideal Family Size in the Detroit Metropolitan Area," *Population Studies*, VIII (July, 1954), 35-45; R. Freedman, D. Goldberg, and H. Sharp, "'Ideals' about Family Size in the Detroit Metropolitan Area, 1954," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXIII (April, 1955), 187-97; and R. Gutman, "College Men and the Birth Rate—25 Years After," *Journal of Heredity*, XIII (November-December, 1951), 285-87. See also the results of polls conducted by the American Institute of Public Opinion in "The Quarter's Polls," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, IX (Fall, 1945), 372. Preference and expectation as "independent" variables in the prediction of future fertility are emphasized in the study described in P. K. Whelpton, "A Study of the 'Expected' Completed Fertility of a National Sample of White Women," in *Current Research in Human Fertility* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1955), pp. 106-12; cf. also P. K. Whelpton and R. Freedman, "A Study of the Growth of American Families," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (May, 1956), 595-601. More attention to preferences as "dependent" variables is found in a longitudinal study currently under way: E. G. Mishler and C. F. Westoff, "A Proposal for Research on Social Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: Concepts and Hypotheses," in *Current Research in Human Fertility*, pp. 121-50; C. F. Westoff, E. G. Mishler, R. G. Potter, and C. V. Kiser, "A New Study of American Fertility," *Eugenics Quarterly*, II (December, 1955),

¹ The Indianapolis Study has been reported in the *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, and the articles have been collected in a series of four volumes (with a fifth to appear shortly) under the editorship of P. K. Whelpton and Clyde V. Kiser: *Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility* (New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1946, 1950, 1952, 1954). The article with the most direct bearing on the present paper is by H. V. Muhsam and Clyde V. Kiser, "The Number of Children Desired at the Time of Marriage," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXIV (July, 1956), 287-312. See also Lois Pratt and P. K. Whelpton, "Interest in and Liking for Children in Relation to Fertility Planning and Size of Planned Family," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXIII (October, 1955), 430-63.

² See E. Lewis-Faning, "Family Limitation and Its Influence on Human Fertility during the Past 50 Years," *Papers of the Royal Commission on Population*, Vol. I (London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1949).

been undertaken in some areas of the world where population growth is a matter of grave concern.⁵

Although the size of families is becoming more and more subject to voluntary control, both the motivation and the effectiveness of contraceptive practice and family planning vary considerably among couples. The relationship between stated preferences and subsequent performance is affected also by fecundity, by changes in economic and social circumstances and in attitudes and feelings toward children, and by the reliability of the responses. Thus, though preferences are known to be not always dependable predictors of fertility, it has nevertheless been assumed, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, that the preferences themselves are durable.

229-33; C. V. Kiser, E. G. Mishler, C. F. Westoff, and R. G. Potter, "Development of Plans for a Social Psychological Study of the Future Fertility of Two-Child Families," *Population Studies*, X (July, 1956), 43-52.

Potter (*op. cit.*) has classified the questions as directed toward a "general ideal," a "status-restricted ideal," and a "private ideal" or "fertility preference." He further distinguishes these from a couple's "intended family size." The studies cited here and in n. 5 vary as to which of these questions is used as the measure of preference, and in some instances two or more types of questions have been used.

⁵ See, e.g., Paul K. Hatt, *Backgrounds of Human Fertility in Puerto Rico* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952); A. S. Feldman and Paul K. Hatt, "Social Structure as Affecting Fertility in Puerto Rico," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLXXXV (January, 1953), 123-29; R. Hill, K. Back, and J. M. Stycos, "Family Action Potentials and Fertility Planning in Puerto Rico," in *Current Research in Human Fertility*, pp. 42-62; and J. M. Stycos, *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955). Similar studies are: C. Chandrasekaran, "Fertility Survey in Mysore State, India," in *Current Research in Human Fertility*, pp. 11-23; V. M. Dandekar and K. Dandekar, *Survey of Fertility and Mortality in Poona District* (Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication No. 27 [Poona, India, 1953]); Irene Taeuber, "Fertility and Research on Fertility in Japan," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXIV (April, 1956), 129-49; Sjoerd Groenman, "Women's Opinion about Size of Family in the Netherlands: Attempts To Measure Desired Family Size," *Eugenics Quarterly*, II (December, 1955), 224-28.

This report deals with the problems of the validity and stability of preferences and the reliability of recall by way of an analysis of the intercorrelations among family-size desires expressed during engagement, the actual number of children after nearly twenty years, and the recall, then, of the original preferences.

The first question raised here is that of the validity and stability of the original family-size preferences. The second is the general problem of the reliability of questionnaire response. Though an extreme test, considering the long interval, the second question provides an excellent opportunity to evaluate *ex post facto* studies.

THE DATA

Approximately twenty years ago a panel of 300 engaged couples was assembled by Kelly for a study of marital compatibility. The panel was to have been contacted annually, but the war interrupted the plan. However, in 1953-54, almost twenty years later, it proved possible to account for every one of the 600 persons. This unprecedented rate of success in locating all living respondents is due to the securing of the names and addresses of several friends of each respondent in the initial interview. Of the original group of 300 couples, 278 had married, and 227 of them had survived divorce, separation, and mortality.⁶

Many of the couples were originally located through newspaper announcements of engagements and invited to co-operate. The sample is not representative of many social characteristics relevant to the study of fertility. For example, it is not representative of education: since approximately 75 per cent of the men and 65 per cent of the women had at least attended college, higher education is overrepresented. Neither is it representative of religion, since Roman Catholics, constituting about 10 per cent of the total, are considerably underrepresented.

Since these analyses are concerned with

⁶ For fuller details see E. Lowell Kelly, "Consistency of the Adult Personality," *American Psychologist*, X (November, 1955), 659-81.

fertility, certain criteria of eligibility were imposed. Couples were eliminated if one or both of the spouses had been married more than once, had reported problems of sterility, had foster or adopted children, or had returned insufficient information. Frequently, a given couple was excluded on several criteria, the major loss being due to insufficient information on the mailed returns at the last contact. In the end the panel contained 145 couples.

From their statements it appears that 97 per cent of all births to these couples have already occurred, probably a reliable estimate considering their ages and the length of time married. Thus, it may be assumed that the families are completed.

In spite of the obvious selective factors in both the original selection of the respondents and the biases introduced in purifying the group for analysis, the longitudinal design and the vast amount of psychological and sociological data collected from the panel provide a unique opportunity to examine many variables relevant to fertility research. The selectiveness of the sample, however, means that present and subsequent analyses of fertility using these data are suggestive rather than definitive.

THE PREDICTION OF FERTILITY

As with the analysis of any two variables, the prediction of fertility from stated preferences may be arrived at by examining either the net accuracy of the prediction for the group as a whole or the individual correlations.⁷ Our data reveal a striking contrast in the two types of prediction.

The mean number of live births for the 145 couples is 2.62; the mean number of chil-

dren reported as desired by males and females during their engagement was 2.64 and 2.79, respectively. Hence the average or total number of live births that would actually occur to this group can be estimated from their stated desires (the correlation between the engaged partners is .57) fairly closely; the over-all predictive error is well below 5 per cent. However, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the reduced group of 145 couples is a comparatively homogeneous sample of presumably fecund, once-married couples. Moreover, the overrepresentation of the more highly educated and the underrepresentation of Catholics leads to further reservations. This close aggregate correspondence of desires with behavior is unlikely to be maintained for a general population where intervening factors of marital disruption, sterility, religious doctrine, meager education, and the like have to be taken into account. In this group of 145 couples only 6 couples reported having never used any contraception, but their low fertility record (2.3 live births) suggests that their reports on either contraceptive practice or sterility are unreliable.⁸

The couples who reported ever having used some method of family limitation were asked to indicate the precise contraceptive circumstances of each of their pregnancies. A classification of fertility-planning status was derived from their answers. Of the 145 women, 68 were classified as having completely planned all their pregnancies, that is, each pregnancy occurred during a period either prior to the first use of contraception or after contraception was deliberately interrupted in order to have a child; 60 were classified as having had *at least* one pregnancy which was defined as an unplanned conception having occurred while contraception was actually being practiced or at a period when they "forgot" or "took a chance." (The remaining 17 couples could not be classified: information was not available

⁷ This point is discussed in Hugh J. Parry and Helen M. Crossley, "Validity of Responses to Survey Questions," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV, No. 1 (1950), 63-64. Cf. distinction between "unit" and "personal" data in Patricia L. Kendall and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, "Problems of Survey Analysis," in *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 133-96; cf. also W. S. Robinson's comparison of "ecological" and "individual" correlations in "Ecological Correlations and the Behavior of Individuals," *American Sociological Review*, XV, No. 3 (June, 1950), 351-57.

⁸ Of a probability sample of 100 mothers of two children in which most of the women were married for ten years or less, 7 reported never having used any method of contraception (see Westoff, Mishler, Potter, and Kiser, *op. cit.*).

for 11, and the replies of the other 6 were suspect because of inconsistencies.) These two classifications, "Planned" and "Non-Planned" families, are to some degree impure in view of the probable unreliability of the responses and the fact that pregnancies which occurred before the first use of contraception are probably less "planned" than pregnancies of couples which occurred only after contraception was interrupted deliberately for purposes of conception. In view of the small numbers involved, only this crude dichotomy appeared feasible; for our purposes it seems sufficient.⁹

The mean number of live births confirms the expected difference—2.25 for the Planners and 3.23 for the Non-Planners. On the

TABLE 1
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ORIGINALLY PREFERRED SIZE OF FAMILY AND NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	Males	Females	Males and Females*
Total group.....	.26	.27	.30
Planners.....	.30	.45	.45
Non-Planners...	.19†	.12†	.19†

* Multiple correlations.

† Not significantly different from zero. All other values significant at the .01 level.

other hand, the differences as to the number of children desired were slight: among the males, 2.64 and 2.71 children were desired by the Planners and Non-Planners, respectively, and among the females it is 2.78 and 2.91. These discrepancies in initial preference are hardly sufficient to account for the substantial difference in actual fertility. It is clear, therefore, that the similarity noted before between desires and behavior for the total group is a *net* result involving an averaging-out of various factors, especially of the motivation and capacity to control fertility. This results simply because the two fertility-planning categories contain nearly equal numbers of couples in this particular sample. In this instance, if Planners had been dominant in the sample, preferences would have

led to overestimations of performance by 15 to 20 per cent; if Non-Planners had been dominant numerically, preferences would have led to underestimating performance by nearly the same amount.

The artificiality of this compensating error is demonstrated by the low values of the individual correlations shown in Table 1. The correlations among Planners are higher than among Non-Planners, which is what would be expected in view of the greater success evidenced by the Planners in satisfying their preferences. Although the correlations for the group as a whole are statistically significant, the values are fairly low. Those who have been disappointed by the relatively low correlations uncovered by such research as the Indianapolis Study may be consoled by the realization that the direct approach of asking people at marriage how many children they want leaves 90 per cent of the variance in total fertility unexplained. Subsequent reports will indicate that certain sociological and psychological variables are actually better predictors of fertility.

Many plausible reasons can be adduced to account for the low correlations. The couples were not yet married; they had not yet faced the economic and domestic realities of family life; the replies may not have been serious or decisive; people change their minds with new experiences, and so forth. Equally important is the fact that completed fertility is a deceptively simple net result of an extremely complex series of antecedents which includes the process of family building itself. Variables of completed fertility and birth-order specific fertility may be connected only loosely in cultural, motivational, and personality terms—a possibility of serious theoretical and methodological relevance. The implication that the experience of previous children has self-generating consequences for future fertility, and the over-all complexities of completed fertility, have been taken into account in the planning of a new study in this field.

In summary, the most plausible hypotheses accounting for the low correlations observed are, in the first place, that people

⁹ For a more refined classification of fertility-planning status, see the reports of the Indianapolis Study (Whelpton and Kiser, *op. cit.*).

just before marriage have had little experience against which to test their plans. Thus their preferences are unrealistic. Secondly, even assuming a high degree of realism and perfect control of fertility (an impossible assumption for any general population), events and circumstances intervene unpredictably to modify and change feelings¹⁰ about having another child at a given time. The cumulation of such decisions throughout the reproductive period determines the family's final size.

THE RECALL OF FAMILY-SIZE DESIRES

The extent to which these individuals were able to recall their original preferences in size of family accurately nearly twenty years afterward sheds light on *ex post facto* research in general, on such studies, for example, as the Indianapolis Study of couples married from twelve to fifteen years. These retrospective replies were correlated with their actual fertility.¹¹ How reliable are such responses? To what extent does the actual experience of a given number of children affect the memory of past preference? To what degree is recall simply inaccurate after a long time span? Clearly, these are also important questions for areas of social research other than fertility.¹²

When, after nearly twenty years of marriage, our 145 couples were asked: "At the time of your marriage, how large a family did you want?" the correlation with original preferences, although statistically significant (Table 2), proved of insufficient magnitude to lend confidence to the assumptions necessarily made in *post factum* research about the reliability of recall.

¹⁰ John Dollard, "Under What Conditions Do Opinions Predict Behavior?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XII, No. 4 (1948), 623-32.

¹¹ Muhsam and Kiser, *op. cit.*

¹² On reliability of recall of other items, cf. Robert Ferber, "On the Reliability of Responses Secured in Sample Surveys," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, L, No. 271 (September, 1955), 788-810, and Stephen B. Withey, "Reliability of Recall of Income," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 2 (1954), 197-204.

It might be argued that too much precision is being demanded and that cruder classes of "high" and "low" preferences might provide a more meaningful check on reliability.¹³ To test this, the point closest to the median values of both variables was chosen so that the two categories, "high" and "low" preference, were defined as three or more, and less than three children, respectively. This procedure indicated that 35 per cent of the males and 25 per cent of the females would have been erroneously classified: they originally stated a preference for three or more children but recalled having wanted two or fewer children, or vice versa. The fourfold point correlations are .31 for males and .49 for females, which is not bet-

TABLE 2
CORRELATIONS* BETWEEN ORIGINAL
AND RECALLED FAMILY-SIZE
PREFERENCES

	Males	Females
Total. ....	.42	.48
Planners. ....	.43	.64
Non-Planners. ....	.39	.35

* All values significant at the .01 level.

ter than the original correlation coefficients of .42 and .48 (see Table 2). Nearly one-quarter of both husbands and wives, in recalling their original statements of number of children preferred, erred by two or more children.

¹³ William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt (*Methods in Social Research* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1952], pp. 166-67) report that answers to "objective" questions are more varied with time than responses to attitudinal questions, and they argue that this is at least partly due to the greater precision of the units in "objective" measurement. A family's size is highly precise and thus should be more unstable than attitudinal data with qualitative categories. An opportunity to examine this was afforded by the repetition after twenty years of a question about childhood happiness which included five qualitative answer categories. The correlations in that time were .33 and .49 for the 145 males and females, respectively. Although these findings and those of the present analysis of recall are not strictly comparable, the results of comparing them do not support the proposition that ordered qualitative data yield more reliable correlations than precise quantitative data.

THE NATURE OF TOTAL RECALL

In any assessment of the reliability of recall it is important to learn not only the extent but the nature of the error, that is, whether it is random or selective. An examination of the relationships among recalled family-size preferences, actual number of children, and original preferences is directly pertinent to this question. An additional criterion was provided by the replies to the retrospective question: "If you could have had your choice, how large a family would you have had during your marriage?"

The highest values are between the number of children preferred in retrospect and

by combinations of original preference, size of completed family, and recalled preference¹⁴ into five categories:

1. Recalled preference equals original preference but not size of family.
2. Recalled preference, original preference, and size of family are the same.
3. Recalled preference differs from original preference but is closer to it than to size of family.
4. Recalled preference differs from original preference and is equidistant between original preference and size of family.
5. Recalled preference differs from original preference but is closer to size of family than to original preference.

TABLE 3
ORIGINAL PREFERENCES,* NUMBER OF CHILDREN, RECALLED PREFERENCES,
AND RETROSPECTIVE NUMBER OF CHILDREN

	NUMBER OF CHILDREN			RETROSPECTIVE PREFERENCES
	Original Preferences	Number of Children	Recalled Preferences	
Original preferences. . . . .		.26	.42	.34
Number of children. . . . .	.27		.55	.50
Recalled preferences. . . . .	.48	.45		.68
Retrospective preferences. . .	.50	.55	.71	

* All values significant at the .01 level. Correlations above the diagonal are for males; those below it are for females.

the number recalled as originally desired (Table 3). Both retrospective and recalled preferences tend to be more highly correlated with actual fertility than with original preferences, and the lowest correlations of all are between original preference and actual size of family. Is recall, then, directly influenced by actual size of family? With original preference held constant through partial correlation, the relationships between number of children recalled as preferred and the number actually in the family decrease only slightly: .50 for males and .39 for females. The initial values, without controlling original preference, are .55 and .45. In other words, with original preference held constant, the relationship between recalled preference and actual size of family remains relatively intact.

The selective influence of experience upon recall was examined more directly by constructing a typology. Couples were classified

The distributions by fertility-planning status (Table 4) demonstrate that the more accurate recall is evidenced by the Planners among both males and females. Category 5 exhibits the clearest evidence of selective bias in recall, being most influenced by the intervening family experience.¹⁵

Thus the error is not random; that is, there is a definite tendency among individuals whose recalled preference differs from their original preference, for the error is in the direction of their actual number of children. Non-Planners, moreover, are more prone to this error than Planners. This error is consid-

¹⁴ The comparatively high correlations between recalled and retrospective preferences seemed a sufficient reason not to complicate the typology further by including the latter.

¹⁵ A special analysis of the association of various psychological characteristics with these five categories is under way and will be reported at a later time.

erable. It is present in a significant proportion of the total sample—30 per cent of the husbands and 27 per cent of the wives (the correlation here between spouses is only .26, which means that the recall type of one cannot be accurately predicted from the other). Thus correlations between actual number of children and recalled family-size preferences are seriously inflated.¹⁶

The questionable assumption that preferences are valid predictors of subsequent size of family raises further problems of associations with independent variables. In

rience, respondents are asked to recall their initial family-size preferences. But the present research shows that their responses are not the same as they would have been if secured prior to the experience: in recalling initial preference, nearly one-quarter of both husbands and wives are in error by two or more children. Further, these errors are not random but are associated both with the effectiveness of family planning and with actual number of children. It should be noted that the selection of the sample—the fact that higher education and family plan-

TABLE 4

PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTIONS BY RECALL TYPES BY FERTILITY-PLANNING STATUS

CATEGORY	Total	MALES		Total	FEMALES	
		Planners	Non-Planners		Planners	Non-Planners
1.....	21.5	23.0	20.0	26.9	30.2	25.0
2.....	25.4	32.8	18.2	23.8	28.6	19.2
3.....	9.2	9.8	9.1	13.8	14.3	13.5
4.....	13.9	8.2	16.4	8.5	7.9	9.6
5.....	30.0	26.2	36.4	26.9	19.0	32.7

view of the above findings, a given association between some independent variable and preferences cannot be accepted as representative of the true correlation between it and actual family size.

Some recent studies have been forced to rely on *post factum* reports of preference; at some point subsequent to the fertility expe-

ning were overrepresented and Roman Catholics were underrepresented—would be expected normally to reduce the amount of error between original and recalled preference. These findings, thus, probably overestimate the reliability of responses. On the other hand, comparison spanning twenty years is a very rigorous test. It is likely that short-term estimates, such as the desirability of a child or another child during a two-year interval, will prove to be both much more reliable and more valid.

¹⁶ The Indianapolis Study shows multiple correlations (husbands combined with wives) of recalled preferences and size of family of .38 in the total sample and .45 among couples who planned all pregnancies. The corresponding values in the present data are .57 and .60. However, there are too many differences between the two studies as to samples and characteristics of respondents to permit meaningful comparisons.

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PREJUDICE AND PERCEPTION

ALICE B. RIDDLEBERGER AND ANNABELLE B. MOTZ

ABSTRACT

Propositions concerning similarities and differences in perception were tested upon two groups of sociology students selected by previous testing as the most and least prejudiced among three hundred. Impressions of the situation rather than of the individual are found to determine how the individual will be seen: a Negro seen in a stereotyped setting will be commented on more unfavorably than a Negro seen in a non-stereotyped setting. Pictures showing Negroes in stereotyped and in non-stereotyped settings evoke judgments that accord with the total setting and not with their individual appearances. To be effective, propaganda to improve race relations should show the Negro in non-stereotyped settings.

Increasingly during the past several years students of human behavior generally, as well as those specifically concerned more narrowly with race relations, have come to recognize the necessity of understanding how individuals actually see the settings in which behavior receives its direction.¹ William I. Thomas, in his discussion of the "definition of a situation," stressed the importance of the relation between behavior and the perception of its setting. Modern social psychologists, such as Lindesmith and Strauss, argue that the individual's behavior toward racial groups is dependent upon what he learns to perceive through symbolic interaction with others, even prior to actual seeing. Thus perception itself, together with all that conditions it, assumes a critical role in the study of man's beliefs, attitudes, thinking, and action.

¹ Examples of such current research include: George S. Klein and Herbert Schlisinger, "Where Is the Perceiver in Perceptual Theory?" in Jerome S. Bruner and David Krech (eds.), *Perception and Personality: A Symposium* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1949), pp. 32-47; Leo Postman, Jerome S. Bruner, and Elliott M. McGinnes, "Personal Values as Selective Factors in Perception," *Journal of Abnormal Psychology*, LXII (1948), 142-48; Jerome S. Bruner and Cecile C. Goodman, "Value and Need as Organizing Factors in Perception," in Theodore M. Newcomb and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York, 1947), pp. 99-108; Eli S. Marks, "Skin Color Judgments of Negro College Students," in Newcomb and Hartley (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 116-21; Muzafer Sherif, "Group Influences upon the Formation of Norms and Attitudes," in Newcomb and Hartley (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 77-90.

This point of view recognizes the perceiver as a social being whose perception is influenced by the meanings and values of the groups to which he is psychologically bound through past experience and learning. The perceptive pattern is frequently selective, the perceiver organizing in it only some parts of his total environment.

If people do indeed respond according to individual perception, it might then be supposed that further study of perception will aid in the understanding of a particular response which is an integral part of race relations, namely, prejudice. Are there differences between the perceptions of unprejudiced and prejudiced people? Are there similarities? These questions stimulated the research project which is reported herein.

This study was undertaken to discover something about the relationship between prejudice and perception. One minority group, the American Negro, was selected as the object of perception. The writers were specifically concerned with the following hypotheses:

Hypothesis 1.—*The situation in which a person is seen will structure how he is perceived more than will his physical features or facial expression.* In other words, any given individual is "seen," "judged," or "perceived" in a situation, his physical characteristics being simply a part of the setting.

The second hypothesis is perhaps a corollary to the first.

Hypothesis 2.—*When a person is seen in*

a situation in which Negroes are commonly pictured (hereafter referred to as "a stereotyped situation"), he will be described in more derogatory terms than when he is seen in a situation in which the mass media generally portray white persons ("a non-stereotyped situation"). Certain similarities between the perception of prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects were anticipated, as well as certain differences.

Hypothesis 3.—*Prejudiced persons say Negroes and whites who appear together in non-stereotyped situations must have met by coincidence in a public, unplanned way. Unprejudiced persons say that they met through social contacts or in a planned, arranged, more intimate way.* It is implied that the prejudiced person cannot see white people as choosing to play equal roles with Negroes.

Hypothesis 4.—*Where a Negro appears with whites in non-stereotyped situations, prejudiced persons describe the Negro as "less than" the white.*

Since the aim was to note how prejudiced and unprejudiced persons perceive racial situations, subjects reflecting polar views were chosen. This was accomplished by administering the Negro subscale from *The Authoritarian Personality*² to three hundred Freshmen and Sophomore students in eight classes of basic sociology at the University of Maryland. At the time of the study (spring, 1954) the school population was all white. The 10 per cent scored as most prejudiced were selected for comparison with the least-prejudiced 10 per cent.

Individually or several at a time, these subjects were asked to answer certain questions concerning a series of faked photographs.³ The pictures were paired so that one Negro face is seen in two settings. Half of the pictures were of a stereotyped background; the other half showed non-stereotyped settings. The first picture in each pair gave no indication of the stereotype of the Negro, while the second picture presented

the same face in a Negro stereotyped setting. The authors cut out four faces of Negroes from *Ebony* magazine and placed each face in two settings, in one of which Negroes are commonly pictured and in the other of which Negroes are not typically seen, as follows:

NON-STEREOTYPED SETTING

Face A.—Picture 1 (Yacht Club). Face A is a young woman who is part of a white group around a table on the terrace of a resort or yacht club. Beyond the terrace is a body of water where many small craft are anchored.

Face B.—Picture 2 (Fireplace Scene). One of five young people (three white girls, one white man, and Face B) around a large open fireplace. They are laughing and singing. There is a generous bowl of popcorn on a coffee table in front of the group. One girl is strumming on a ukelele.

Face C.—Picture 3 (Terrace Scene). Face C is alone in this picture, a well-dressed woman sitting in the patio garden of a luxurious house.

Face D.—Picture 4 (Young Woman Dressing). Face D is one of two young women who are putting on short formal dresses. The second, a white girl, appears to be assisting the first.

STEREOTYPED SETTING

Face A.—Picture 5 (Jazz Trio). Face A is a young woman between two smiling Negro men. The three people are standing close together with their arms on each other's shoulders.

Face B.—Picture 6 (Rural Slum). Face B is a man walking beside a boy along an unpaved path. At the side and behind the two figures are unpainted shacks and a ramshackle wire fence

³ The outstanding example of pictures as a research tool is the T.A.T. Similar but directed for use in the investigation of prejudice are the pictures added to the standard T.A.T. in *The Authoritarian Personality*. However, the analysis involves a psychological "need press" scheme which implies questions different from those in the present research. Cf. also G. W. Allport and L. Postman, *The Psychology of Rumor* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947), on the influence of prejudice on perception in the streetcar picture in which the razor is inaccurately perceived as in the hand of the Negro; Eunice Cooper and Marie Jahoda, "The Evasion of Propaganda: How Prejudiced People Respond to Anti-prejudice Propaganda," *Journal of Psychology*, XXIII (1947), 15-25.

² T. W. Adorno, E. Frenkel-Brunswik, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

standing in weeds. A Negro woman is leaning against the fence.

Face C.—Picture 7 (Large Family). Face C is at the left of a large group of Negroes. There are nine children and two adult couples.

Face D.—Picture 8 (Large Family). Face D is at the right of the large family group of Negroes described above.

The pictures were presented in numerical order—all the non-stereotyped pictures being shown before the stereotyped. The subjects were given ten seconds to observe a picture before answering several questions about it.

Open-ended questions which were adopted in order to find out how the subjects perceived the picture without at the same time suggesting or structuring their perception were:

1. Describe what you saw.
2. How might these people have met?
3. What two words would you use to describe the person in the picture? (At the time the third question was asked, the test administrator pointed to the inserted Negro face. The same question was asked about a white face in Picture 2 and a white face in Picture 4.)

The subjects were identified by number, so that their papers could be matched with their earlier prejudiced scale rating. Each student spent from forty-five to sixty minutes on the picture test. The prejudice rating scale and the picture test were administered by different people, so that the subjects would not realize that their two sets of responses were being collected for the same study.

In order to determine whether the data supported Hypotheses 1 and 2 concerning similarities in perception, each descriptive word used in response to Question 3 was put on a master list⁴ and then categorized as "laudatory," "derogatory," or "neutral." The laudatory category included only words generally considered to express approval; for

example, "amiable," "confident," "considerate," "wealthy," "happy," "happy-go-lucky," "sincere," "smiling," "educated," and "well-built." Typical of derogatory words are "slovenly," "homely," "sullen," "tiresome," "poor," "dumb," and "untidy." "Neutral" were those words which could not be classed clearly as laudatory or derogatory.⁵ (In the few cases where a subject used both one laudatory word and one derogatory word about a given picture, the two words were coded as "neutral.")

The responses to Question 2 were relevant to hypothesis 3—that the prejudiced say Negroes and whites have met by chance, while the unprejudiced see their encounter as prearranged. From the responses to the question, the following categories were established:

1. Relations.
2. Friends, which included not only "they met through mutual friends" but also "at a party," "dance," "frat dance."
3. Club, which referred to "social club," "country club," etc. "Church group" was also placed under "club."
4. Common interest, i.e., "They are all sailing enthusiasts."
5. School.
6. Business or work.
7. Trip or resort.
8. Public, which included such things as "at the ticket office," "in a department store," "in a restaurant."⁶

These eight categories were combined to form three categories, representing a range

⁵ E.g., words relating to age or sex were marked as neutral. Other examples of neutrality were "tall," "dark hair," "has a mustache," "posing for a picture," "Latin-looking," "sitting," "not singing," "middle class," "businessman," and "foreigner." These words may have a laudatory or a derogatory connotation for the user, but, since the researchers could not be sure of the attitudes of most subjects to such things as mustaches, tallness, posing for picture, etc., they called these words "neutral." Classed as neutral were also "broad-minded" and "liberal," words which often indicate approval but which, to the Freshmen students who were the subjects, may have been derogatory.

⁶ There were a few unclassifiables, such as "in the North," "may have introduced themselves," and "in the same city."

⁴ A complete list of all words used by the subjects and the categories into which each word was placed is reported in Alice Riddleberger's unpublished Master's thesis, "Prejudice and Perception" (University of Maryland, 1954), pp. 43-48.

of situations from private and planned to public and accidental. The three categories are:

1. Intimate, private, planned—a combination of the original categories of "Relations," "Friends," and "Club."
2. Semipublic—a combination of "Common interest," "School," "Business or work," and "Trip or resort."
3. Distant, public, happenstance—the original category of "Public."

The responses to Question 1 formed the basis for testing Hypothesis 4: Prejudiced persons describe the Negro in racially mixed company as "less than" the white; unprejudiced persons do not. The responses were classified as (1) less than and (2) not less than. The "less than" category covered cases where the quality attributed was the same but the Negro was described as possessing least of it. Thus, the subject, in describing the white person as "beautiful" and the Negro as "ugly," is making the Negro "less than" the white as to appearance. However, if the subject said that the white was wealthy and the Negro ugly, he referred to two different dimensions—economic status and appearance—and his response was placed in the second category.

Hypotheses 1 and 2 are both concerned with similarities in the way the prejudiced and the unprejudiced perceive pictures designed to test awareness of race.

The first hypothesis poses two sources of cues from which the respondents form their impressions of the person in the picture. One is the "situation" in which the person is seen; the second is physical features or facial expression. The hypothesis states that the first source structures the assumed characteristics of the person more than the second source.

If facial expression determined the assumed characteristics, then the person would be described similarly in the different settings. If the situation structures impressions of facial expression, then the face might not be recognized as the same when it appears in unlike situations. The data

(Tables 1, 2, and 3) support the assumption that the same person was described differently in the stereotyped and non-stereotyped settings.

A further indication of the relative ineffectiveness of the facial expression or physical features is that not one of the sixty subjects commented on being asked repeatedly to describe the *same* person twice.

TABLE 1

THIRTY PREJUDICED SUBJECTS' DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS*

Description	4 Non-stereotyped Settings	4 Stereotyped Settings
Laudatory.....	63	53
Derogatory.....	16	37

* 71 neutral descriptions omitted (41 non-stereotype, 30 stereotype).

$\chi^2 = 8.505$; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .01 level.

TABLE 2

THIRTY UNPREJUDICED SUBJECTS' DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS*

Description	4 Non-stereotyped Settings	4 Stereotyped Settings
Laudatory.....	75	59
Derogatory.....	10	21

* 75 neutral descriptions omitted (35 non-stereotype, 40 stereotype).

$\chi^2 = 5.661$; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .02 level.

TABLE 3

SIXTY PREJUDICED AND UNPREJUDICED SUBJECTS' DESCRIPTIONS OF INDIVIDUALS*

Description	Non-Stereotype	Stereotype
Laudatory.....	138	112
Derogatory.....	26	58

* 146 neutral descriptions omitted.

$\chi^2 = 14.812$; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001 level.

Further support for Hypothesis 1 is found when the data are categorized on the basis of laudatory and derogatory words. Yet, perhaps, other ways of analyzing the material might bring out that the same face is perceived differently in each setting. For example, the material that subjects wrote about the woman in Picture 1 differs markedly from what they wrote about the same woman in Picture 5, as shown in the following selected list:

Some Words Used To Describe the Person in Picture 1	Some Words Used To Describe the Same Person in Picture 5
socialite	happy-go-lucky
vibrant	likes the opposite sex
conversationalist with wit	used to male attention
dark-skinned	happy singer
intelligent	enjoys the company of men
poised	light-skinned
sunburned	nice
vivacious	"high yellow"
sophisticated	
cultured	
educated	

This is further evidence to support the hypothesis that an impression of the situation as a whole provides cues for the perception of facial expressions.

The second hypothesis develops from the first by defining one way in which the situation structures judgments. Tables 1 and 2 show that both prejudiced and non-prejudiced persons see people in stereotyped situations in more negative terms than when in non-stereotyped situations. Among the unprejudiced as well as among the prejudiced, over twice as many derogatory words are applied to the person when in the stereotyped pictures as when he is in the non-stereotyped pictures.

If the stereotyped setting can be equated with the trite phrase "in his place," then this datum indicates that the Negro is disapproved of when he is in his place to a greater extent than when he is not by both prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects.

The third and fourth hypotheses concern expected differences in the way prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects perceive the non-stereotyped (Negro and whites together) pictures. It was expected that the prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects would offer different explanations as to how the members of the mixed groups came together. The prejudiced student sees the situation as a temporary, transitory, accidental encounter. This is not true of the unprejudiced. He is more likely to suggest that the Negroes and whites are together because they belong together, as friends, relatives, or members of the same

club. For both prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects there is a large middle ground: people are seen as having been brought together through business, work, school, or vacation and not as the result of personal choice. However, the two extremes of explanation clearly distinguish the unprejudiced subjects from the prejudiced. The difference between prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects' explanations of how members of a mixed group met is statistically significant at the .001 level (Tables 4a and 4b).

TABLE 4a

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "HOW MIGHT THESE PEOPLE HAVE MET?"

Response	Prejudiced	Unprejudiced
Intimate, private, planned.	36	61
Semipublic.....	73	71
Distant, public, happen- stance.....	23	5

$\chi^2 = 17.673$; 2 degrees of freedom; significant at .001 level; $C = .070$; $c = .102$.

TABLE 4b

RESPONSES TO THE QUESTION, "HOW MIGHT THESE PEOPLE HAVE MET?" OMITTING "SEMI-PUBLIC"

Response	Prejudiced	Unprejudiced
Intimate, private, planned.	36	61
Distant, public, happen- stance.....	23	5

$\chi^2 = 17.676$; 1 degree of freedom; significant at .001 level; $C = .350$; $c = .550$.

Like the questions in Bogardus' Social Distance Scale, the question, "How might these people have met?" evokes responses that tell nothing about the usual ways in which Negroes and whites actually meet but rather about the difference in the way prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects think they meet. It has been noted⁷ that prejudiced people tend to protect themselves from contrary propaganda by not perceiving or understanding the propaganda as non-prejudiced people do. Thus, perception may be considered to preserve and protect attitudes.

Hypothesis 4 led to further analysis of the way in which subjects perceive mixed

⁷ Cooper and Jahoda, *op. cit.*

situations. Prejudiced subjects are expected to describe the Negro as inferior to the whites, and the data testing the hypothesis are based on responses when the subjects were asked to describe a Negro and white person in each of two non-stereotyped pictures. The chi square ($\chi^2 = 5.550$) and C value ($c = .328$) are both fairly high, indicating that prejudiced people are distinguishable from unprejudiced people in describing Negroes as "less than" whites with respect to beauty, wealth, intelligence, and so on.

The findings of this study indicate that subjects define an individual in terms of the total situation to a greater extent than in terms of any clues gained from the individual's facial or physical features.

Further, regardless of the individual's attitudes, he is likely to perceive certain types of situations in much the same way as persons holding contrary attitudes: the unprejudiced student revealed prejudices similar to those of the prejudiced student. However, this does not mean that there are no differences in their perceptions. Marked differences were found between prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects in their response to the non-stereotyped, mixed situations. The prejudiced subjects saw the Negro in non-stereotyped settings as there by chance, whereas the unprejudiced subjects saw the Negro in non-stereotyped settings as more securely there—through invitation or more specific intent. Moreover, in comparing people in the same setting, the prejudiced tend to see the Negro as "less than" the white; the unprejudiced do not.

Attitudes, then, color perceptions but within certain limits: traditional doctrines permeate the perceptions even of those whose attitudes follow less traditional teachings.

In movies such as *Palmour Street* or *The*

Color of a Man the unfairness of discrimination on the basis of color is demonstrated, and a strong appeal is made to sympathy. Now, these movies are not unlike the stereotyped photographs which, as in this study, call forth a greater degree of disapproval from the unprejudiced as well as the prejudiced than do the non-stereotyped. So perhaps the money spent in such sincere efforts to change prejudice would be better invested in non-stereotyped films of the Negro. An advertisement of, say, clothes or cars which showed Negroes and whites together in a non-stereotyped setting might be just as effective as a whole reel of pleading in which the Negro is stereotyped. The highly prejudiced may disapprove of this strategy, but this study demonstrates that they approve of the Negro in non-stereotyped situations, and this, after all, is the aim of propaganda to better race relations.

This study suggests several subjects calling for research. For one: Do the similarities and differences reported here apply to the perception of other minorities? Furthermore, the study suggests the identifying of prejudiced and unprejudiced subjects on the basis of their visual perceptions rather than by traditional attitude-testing. The technique employed here appears to approximate "reality" more than check-list experimental situations and may produce sounder predictors of behavior in real life. Moreover, the present research points to the need for investigating a hitherto neglected object—the "unprejudiced." What are their characteristics? In what situations do they tend to be like prejudiced individuals? What kinds of situations do they perceive differently? Perhaps the time has come for the sociologist and psychologist to study the apparently unprejudiced in order to gain new insight into social perception.

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URBANISM, ANONYMITY, AND STATUS SYMBOLISM¹

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ABSTRACT

Status symbols are important in urban sociology because, as many social contacts in the city are segmental and anonymous, symbols of status are necessary for strangers and passing acquaintances to place and appraise one another. This study attempts to examine variations in the symbolism employed by persons of different socioeconomic levels when asked to bestow status and observe the status of anonymous others. In general, "style symbolism" mediated observations, while symbols of social position and participation mediated bestowals, with differences in the symbolism used by different strata.

PROBLEMS AND METHOD

In small towns of the United States, where every man may know almost every other, participation in the daily life of the community is widely evaluated. On the basis of such community-wide evaluations, the participating person and his family may be assigned to a social class.² Such assignments may encompass the lifetime of a person, for changes in assignments are not easily accomplished locally. In contrast to the intimate and enduring appraisals of the small town may be placed the anonymous and often fleeting appraisals of the city.³ In the mass society of the city many social contacts are segmental and the participants often strangers. Consequently, the urbanite may frequently rely upon appearance rather than reputation;⁴ status may be temporarily appropriated⁵ by the "correct" display and manipulation of symbols, while in the small town it is more permanently manifested by

the direct enactment of rights and duties. The bestowal of status in the city is often an inference from symbolism to social position; in the small town the bestowal of status proceeds from the evaluation of rights and duties appropriate to social position, and the relevant symbolism is basically symptomatic.

The conspicuous contrast in modes of appropriation and assignment of status suggests that the techniques for the study of differentiation in small towns are not directly applicable to the city, where considerable attention must be directed to variations in the display and manipulation of relevant symbols.

The present study seeks to answer the following questions:

1. What symbolism is relevant for the appropriation and assignment of status in the city?
2. Is there consensus on status symbolism?
3. How are inferences made from appraisals of such symbolism validated?
4. Are the symbols employed by sociologists to assess the status of his informants the symbols employed by the informants themselves?

⁴ For a competent summary of the issues involved see Ruth Rosner Kornhauser, "The Warner Approach to Social Stratification," in *Class, Status and Power*, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 243-55.

⁵ Weber observes: "The development of status is essentially a question of stratification resting upon usurpation. Such usurpation is the normal origin of almost all status honor" (Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills [trans. and eds.], *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* [New York: Oxford University Press, 1946], p. 188).

¹ The authors are indebted to Arnold Rose for a critical reading of the manuscript.

² Essentially the technique of "evaluative participation" discussed extensively in W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eels, *Social Class in America* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949).

³ The opportunity for anonymity is enhanced in the urban environment, but in time anonymous contacts become personal (see Gregory P. Stone, "City Shoppers and Urban Identification: Observations on the Social Psychology of City Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX [July, 1954], 36-45; Joel Smith, William H. Form, and Gregory P. Stone, "Local Intimacy in a Middle-sized City," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX [November, 1954], 276-84).

To answer these questions, an interview schedule was administered to an "analytic sample"⁶ of one hundred and twenty-five adults representing numerically equivalent groupings residing in three widely differing socioeconomic areas of Lansing, Michigan, a middle-sized city of approximately 100,000 population.⁷ The construction of the schedule was built around the theoretical contributions of Erving Goffman, Max Weber, and Hans Speier.

Goffman contrasts collective symbols which represent commonalties among social categories with status symbols which represent differences among social categories.

Persons in the same social position tend to possess a similar pattern of behaviour. Any item of a person's behaviour is, therefore, a sign of his social position. A sign of position can be a status symbol only if it is used with some regularity as a means of "placing" socially the person who makes it. Any sign which provides reliable evidence of its maker's position—whether or not laymen or sociologists use it for evidence about position—may be called a *test of status*. . . . By definition, then, a status symbol carries *categorical* significance, that is, it serves to identify the social status of the person who makes it. But it may also carry expressive significance, that is, it may express the point of view, the style of life, and the cultural values of the person who makes it. . . . Status symbols are used because they are better suited to the requirements of communication than are the rights and duties which they signify.⁸

Interview questions, therefore,* were designed to elicit from respondents the signs

and symbols they employ to appraise the social positions and life-styles of anonymous others in status terms.

The adoption of Weber's formulation of three dimensions as a way out of the existing confusion characterizing current stratification studies is now part of an institutionalized pattern of behavior in the social sciences.⁹ Concern with coexisting dimensions of stratification dictated the use of open-ended questions in the interview schedule. Although the instrument was designed to cast the informant in a status-relevant role, it provided him some opportunity to adopt other economic or politically appraising roles in accord with his orientation to the various stratification orders. Weber further observes that status groups are characteristically distinguished by their intrinsic tendency toward social closure particularly as manifested in connubial and commensal exclusiveness.¹⁰ Accordingly, questions were focused upon those criteria employed by informants in deciding whether or not to invite anonymous others into commensal and connubial association.

Finally, the design of the interview schedule took into account Speier's contention that "for honor to arise it is essential that there be bearers, bestowers and observers of honor."¹¹ This important research distinction made over twenty years ago has scarcely been utilized in studies since that time. The great bulk of stratification research has been

⁶ A term employed by Eysenck in his critique of the sampling method employed by Richard Centers' study of the psychology of social classes (see H. J. Eysenck, "Social Attitude and Social Class," *British Journal of Sociology*, I [March, 1950], 57-58).

⁷ The use of a similar sampling device in a Minneapolis study is reported in Neal Gross, "Social Class Identification in the Urban Community," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (August, 1953), 398-404. Gross's point that such samples are not "representative" of the community populations from which they are drawn is to be underscored. Since Lansing, Michigan, is not a large metropolitan center, the present study is being replicated in the metropolitan area of Minneapolis-St. Paul.

⁸ Erving Goffman, "Symbols of Class Status," *British Journal of Sociology*, II (December, 1951), 295. The relevance of the last assertion applies a fortiori to the urban circumstance. Although the meaning attached here to "status" differs from that employed by Goffman, his observation that statuses may be ranked in prestige terms essentially captures our conception of status as used by Weber. Moreover, we substitute the term "appraise" for Goffman's "rank" to avoid the assumption of a hierarchical status arrangement.

⁹ Neal Gross, "A Critique of 'Social Class Structure and American Education,'" *Harvard Educational Review*, XXIII (Fall, 1953), 300.

¹⁰ Gerth and Mills (trans. and eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 187-88.

¹¹ Hans Speier, "Honor and Social Structure," *Social Research*, February, 1935, p. 76.

oriented to the general question: "Who bears what status and what behavioral and attitudinal consequences ensue?" Status bestowal and status observance have seldom been subjected to intensive scrutiny, except instrumentally to examine variations on the general theme.¹² This study devotes much attention to the bestowal and observation of status.

OBSERVATIONS OF STATUS: APPRAISALS OF FOUR STATUS CATEGORIES

Many investigators have explored the perceptual cues or symbolism used by people to identify their own status and the status of others in community settings. One of the most searching investigations of the symbolism which people use in their appraisals of others is the Duncan and Artis study of stratification in a Pennsylvania rural community.¹³ More recently, the problems of whether people see social classes as discrete entities and whether there is a consensus upon subjective class identification have been explored. Thus, Lenski concluded that "social class" is popularly conceived as a series of continuous positions instead of discrete groups.¹⁴ A study by Rose reveals that college students and their parents disagree sharply not only on their own social class but on the distinctions between upper- and lower-middle-class categories.¹⁵ In Goff-

man's terms the tests of status for them are inadequate for the placement and appraisal of others and themselves.

The inadequacy of symbolism to observe status bearers seems to stem in large part from the nature of stratification in the city. As Kaufman says: "The question here is whether urbanites have sufficient consistency of behavior or 'status equilibrium' as they participate in highly segmentalized worlds, so that patterns may be delineated at any level."¹⁶

Confusion is due also to the symbolism in the mind of the researcher as well as that in the mind of the informant.¹⁷ However, there is a third possibility—that informants may be differentially oriented in their appraisals of others. Thus, at times, they may appraise others in class (economic) terms; at other times, in terms of the power others command; and, at still other times, the assessment may be in status terms, that is, in terms of the prestige attached to others' behavior, appearance, or position in life.¹⁸ It is this third possibility with which the research is concerned.

Respondents in the sample were asked how they would recognize members of four social categories ("high society," "middle class," "working class," and "down-and-outers")¹⁹ in the anonymity of the central business district either on the street or in a

¹² In this view one of the greatest shortcomings of current stratification research derives from the assumption that the entire community observes (confirms) the status of its members. Clearly observers of status may be proliferated and set apart in the social arrangements of the community; indeed, they may not be located in the community at all!

¹³ Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, *Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community* (Pennsylvania State College Agricultural Experiment Station Bull. 543 [State College, Pa., October, 1951]).

¹⁴ A conclusion derived from the conception of the community as an undifferentiated status audience (see Gerhard E. Lenski, "American Social Classes: Statistical Strata or Social Groups?" *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII [September, 1952], 139-44).

¹⁵ Arnold M. Rose, "The Popular Meaning of Class Designation," *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXVIII (September-October, 1953), 14-21.

¹⁶ Harold F. Kaufman, "An Approach to the Study of Urban Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (August, 1952), 434.

¹⁷ Gross, "Social Class Identification in the Urban Community," *op. cit.*

¹⁸ The perspective of the observer is also a function of the larger social-historical context. The stratification imagery of working-class members of an urban community with a history of industrial conflict, for example, revealed a more predominantly (but not at all exclusive) class orientation than did our own interviews (cf. the suggestive study by Jerome G. Manis and Bernard N. Meltzer, "Attitudes of Textile Workers to Class Structure," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX [July, 1954], 31-35).

¹⁹ In line with the research aim to study status symbols, the designations "high society," "middle class," etc., were used because the investigators felt that these designations tended to evoke status imagery on the part of the respondents rather than class or power imagery.

department store. Their responses were analyzed first to ascertain the stratification dimensions (class, status, or political power) of their observations.²⁰ Inspection of Table 1 shows that roughly 15 per cent of the observations of "high society," "working class," and "down-and-outers" took into account at least two of the three stratification dimensions for which responses were coded.²¹ In contrast, more than 25 per cent of the "multiple observations" were directed toward the "middle class." If, as Weber suggests, members of classes are fundamentally in conflict with each other, while members of status groups emulate and exclude each other, then the relationships generated by the two orders are fundamentally incom-

and-outers" were most readily identified, followed by the "working class" and "high society." Greatest uncertainty characterized the observations and appraisals of the "middle class."

Upper-, middle-, and lower-stratum respondents placed different emphases upon the stratification dimensions used to identify the four social categories. Specifically, lower-stratum respondents frequently employed a class symbolism to identify "high society" and the "middle class" and predominantly status symbolism to identify the "down-and-outers." The symbolism used to distinguish the "working class" (the category nearest their own) was the most ambiguous. On the other hand, informants from the

TABLE 1
STRATIFICATION DIMENSIONS OBSERVED IN AN ANONYMOUS SITUATION

STRATIFICATION DIMENSIONS	SOCIAL CATEGORIES							
	High Society		Middle Class		Working Class		Down-and-Outers	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Status.....	89	71.2	86	68.8	78	62.4	82	65.6
Class.....	34	27.2	34	27.2	42	33.6	26	20.8
Power.....	6	4.8	1	0.8	...	...	3	2.4
Indeterminate....	18	14.4	39	31.2	26	20.8	33	26.4
Total*.....	147	117.6	160	128.0	146	116.8	144	115.2

* Percentages computed from an *N* of 125.

patible. It would follow that observations and appraisals proceeding in terms of multiple stratification dimensions would be ambiguous and anomalous.

Confirmation of the ambiguous character of the symbolism employed was obtained from an analysis of the degree of certainty with which the different social categories were recognized by the informants. "Down-

middle socioeconomic stratum of Lansing were much more consistently oriented toward status, for they primarily used status symbols to identify "high society," the "working class," and the "middle class." Only the "down-and-outers" were frequently observed in class terms. However, as was the case with lower-stratum respondents, the middle stratum employed a vague symbolism in observing the "middle class" (the social category nearest their own). Informants drawn from the highest socioeconomic levels had least difficulty in observing status as evidenced by their consistently precise appraisals. "High society," the "middle class," and the "down-and-outers" were all appraised in predominantly status terms, while class symbolism was most frequently employed in the observation of the "working class."

In sum, all groups identified "down-and-

²⁰ A by-product of this analysis demonstrated the greater empirical applicability of the concepts "class" and "power" as compared to the concept "status." In the present state of our theoretical knowledge there is no gainsaying the fact that class and political power admit of more rigorous and precise "operational" definition than does status.

²¹ Since each "indeterminate" response was a discrete categorization of a single informant's response to the question, "multiple observations and appraisals" may be computed by subtracting the percentage of "indeterminate" responses from 100 and subtracting that result from the total percentage of "determinate" responses.

outers" readily and with least equivocation. Lower-stratum informants were able to identify "high society" with greatest facility; middle-stratum informants, the "working class"; and upper-stratum respondents, the "middle class."

Symbolic content of the appraisals.—Having established that there were frequent ambiguities and inconsistencies in stratification observations, the data were again examined to determine whether the symbolism employed in these observations varied from one social category to another. To accomplish this, the content of the symbolism was classified under six headings: (1) style symbolism, emphasizing the "strategy" rather

Riesman's hypothesis that the prototype of the changing American "character" is reflected in changing styles of consumption—from a preoccupation with the "hardness of the materials" (the display of possessions per se) to a preoccupation with the implementation of the materials in the strategies of human relations.²³ In general, matters of taste and style may be crucial in setting the temporary status arrangements formed in the anonymous situations of city life.²⁴

The second inference from Table 2 points to a relative lack of emphasis given to any particular mode of symbolism other than style in the observation and appraisal of the "middle class." Coupled with earlier evi-

TABLE 2
SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF THE OBSERVATIONS AND APPRAISALS
OF FOUR SOCIAL CATEGORIES

SYMBOLIC CONTENT	SOCIAL CATEGORIES							
	High Society		Middle Class		Working Class		Down-and-Outers	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Style.....	102	81.6	90	72.0	95	76.0	102	81.6
Possessions.....	79	63.2	43	34.4	89	71.2	59	47.2
Social identities....	42	33.6	45	36.0	44	35.2	33	26.4
Images of appearance.....	13	10.4	...	.....	22	17.6	86	68.8
Organic references..	...	.....	...	.....	35	28.0	25	20.0
Attitudinal refer- ences.....	...	.....	50	40.0	...	.....	81	64.8
Total*.....	236	188.8	228	182.4	285	228.0	386	308.8

* Percentages computed from an N of 125.

than the content of appearance; (2) displays of possessions; (3) social identities emphasizing occupation, education, and other social attributes and group affiliations; (4) imagery or the appearance of the members of the social categories; (5) physical appearance or organic references; and (6) attitudinal references.

Table 2 summarizes variations in the symbolism used toward the different social categories. Three inferences in the form of hypotheses for future testing may be drawn from these data. First, style symbolism predominated in the observation and appraisal of all social categories. This finding supports Weber's contention that "'status groups' are stratified according to the principles of consumption as represented by special 'styles of life.'"²² The finding also supports

dence concerning the ambiguity and uncertainty that attends appraisals of the "middle class," it would appear that the

²² Gerth and Mills (trans. and eds.), *op. cit.*, p. 193.

²³ The hypothesis has been presented many times by Riesman, but for its initial statement see David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denny, *The Lonely Crowd* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953), pp. 133-88. Elaborations directly relating to the area of stratification research may be found in Lincoln Clark (ed.), *Consumer Behavior, II: The Life-Cycle and Consumer Behavior* (New York: New York University Press, 1955), pp. 1-18. Concerning strategies of human relations see Erving Goffman, "On Face-Work," *Psychiatry*, XVIII (August, 1955), 213-31.

²⁴ Some evidence confirming this assertion was afforded by Bevede C. McCall, currently conducting a study of stratification in Chicago. He reports the importance of matters of taste in the appraisals that Chicagoans make of one another.

"middle class" is not a status symbol at all; rather, in Goffman's terms, it may best be understood as a collective symbol. Third, the data reveal that images of appearance increase as the general status of the social category decreases. Apparently people have least difficulty portraying the "down-and-outers" and the "working class" and greatest difficulty portraying the "middle class" and "high society." Perhaps status disquali-

fication tends to become symbolically stylized in American society to a greater extent than status qualification.

With respect to differences among the categories, several clear trends appear. The "down-and-outers" seem to be the most visible group to which tests of status may be easily and clearly applied. Their style of life is distinguished by excessive drinking, shabby dress, obscene language, and slovenliness.

TABLE 3

SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF OBSERVATIONS AND APPRAISALS OF FOUR SOCIAL CATEGORIES

SYMBOLISM APPLIED TO FOUR SOCIAL CATEGORIES	SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA OF RESPONDENTS					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No. (N=32)	Per Cent	No. (N=51)	Per Cent	No. (N=42)	Per Cent
"HIGH SOCIETY":						
<i>Style</i>	24	75.0	44	86.2	34	80.9
Manners.....	11	34.4	15	29.4	5	11.9
Mode of dress.....	19	59.4	28	54.9	29	69.0
Conversational style....	14	43.8	18	35.3	10	23.8
<i>Possessions</i>	19	59.4	29	56.8	31	73.8
Clothing.....	18	56.2	25	49.0	22	52.4
Car*.....	2	6.3	4	7.8	11	26.2
Wealth*.....	1	3.1	2	3.9	9	21.4
"MIDDLE CLASS":						
<i>Style</i> *.....	21	65.6	44	86.2	23	54.7
Mode of dress*.....	16	50.0	33	64.7	15	35.7
Grooming.....	8	25.0	13	25.5	4	9.5
Conversational style....	4	12.5	15	29.4	1	2.4
Manners*.....	4	12.5	21	41.2	2	4.8
<i>Social identities</i>	10	31.2	19	37.2	16	38.1
Occupation.....	5	15.6	1	2.0	6	14.3
Economic position.....	3	9.4	7	13.7	9	21.4
<i>Attitudinal references</i>	11	34.4	17	33.3	13	30.9
"WORKING CLASS":						
<i>Style</i>	26	81.2	42	82.3	27	64.3
Manners.....	7	21.9	13	25.5	3	7.1
Mode of dress.....	23	71.9	37	72.5	25	59.5
Conversational style*....	10	31.2	25	49.0	2	4.8
<i>Possessions</i>	23	71.9	34	66.6	32	76.2
Clothing.....	22	68.8	29	56.8	30	71.4
<i>Social identities</i> *.....	17	53.1	17	33.3	10	23.8
Occupation.....	5	15.6	9	17.6	3	7.1
Social participation.....	9	28.1	7	13.7	7	16.7
<i>Organic references</i> *.....	7	21.9	24	47.0	4	9.5
Hands*.....	7	21.9	18	35.3	3	7.1
"DOWN-AND-OUTERS":						
<i>Style</i>	28	87.5	43	84.3	31	73.8
Excessive drinking*....	1	3.1	14	27.4	6	14.3
Mode of dress*.....	18	56.2	32	62.7	14	33.3
Grooming.....	18	56.2	24	47.0	15	35.7
Conversational style*....	6	18.8	22	43.1	10	23.8
<i>Possessions</i>	18	56.2	27	52.9	14	33.3
Clothing*.....	15	46.9	24	47.0	10	23.8
<i>Images of appearance</i> *....	24	75.0	31	60.8	11	26.2
Haggard.....	6	18.8	8	15.7	1	2.4
Gait and posture.....	6	18.8	8	15.7	2	4.8
<i>Attitudinal references</i> *....	18	56.2	13	25.5	13	30.9
Shiftless.....	11	34.4	7	13.7	10	23.8

* Indicates significant associations between mentions and non-mentions of the category concerned by socioeconomic strata below the .05 level as measured by the chi-square test.

In the imagery of the observer a shuffling gait, stooped posture, and the expression of indifferent attitudes (such as laziness and indolence) are characteristic of the category.

Members of the "working class" were identified not only by characteristic styles but also by object symbolism which singled out typical hats, shoes, occupational uniforms, or lunch pails. Categorical symbols betraying social identities based on occupation, education, or consumption (as evidenced by the stores they are seen patronizing) were also often employed, as were organic cues such as the condition of hands, teeth, and hair.

Observations of anonymous members of "high society" focused upon visible and audible evidence of life-style (manners, conversation, and dress) and the public display of possessions (jewelry, expensive clothing, and imposing limousines). More attention was directed to symbols of income, occupation, education, and family status which defined the social identities of the "middle class" than to other modes of symbolism, with the exception of style.

Interstrata consensus on status symbolism.

—Determination of consensus among different strata with respect to the kind of symbolism employed in observations and appraisals of different social categories poses a twofold problem. On the one hand, a consensus on symbolism implies that a substantial majority of respondents within each stratum applies the symbolism in question. On the other hand, such a consensus also implies a substantial agreement among respondents, irrespective of their stratum membership. Arbitrarily defining a substantial majority as 60 per cent or more of the respondents from each of the three strata interviewed, it may be seen from Table 3 that the symbolism employed in the observations of the "middle class" did not command a majority of the respondents. Substantial majorities did employ symbolism emphasizing varieties of style in their observations of "high society," the "working class," and "down-and-outers." Moreover, clear majorities reported that the display of possessions facilitated their place-

ments of anonymous members of the "working class."

Yet, whether there is substantial agreement among the different strata upon these symbolic modes remains problematical. On the positive side it might be argued that the absence of significant association between mentions and non-mentions of the symbolism in question by socioeconomic strata requires that the null hypothesis of no difference be accepted—that agreement does, in fact, exist. However, if a rigorous criterion of agreement is applied, for example, that the association of mentions versus non-mentions of a symbolic mode by socioeconomic strata be at a probability level of .95 or greater, as indicated by the chi-square test, then instances of agreement are not found with reference to the symbolism employed to identify the four social categories. Application of this criterion elicited only one instance of substantial agreement: the application of attitudinal symbols to the "middle class" was a consistent feature of the observations of that category on the part of a third of all three strata.

When the data in Table 3 are examined for instances of major disagreement among the strata with reference to the symbolism used in observations of others, the application of style symbolism is most characteristic of respondents representing the middle socioeconomic stratum of Lansing. Only in the case of observations directed toward "down-and-outers" does another stratum, the highest grouping, apply the symbolism of style relatively more frequently than the middle stratum. As opposed to the latter, lowest-stratum informants apply symbols of style least frequently. The single exception to this is the highest stratum, whose observations of "high society" emphasized style somewhat less frequently than did the lowest stratum. The display of possessions was apparently not crucial for placements and appraisals of the "middle class." Yet, for two of the three remaining categories, observations on the display of possessions such as clothing and cars were most often employed by respondents from the lowest socioeconomic stratum and least often employed

by middle-stratum respondents. The crucial areas of disagreement among strata seem generally to be that middle-stratum informants tend to emphasize the stylization of appearance by anonymous others and that lower-stratum informants tend to emphasize the substance of appearance and the objects displayed. Specific instances as well as exceptions to the generalizations are provided in Table 3.

BESTOWALS OF STATUS: ADMISSION OF
STRANGERS TO COMMENSAL AND
CONNUBIAL ASSOCIATION

The encouragement of commensal and connubial relations is a basic process solidifying and equilibrating the status claims of

the informants said was relevant for their decision to bestow status upon strangers. The process whereby informants validate inferences underlying such decisions shall be considered in a later section.

*Acceptance of the stranger into connubial association.*²⁶—Acceptance of a stranger as a potential member of a family is a crucial decision, because status commitments to him are necessarily intensive, extensive, and enduring, involving as they do other family members. The following situation was presented to the respondents:

If your daughter came home one night and told you she was in love with a young man you didn't know, what would be the first questions you would ask her about him?

TABLE 4
SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF DECISIONS TO ACCEPT A STRANGER
INTO POTENTIAL CONNUBIAL ASSOCIATION

SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF DECISIONS	SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA OF RESPONDENTS					
	No.	Upper Per Cent	No.	Middle Per Cent	No.	Lower Per Cent
Family of orientation and other social identities.....	12	37.5	12	23.5	11	26.2
Family of orientation, other social identities, and style.....	6	18.8	17	33.3	10	23.8
Family of orientation, other social identities, and personality attributes.....	1	3.1	2	3.9	2	4.8
Other social identities and style.....	4	12.5	6	11.8	4	9.5
Other social identities and personality attributes.....	1	3.1	..	....	1	2.4
Other social identities only.....	3	9.4	4	7.8	7	16.7
Inapplicable.....	5	15.6	10	19.6	7	16.7
Total.....	32	100.0	51	99.9	42	100.1

a group.²⁵ Consequently, the acceptance of a stranger into commensal or connubial association is generally a bestowal of equal status by those who tender the invitation or sanction the acceptance. Presumably, decisions to accept the stranger are based upon inferences drawn from the symbolism he proffers in the anonymous situation. Undoubtedly, such inferences must be validated subsequently. However, we are concerned here only with the kind of symbolism

Only the broadest categories of status symbolism applied in this situation can be summarized here. Responses were classified according to queries concerning the family of orientation of the stranger, his other social identities, style symbolism, and "personality" attributes. Of these categories, only that of social identities, other than family of orientation, was employed by itself as a basis for deciding whether to accept the prospective son-in-law. In this case, as may be seen from Table 4, there was a slight tendency for

²⁵ On this point see, *inter alia*, Herbert Spencer's analysis of "visits" in his *Principles of Sociology* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1895), Vol. II, Part IV, chap. v, pp. 105-12. The status relevance of connubial relations is, of course, widely documented in the stratification literature.

²⁶ In the interview respondents were queried about status tests in a commensal situation *prior* to inquiries concerning the connubial situation. With this procedure, application of the unusually severe tests of marriage was not suggested for the commensal situation.

respondents from the lower socioeconomic stratum to use only this kind of information as a basis for their decision. In the analysis of the specific requirements of social identities, the lower-stratum informants were most concerned with whether the stranger had a job and whether he was a good provider. Middle-stratum informants were more concerned with his specific occupation, religion, and mobility prospects on the job. Respondents from the upper stratum focused their inquiries upon the education, religion, and financial position of the "candidate." In addition, middle-stratum respondents evidenced the greater tendency

ger to one's home is considerably less crucial, status-wise, than accepting him as a potential family member. Consequently, a less searching scrutiny would be expected prior to the decision to invite him home. To elicit the kind of symbolism respondents would employ in making such a decision, they were asked to react to this situation:

If you met a stranger downtown and took a strong personal liking to him (her), what kinds of things would you want to know about him before you would invite him to your home?

Again, it appears that the stranger's social identities are crucial in the resultant

TABLE 5
SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF DECISIONS TO ACCEPT A STRANGER
INTO POTENTIAL COMMENSAL ASSOCIATION

SYMBOLIC CONTENT OF DECISIONS	SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA OF RESPONDENTS					
	Upper		Middle		Lower	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Social identities only.....	2	6.3	5	9.8	2	4.8
Social identities and style.....	13	40.6	23	45.1	20	47.6
Social identities and personality attributes.....	..	.....	1	2.0	..	.....
Social identities, style, and personality attributes.....	6	18.8	9	17.6	5	11.9
Style only.....	5	15.6	4	7.8	2	4.8
Style and personality attributes.....	1	3.1	3	5.9	6	14.3
Personality attributes only.....	..	.....	2	3.9	2	4.8
Inapplicable.....	5	15.6	4	7.8	5	11.9
Total.....	32	100.0	51	99.9	42	100.1

to include the "style" of the stranger in their appraisals. Reluctant to arrive at any final decision in the matter, they most often expressed the desire to get more information about the stranger and to "test" the love relationship. Their inquiries about his family of orientation centered around questions of "background" and morality. Respondents from the upper stratum asked many vague but seemingly important (to them at least) questions about the young man's family.

In general, the impressions from these findings support existing theory, especially as developed by Warner and Lynd. When the bestowal of status is enduring and permanent, the substance and strategy of the *appearance* of the status-bearer becomes insignificant in the appraisal; the *repute* of his position and participation in the larger social organization is crucial.

Acceptance of the stranger into commensal association.—The decision to invite a stran-

ger to one's home is considerably less crucial, status-wise, than accepting him as a potential family member. Consequently, a less searching scrutiny would be expected prior to the decision to invite him home. To elicit the kind of symbolism respondents would employ in making such a decision, they were asked to react to this situation:

If you met a stranger downtown and took a strong personal liking to him (her), what kinds of things would you want to know about him before you would invite him to your home?

Again, it appears that the stranger's social identities are crucial in the resultant

appraisals, but little attention is paid specifically to his family of orientation. In this case, however, as may be seen from Table 5, appraisals of the stranger's social identity were most often made, in conjunction with his "style," by all informants regardless of socioeconomic circumstance. Upper-stratum respondents, however, were somewhat more concerned with style than were others. They paid special attention to the stranger's manners, breeding, mode of conversation, leisure activities, and similar attributes. Middle-stratum informants were somewhat more preoccupied with his occupation, family, education, religion, ethnicity, and place of residence. More frequently than any other stratum, lower-stratum respondents took into account the personality attributes of the stranger, his friendliness or responsiveness to themselves. One gains an impression from the data that lower-stratum respondents regard the stranger's acceptance of

their invitation as a bestowal of status upon themselves.

This brief investigation of the bestowal of status upon strangers seems to suggest the following hypotheses. Bestowal of status commits the person as his observations of status do not. The more enduring the commitment, the less relevant is the style of the other and the more relevant is the repute of his position and participation in the larger social organization. The more transient the commitment, the more relevant the style of the other and the less relevant his position and participation. Finally, the absence of any significant associations between symbolic content of the bestowals and socioeconomic stratum of the respondent may indi-

informants were indirect in their interrogations. Raising seemingly irrelevant points of discussion, they expected the stranger to reveal himself in the course of conversation, or they would search for mutual friends and acquaintances, delay their decision to invite him, and check with mutual friends and acquaintances prior to committing themselves.

Table 6 shows that the socioeconomic stratum of the respondent was associated with the mode of validation employed. Upper-stratum informants employed indirect modes of validation more frequently than we would expect by chance. However, the cells contributing most to the chi square indicate that the most significant tendencies

TABLE 6
MODES OF VALIDATING STATUS INFERENCES

MODES OF VALIDATING STATUS	Upper		SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA OF RESPONDENTS				Total	
	No.	Per Cent	Middle		Lower		No.	Per Cent
Observation.....	7	21.9	6	11.8	16	38.1	29	23.2
Indirect interrogation.....	20	62.4	31	60.8	10	23.8	61	48.8
Direct interrogation.....	6	18.8	19	37.2	17	40.5	42	33.6
Total*.....	33	103.1	56	109.8	43	102.4	132	105.6

$$\chi^2 = 17.8981; p < .01$$

* Some informants employed more than one mode of validation. Percentages are computed from a total *N* of 125, consisting of 32 upper-stratum, 51 middle-stratum, and 42 lower-stratum respondents.

cate a greater interstrata consensus in the status symbolism employed in bestowals than in observations of status.

VALIDATIONS OF STATUS INFERENCES

Because the bestowal of status upon the stranger commits the person to a relationship, the decision to bestow status must be validated. The person somehow must assure himself that the stranger is, in fact, deserving of the status bestowed. To ascertain how such validations are accomplished, informants were asked how they would go about finding out the answers to questions they would ask about a stranger before inviting him to their homes. Validations were undertaken in three general ways. Relying completely upon the appearance of the stranger, some informants merely used observation for the validation of their status inferences. Others asked the stranger direct questions to secure the information they needed. Most

are represented by lower-stratum informants employing observation as a mode of validation and avoiding indirect interrogation, while middle-stratum informants tend generally to avoid observation as a mode of validation.²⁷

STATUS SYMBOLISM OF THE SOCIOLOGIST

One of the routine tasks of the sociologist is precisely the placement of persons, and, to accomplish these placements, he takes into account the symbols that people present. An attempt is made in this final section to inquire into the relative importance which laymen place upon the symbolism which the sociologists use, insofar as the laymen use such symbols in their placements

²⁷ These data may be compared with findings reported in Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (January, 1955), 329-38.

and appraisals of others. To this end informants were asked to rate the indexes sociologists have used in their stratification studies as "important," "irrelevant," or "unimportant." The test of "importance" was whether they used the index in question in their own judgments and appraisals of others. Table 7 presents the list of indexes they judged to be unimportant or irrelevant.

Seven of the twelve indexes presented—household furnishings, income, occupation, organizations and clubs, type of house, clothing, and type of neighborhood—were judged by a majority of the respondents to be unimportant or irrelevant in appraising

absence may indicate that the sociologist is, in fact, employing indexes which are relevant for the community at large and not characteristic of particular segments or strata of the community. In this respect two indexes were differentially evaluated by the respondents.

Judgments of the unimportance and irrelevance of education and occupation were significantly associated with the socioeconomic stratum of the respondent. In both instances fewer upper-stratum and more lower-stratum respondents than would be expected by chance judged these indexes to be unimportant or irrelevant for their ap-

TABLE 7
STATUS INDEXES JUDGED UNIMPORTANT OR IRRELEVANT FOR
THE APPRAISAL OF STATUS

STATUS INDEXES	SOCIOECONOMIC STRATA OF RESPONDENTS							
	Upper		Middle		Lower		Total	
	No. (N=32)	Per Cent	No. (N=51)	Per Cent	No. (N=42)	Per Cent	No. (N=125)	Per Cent
Clothing.....	15	46.9	23	45.1	25	59.5	63	50.4
Credit rating.....	15	46.9	23	45.1	22	52.4	60	48.0
Education*.....	2	6.3	5	9.8	16	38.1	23	18.4
Family.....	4	12.5	4	7.8	4	9.5	12	9.6
Household furnishings....	20	62.4	31	60.8	33	78.6	84	67.2
Income.....	17	53.1	32	62.7	28	65.7	77	61.2
Occupation*.....	12	37.5	27	52.9	33	78.6	72	57.6
Organizations and clubs....	17	53.1	37	72.5	31	73.8	85	68.0
Race.....	12	37.5	20	39.2	25	59.5	57	45.6
Religion.....	15	46.9	23	45.1	21	50.0	59	47.2
Type of house.....	26	81.2	38	74.5	33	78.6	97	77.6
Type of neighborhood....	17	53.1	22	43.1	24	57.1	63	50.4

* Significant below the .01 level as indicated by the chi-square test for mentions versus non-mentions of the index by socioeconomic stratum of respondent.

others. This is somewhat surprising in view of the fact that such indexes as income and occupation are so often used by sociologists in their placements of respondents. It may be that respondents may have taken advantage of this question to "play down" status differences in their community. Furthermore, the same index is certainly construed differently by respondents from different strata. Thus, over 90 per cent of all respondents judged "family" to be important for the appraisal of others, but the different connotations of the term for upper- and lower-stratum respondents has frequently been noted in the literature. Despite such stringent qualifications of the data, there appears to be a general absence of significant differences in the appraisals of status indexes among the socioeconomic strata. Such an

appraisals of others. Since education and occupation are very frequently used by sociologists in stratifying communities, it may be argued that they are really viewing the community through the eyes of higher status groupings—that their stratifications may be ideologically biased. The other, and perhaps more pertinent, interpretation would acknowledge that the members of the higher strata of the community are in fact the bestowers of community status; but, until more searching investigations of precisely the mechanisms of status bestowal are undertaken, the problem will remain unresolved.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY
AND
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FADS AND FOIBLES IN MODERN SOCIOLOGY

December 10, 1956

To the Editor:

I heartily welcome Professor Donald Horton's review of my book *Fads and Foibles in Modern Sociology and Related Sciences* (*American Journal of Sociology*, LXII [1956], 338-39). The strongly disparaging character of the review is a good omen for the book because of a high correlation between the damning of my books by the reviewers of the *American Journal of Sociology* and their subsequent career. The more strongly they have been damned (and practically all my books were damned by your reviewers), the more significant and successful were my damned works, the more were they translated and the more voluminous the scientific literature in the form of substantial articles, Ph.D. theses, and books about them, the greater the space given them in various sociological and philosophical lexicons and encyclopedias, and the more substantial the chapters in texts and monographs on sociological, historico-philosophical, religious, ethical, political, and aesthetic theories devoted to my "emotional outbursts." Even more frequently my "yarns" have been appropriated by some of the damning reviewers a few years after publication of their reviews. So far, thirty-four translations of my volumes have been published, and several additional translations are under way. The total world literature about my "yarns" probably exceeds that about the works of any living sociologist highly praised by the reviewers of the *American Journal of Sociology*.

This explains why I regard Horton's review as a good omen for my *Fads and Foibles*. It is already being translated into Spanish and French. And a large number of highly complimentary letters and articles by eminent scholars and scientists of many countries—e.g., the *London Times Literary Supplement*, November 2, 1956—seem to corroborate clearly this good omen.

In conclusion, I would like to know who or what authority entitled Professor Horton to speak on behalf and in the name of all American sociologists? So far as I know, no such authority empowered Horton to be an official or unofficial mouthpiece of American sociology. Neither can Horton claim such a right by the virtue of his great contributions to sociology; to my knowledge, his contributions have been very modest, if any at all. In brief, Professor Horton can speak only for Horton and for nobody else.

As to Horton's laments about the professional interests of sociologists being possibly hurt by my book, these laments are either insincere or naïve. If by the "professional interests of sociologists" he means the pursuit of valid sociological knowledge, then no competent and sincere criticism of sociological theories can hurt such interests. If by "professional interests of sociologists" he means "the existential interests" of various "sociological" Tammany Halls and "Mutual Back-scratching Cliques," the less the number of such Tammany Halls and cliques in sociology, the better for the science of sociology.

PITIRIM A. SOROKIN

Harvard University

NEWS AND NOTES

Boston University.—The University, with the aid of a grant from the Ford Foundation, offers several African studies fellowships for the academic year 1957–58. These fellowships, designed primarily for students of the social sciences who wish to do special work in African studies, are open to qualified candidates who are admitted to the Graduate School of Boston University for full-time study leading to the Master's or Doctor's degree in one of the social sciences or related fields. Fellowships will bear stipends up to \$2,000. The recipient must bear the cost of tuition and fees.

Application forms for admission to the Graduate School may be obtained from the Office of the Dean of the Graduate School, Boston University, Charles River Campus, Boston 15, Massachusetts, and must be received by that office by March 1, 1957. Application forms for African studies fellowships may be obtained from the Director, The African Research and Studies Program, 154 Bay State Road, Boston 15, Massachusetts, and must be received by that office by March 1, 1957. Fellowship announcements will be made on May 1, 1957.

William O. Brown, professor of sociology and director of the African Research and Studies Program, is touring seven African countries as a member of a three-man delegation from the Ford Foundation. The delegation expects to confer with government officials and educators in Africa and to learn of programs that can contribute toward improved understanding and cooperation between educational institutions in America and Africa.

Elizabeth Colson is on leave to direct a study of groups of Tonga people who will soon be moved from their present location in the execution of the Kariba Gorge Project of Northern Rhodesia. Dr. Colson will be affiliated with the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute during this period.

Grace G. Harris will be a member of the staff during Dr. Colson's absence. Dr. Harris received her degree in anthropology from Cambridge University and has worked for twenty-six months in southern Kenya.

George Horner will join a team of scholars

from various American universities in a five-year study of differential responses of selected African societies to Western secular institutions. This study has been made possible by a Carnegie Corporation grant. The team will carry on their research in four West African territories under British and French administrations. Dr. Horner plans to be in the Ivory Coast of French West Africa during the year 1958–59.

Brandeis University.—Major attention to anthropological instruction and to research dealing with early man has been made possible by a \$250,000 grant from the Samuel Rubin Foundation of New York City. As part of a five-year plan to strengthen the anthropology program, the gift will enable the University to begin a planned program of archeological research to seek out some of the answers concerning the transition of early man from the Paleolithic to the Neolithic culture.

Brooklyn College.—Herbert A. Bloch has been promoted to be full professor.

Charles Radford Lawrence, Jr., has become an assistant professor.

University of Chicago.—Max Horkheimer, professor in the Department of Sociology, also of the University of Frankfurt, is offering a seminar in the Winter Quarter on "Society and Value."

The National Opinion Research Center in March, 1956, received a grant from the Health Information Foundation for an investigation of the health problems of older people. Three samples of people are now being interviewed: a national probability sample of older people, persons designated by these people as responsible for them in case of emergency, and a national adult cross-section. Analyses of these data will continue through 1957.

Community Studies, Inc. (Kansas City).—Among the social scientists on the Community Studies permanent staff, there are now eight sociologists.

Howard S. Becker is completing the field-

work phase of a study of medical students at the University of Kansas in which he was recently joined by Blanche Geer, from Johns Hopkins University.

Irwin Deutscher is working with Everett C. Hughes and Helen MacGill Hughes on a book commissioned by the American Nurses' Association to integrate and interpret the results of the Association's five-year program of research grants.

Everett and Helen Hughes spent the fall quarter in Kansas City on leave from the University of Chicago.

Anselm Strauss, of the University of Chicago, will spend the spring quarter in Kansas City working with the medical-school study.

Thomas S. McPartland, who until recently was head of the Department of Sociology at the University of South Dakota, has joined the staff and is preparing a monograph dealing with the social-psychological aspects of nursing education on data derived from interviews with over two hundred student nurses in nine schools of nursing in the Kansas City area.

Peter New is engaged in a two-year experimental study of nursing resources in three Kansas City hospitals under a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Warren A. Peterson, working closely with the Metropolitan Area Planning Staff of architects, political scientists, and economists, is analyzing the urban power structure.

Elijah L. White, who heads the Field Survey and Statistical Division, is working on a monograph dealing with chronic illness and the rehabilitation of the handicapped.

Two Community Studies fellowships have been awarded this year to advanced graduate students in sociology: Andrew L. Wade, working toward his degree from the University of Wisconsin, is engaged in field work on a study of vandalism; Audrey Forrest, a doctoral candidate at the University of Nebraska, is in the area of race relations.

Martin B. Loeb has resigned from the staff and is now associate professor in the School of Social Work of the University of California at Los Angeles.

Earl Rubington has also resigned in order to accept a position at Yale University's School of Alcohol Studies and the Connecticut Commission on Alcoholism.

Other projects in which staff sociologists play a consulting role are concerned with city planning, hospital facilities, educational facilities,

and social agencies.

Teaching appointments are held this semester in the University of Kansas City's Department of Sociology, under the chairmanship of Ernest Manheim, by Deutscher, Peterson, McPartland, and White.

Community Studies is collaborating with the University of Chicago's Committee on Human Development in two Kansas City projects: a five-year longitudinal study of aging and its crises (directed by Elaine Cumming, recently with Cornell University), with Dan C. Lortie, formerly N.O.R.C. associate director, and a study of social processes in a tuberculosis hospital, directed by Julius Roth.

Cornell University.—The Department of Mathematics and the University's Social Science Research Center are introducing a sequence of three one-semester courses of mathematics for the social scientist. The courses will emphasize principles rather than computing skill and will apply these principles to concrete examples from the various social sciences.

Harry Pollard, of the Department of Mathematics, is directing the project. Graduate students from any of the social science departments are admitted to the courses, the only prerequisites being high-school algebra, geometry, and trigonometry.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twenty-seventh annual meeting of the Society will take place on April 13 and 14 in New York City at the Hotel New Yorker. A special feature of the convention will be the address to the whole society by E. Franklin Frazier, recipient of the first MacIver Lectureship of the American Sociological Society.

Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund.—A limited number of postdoctoral fellowships are available in child development and social welfare to permit full-time research with children or on their behalf. Each fellowship will be \$6,000 per year. Applicants must have completed all requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the time of application and be citizens of the United States. Preference will be given to those applicants under thirty-eight years of age who received the Ph.D. degree before June 30, 1955. It is expected that proposed research will require one or two years for its completion.

For consideration in the spring of 1957, applications should be received before April 1.

Applicants will be notified by May 15. Further information may be obtained from Donald Brieland, Director, Elizabeth McCormick Memorial Fund, 155 East Ohio Street, Chicago 11, Illinois.

Human Relations Area Files.—A new "Series of Country Surveys and Bibliographies" is being issued. Bibliographies available now include: *Afghanistan* (annotated), compiled by Donald N. Wilber; *Burma* (annotated), compiled by Frank N. Trager; *China: Modern Economic and Social Development* (French, German, and English sources), compiled by T. L. Yuan; *Japanese Sources on Southeast Asia* (annotated), compiled by James K. Irikura; and *The Philippines* (annotated), compiled by Fred Eggan. Bibliographies in process and available soon include: *Indonesia*, *Japanese and Chinese Sources on Burma*, *Syria-Jordan-Lebanon*, and *Uralic Peoples*.

Of "Country Surveys," there is now available *Afghanistan* by Donald N. Wilber and associates. In process and available soon are *Brunei, Sarawak, and North Borneo (British Borneo)*, *Jordan*, *The Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (RSFSR)*, *Finland*, *Iran*, *Lebanon*, and *Syria*.

Orders should be sent to Human Relations Area Files, Box 2054, Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

University of Illinois.—In addition to its regular summer program of courses, during the summer session of 1957 the Department of Sociology and Anthropology will offer to graduate students interested in penology a course in field instruction and research in penal sociology which is to be conducted on the campus at Urbana and in the Illinois state penitentiaries. Only four students will be admitted to this course. Applications for admission to the course will be accepted until May 1, 1957, and should be in the form of letters giving full statements of qualifications. Applications and requests for additional information should be sent to the Chairman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, 320 Lincoln Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Istituto Luigi Sturzo (Rome).—The Institute offers a prize for a sociological paper judged to be a contribution from the point of view both of serious research and of maturity of thought, free from editorial restrictions, and ready to go to

press. The subject of the essay is: "The Methodological Significance and Normative Value of the So-called Sociological Laws, Confronted with Physical, Economic, and Ethical Laws." The prize, which will not be divided, is five hundred thousand lire (L. 500,000), to be awarded one month from the day on which the report of the committee of the judges is published. Scholars of any nationality may compete. The work submitted must be written in one of the following languages: Italian, English, French, German, or Spanish. The paper must be in the hands of the Secretariat of the Institute, in five typewritten copies, not later than December 31, 1957. The prize will be awarded on or about May 31, 1958.

Address inquiries to Istituto Luigi Sturzo, Via delle Coppelle, 35, Rome, Italy.

Kansas Wesleyan University.—Paul C. P. Siu has joined the faculty as assistant professor and head of the Department of Sociology. He was formerly with the International Institute of Boston and Avon College and received his A.B. and Ph.D. degrees from the University of Chicago.

Merrill-Palmer School.—New graduate and postgraduate one-year programs of intensive research training in human development and family, designed to supplement graduate training in psychology, sociology, education, and home economics, are now offered to the student who wishes supervised research experience in an ongoing project or in one initiated by himself. The program is directed by Irving Sigel, staff members being Lee Stott, Marian Breckenridge, Anton Brenner, Melvin Baer, Albert Dreyer, Martin Hoffman, Clark E. Moustakes, Nancy Morse, Donald Pomeroy, David Smillie, and Irving Torgoff. Fellowships are available, with stipends from \$1,000 to \$2,500. Applications will be acted on beginning March 1. For further details write to: Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer School, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan. For information on fellowships write to the Registrar at the same address.

The School also announces its 1956-57 internship program in counseling and psychotherapy for social workers, psychologists, psychiatrists, and marriage counselors. Applicants should be those in the final phase of the doctorate (post-Master's in social work) or postdoctoral. Twelve academic months are spent in handling cases under the supervision of a multi-

disciplinary team and in supplementary theoretical study. The cases handled cover the complete life-cycle. The basic fellowships are \$1,000 with allowances for dependents, making possible a maximum of \$3,600 in some cases. Inquiries should be made immediately to Aaron L. Rutledge, The Counseling Service, 71 East Ferry Avenue, Detroit 2, Michigan.

Metropolitan St. Louis Survey.—The Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, financed by grants from the Ford Foundation and the McDonnell Trust and sponsored by both St. Louis and Washington universities, is presenting an interdisciplinary graduate seminar in metropolitan research. The course, accredited by the two universities, is conducted by eleven political scientists, sociologists, and economists from the staffs of seven universities and colleges. The Survey is attempting to increase the supply of trained research personnel—now very small in number—in the field.

Communications from individuals, particularly persons offering academic courses in the metropolitan field, are invited. They should be directed to John C. Bollens, Executive Officer and Director of Research, Metropolitan St. Louis Survey, 8147 Delmar Boulevard, University City 24, Missouri.

University of Michigan.—A grant of \$250,000 has been made by the Russell Sage Foundation to the University of Michigan to support a program of doctoral training and research in social work and social science. Admission of students to the program will begin in the fall of 1957. The program leads to a Master's degree in social work and to a Ph.D. degree in social work and one of the social sciences. Emphasis in the new program is placed on development of the knowledge and skills required in the application of research knowledge in practice. Students will be offered work in advanced theory and research in one social science, in one area of social work or the social services, and in the integration of concepts and methods in social work and the social sciences, with a supervised research internship.

Several special fellowships have been established for the program, which is under the direction of an interdepartmental committee composed of Morris Janowitz, associate professor of sociology, chairman; Eleanor Cranefield, professor of social work; William Haber, professor of economics; Daniel Miller, associate professor of

psychology; and Robert D. Vinter, assistant professor of social work.

The final date for filing applications for the fall of 1957 is May 1. Information may be obtained by writing to David G. French, School of Social Work, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

Michigan State University.—The Department of Sociology and Anthropology will have available a limited number of assistantships for the academic year 1957-58 in research for work in Michigan and Latin America and on the United States-Mexican border and for teaching. Interested persons should address inquiries to Charles P. Loomis, head of the department.

Glen Taggart has been appointed dean in charge of the University's international programs. Before coming to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Dr. Taggart was in charge of the Branch for Technical Collaboration in the Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, United States Department of Agriculture.

The Social Research Service of the department has received a grant from the Hospital Facility Research Section of the United States Public Health Service for a study of hospital-community relations for five years at \$25,000 per year. J. W. Artis, of the department, and Walter Freeman, of the Community Service Section in Continuing Education, are co-chairmen of the project.

Recent staff additions include Richard Adams, who has been working with the World Health Organization in Latin America, and Iwao Ishino, formerly of Ohio State University. Both will give special attention to teaching and research in cultural anthropology.

Leo Schnore and Jack Preiss have joined the staff. Both will devote part time to research in the University's Highway Traffic Safety Center. Dr. Schnore will study the demographic aspects of highway traffic safety, and Dr. Preiss will work on social-psychological aspects.

Christopher Sower has returned from a Fulbright Research Scholarship in Ceylon, where he studied the effectiveness and consequences of the Ceylon government village-development program in eleven villages.

John F. Thaden has been granted retirement status, effective July 1, 1956.

J. A. Beegle and Leo Schnore are serving on the committee of the Population Association of America for the 1960 census.

University of Minnesota.—The Graduate School announces for the second consecutive year a four-year graduate training and fellowship program for prospective research workers in the behavioral sciences leading to the Ph.D. degree in one of the following disciplines: economics, political science, social anthropology, psychology, or sociology. Competition for 1957-58 appointments is open to highly qualified students who expect to receive the B.A. degree before September, 1957. The program permits both specialization in a single social science field and mastery of a core common to several behavioral disciplines. Successful applicants study on a four-year stipend schedule of alternating fellowship and assistantship support.

Application forms may be secured from Ann Cornog, 404 Johnston Hall, University of Minnesota, Minneapolis 14, Minnesota.

University of Missouri.—Robert Habenstein spent the summer as secretary to the Commission on Mortuary Education, which is making a two-year study of the recruitment, training, indoctrination, and sponsorship of trainees in mortuary science.

Edwin Christ, research associate, has completed a monograph on the history of the nursing profession in Missouri, financed by a grant from the Missouri Nurses Association.

Buford Rhea, Marvin P. Riley, and Charles S. Henderson have been appointed instructors.

Robert F. G. Spier, who last summer in California conducted research on tool acculturation among nineteenth-century Chinese immigrants, will teach at the University of Oregon in the summer of 1957.

Carl Chapman is spending most of this year directing archeological research in three areas of Missouri. Excavations in the Table Rock Reservoir area are being done in co-operation with the National Park Service.

Northwestern University.—Wendell Bell has been awarded a Faculty Research Fellowship by the Social Science Research Council. He will devote approximately half-time in the next three years to a study of social mobility in Jamaica.

Henry W. Bruck, of Princeton University, has joined the staff of the Department of Sociology as instructor.

Junerous Mack and Earl Quinney have entered the department to pursue graduate degrees under Woodrow Wilson Fellowships.

Ernest R. Mowrer has received a grant from the Center for Metropolitan Studies for a study of family patterns in suburban living.

Raymond W. Mack, who has received a grant from the Graduate School, will undertake an analysis of occupational prestige.

Margaret Plymire has been awarded a fellowship by the National Institute for Mental Health for graduate study and research on the occupational behavior of nurses.

Queens College.—Thomas J. Price spent last summer on the island of San Andrés in the western Caribbean, engaged in a comparison of San Andrés with a mainland community as to culture change and its effects on personality development. The research was sponsored by the Research and Training Program of the Study of Man in the Tropics of Columbia University.

Ernestine Friedl spent the academic year 1955-56 on a field study of a rural village in mainland Greece, the research being supported by a Fulbright Grant and the Wenner-Gren Foundation.

Second International Congress for Social Law.—The Second International Congress for Social Law will be held June 8-13, 1958, within the plan of the Brussels World Exhibition. The general subject is the part played by the state in regulating labor and in organizing social security.

General reporters of sections are: "Individual Labor Conditions," Professor Nipperdey, president to the Bundesarbeitsgericht, Federal Germany; "Collective Labor Conditions," Professor Kahn-Freund, Great Britain; "Social Security," Professor Levenbach, Netherlands; "The State and the Organization of the Insurance Relating to Injuries to Workmen," Professor Horion, Belgium; "Labor Conditions and Social Security in Nonautonomous Territories," an officer of the International Labor Bureau; "Federal and Supernational Structures and Social Legislation," Professor de la Cueva, Mexico. The working languages are French and English. The fee of 250 Belgian francs entitles one to receive the working documents and to participate in the receptions. Participants not only can visit the Brussels World Exhibition but will have an opportunity to contact the four Belgian universities (Brussels, Ghent, Liège, and Louvain), where working meetings are to be organized. Inquiries are to be sent to M. Cornil, Secretary to the Organising Committee of the Congress, 27, Avenue Jeanne, Brussels, Belgium.

Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.—The Society, a division of the American Psychological Association, announces grants-in-

aid for research on desegregation. A total sum of \$1,000 has been made available, but no single grant will be in excess of \$500. The judges appointed to evaluate applications are: Isidor Chein, Kenneth B. Clark, and Herbert Hyman, with M. Brewster Smith, chairman. Applications, preferably in quadruplicate, specifying budgetary needs and data to make possible an evaluation of the proposed project must be submitted before June 1, 1957, to M. Brewster Smith, Graduate Department of Psychology, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—Social scientists who would like to propose twelve-minute reports on empirical research for the spring meeting to be held in New York City on April 13 should send three copies of an abstract not exceeding three hundred words to Werner Wolff, Bard College, Annandale-on-Hudson, New York, before March 10.

Sociological Abstracts.—The editors of this abstracting periodical would like to contact foreign students now studying social sciences in the United States. Interested individuals are asked to write to: The Editor, Sociological Abstracts, 218 East Twelfth Street, New York 3, New York.

UNESCO Research Center, Calcutta.—Dr. Pandharinath Prabhu, until recently head of the Psychology Department and Laboratory at the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay, and author of *Hindu Social Organization: Psychological Foundations* (2d rev. ed., 1954) and other publications, has joined the UNESCO Research Center at Calcutta, India, as senior research officer.

The Center has been recently established by UNESCO to study the social implications of industrialization in member countries of South-east Asia, viz., Afghanistan, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Laos, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Viet-Nam, Malaya, and the British Borneo group of states. Realizing that social problems need to be attacked by social scientists from different disciplines working together, the Center plans to have on its staff psychologists, social anthropologists, economists, and political scientists as full-time members and fellows. Their activities will be carried out in close co-operation with the universities and research institutions in the member countries. Among projects to be given priority are: psychological, social, and cultural

factors affecting productivity, which is being undertaken jointly with the International Social Science Council; social aspects of development of small-scale industries; and the effects of rapid economic development on law and custom. The Center has a documentation service and is publishing a bulletin of information on current research in the social sciences in the region.

The address of the Center is: P.O. Box 242, Calcutta, India.

United States Office of Education.—Research of significance to education is being supported by the Office of Education on a co-operative basis with colleges, universities, and state educational agencies under Public Law 531 (83d Congress). Conserving and developing human resources, the housing and staff of the nation's schools and colleges, and the educational implications of the expanding technology are listed as areas of interest for research. Of particular interest is the problem of educating the mentally retarded. However, proposals in other educationally significant areas of research are also invited.

For further information or for research proposal forms write: Commissioner of Education, United States Office of Education, Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington 25, D.C.

Washington University.—A social science institute was set up in November to aid research and related applications in the social and behavioral sciences. N. J. Demerath, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, will direct the institute, whose services will be available to faculty and students in all divisions of the University. The institute will receive and administer funds to support research by individuals and teams within the University for both long- and short-term projects in anthropology, economics, political science, psychology and psychiatry, sociology, history, and certain medical specialties and involving professional schools, including the School of Business and Public Administration, the School of Engineering, and the School of Social Work.

The faculty board consists of Marion E. Bunch, psychology; Thomas H. Eliot, political science; William Emory, business administration; Werner Hirsch, economics; Richard Lyman, history; Gerald Nadler, engineering; Robert J. Schaefer, education; Robert E. Shank, M.D., medicine; Dean Lewis Hahn, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences; Dean Thomas S. Hall, College of Liberal Arts; and Vice-Chancellor Carl Tolman.

Stuart A. Queen has retired from the chairmanship of the department but will continue his research and teaching until June, 1958, at which time he will become an emeritus professor.

The new chairman is Nicholas J. Demerath, who was previously at the universities of North Carolina, Tulane, and Harvard.

Two new assistant professorships have been created. Joseph A. Kahl, formerly of Harvard University and the University of North Carolina, has been appointed to one. His book, *Social Class in America*, was published by Rinehart in January, 1957. Robert Miller, formerly with the University of Washington Far Eastern Research Center, is the second. His doctoral dissertation will be published as *The Story of the Third Jewel: Monasteries and Culture Change in Inner Mongolia* by Harrassowitz, Inc., Wiesbaden, in "Göttingen Asiatische Forschungen."

Preston Holder is working with the United States National Parks Service this year and also is continuing his study of mounds archeology in the St. Louis region.

The *Midwest Sociologist* will be published at Washington University for the next three years, with Paul J. Campisi as editor. The University is subsidizing the journal with an amount equal to that given by the Society.

Arthur Prell, assistant professor, is devoting two-thirds time this year to a project for the United States Civil Defense Agency, of which he is the research director.

Wayne State University.—The following persons have joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology: Richard A. Waterman, from the Department of Anthropology, Northwestern University, as associate professor; Alvin Rose, from North Carolina State College, as visiting lecturer; Lyle Shannon, from the University of Wisconsin, as visiting lecturer; Mel J. Ravits, from Detroit City Planning Commission, as assistant professor; and Mason Griff, from Indiana University (Calumet Center), as instructor.

The following have rejoined the staff: John Biesanz, on leave as a Smith-Mundt professor in Guatemala; Leonard W. Moss, on leave as a Fulbright Research Scholar, in Italy; and Harold L. Sheppard, on leave as visiting assistant professor at the University of Michigan.

The following are at present on leave: H. Warren Dunham, as Fulbright Fellow in Amsterdam, and Edward Jandy, as Fulbright Fellow in Karachi.

Stephen Cappannari, recently a Fulbright

Fellow in Italy, with Leonard Moss, is engaged in writing a report on a village study of Bagnoli del Trigno.

Dean Victor A. Rapport, also recently returned from a year as a Fulbright Fellow in Italy, is working with Drs. Moss and Cappannari on a report on the development of Italian social science research.

A study of the role of psychiatric aides in a home for the mentally retarded was recently completed by the department, under the direction of Harold L. Sheppard and Leonard W. Moss.

When Labor Votes: A Study of Auto Workers was recently published by Albert J. Mayer, Harold L. Sheppard, and Arthur Kornhauser.

At least two graduate teaching fellowships, tenable for two years each, are now available for predoctoral students. The stipend will be approximately \$2,000 for the academic year 1957-58. Application forms may be had from Edgar A. Schuler, chairman of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Wayne State University, Detroit 2, Michigan.

College of Wooster.—The head of the Department of Sociology, Atlee L. Stroup, is on leave during 1956-57 to do research on race relations and to conduct family research at the University of North Carolina.

F. James Davis is acting chairman for the year. He with two others have completed their report of a Carnegie Foundation-sponsored study of undergraduate programs of independent study which is to be published by Columbia University Press in 1957.

New instructors in the department are Robert G. Doel and George M. Stabler.

James L. Beers continues as instructor and as probation officer of Wayne County.

T. Quentin Evans has left to become associate professor at Manchester College.

Yale University.—The Summer School of Alcohol Studies will hold its fifteenth annual session from July 1 to 27, 1957. An interdisciplinary study of problems of alcohol and alcoholism in society is offered, with lectures and seminars under the direction of specialists drawn from the social sciences, medicine and psychiatry, religion, education, and public health. Enrollment is limited to two hundred students.

For information write to the Registrar, Yale Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

Essays on the Sociology of Culture. By KARL MANNHEIM. Edited by ERNEST MANHEIM in co-operation with PAUL KECSKEMETI. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. Pp. ix+253. \$6.00.

This handsome volume contains three articles written in Germany in the early 1930's. Adolph Lowe in his editorial note reports that Mannheim made some major revisions in the original drafts during the early years of his stay in England but finally set them aside, the evidence being that he was prevented by purely external circumstances from publishing them. Nevertheless, doubt remains as to whether or not the author considered the work to be ready for publication; whether or not he was willing to have ideas expressed in it considered as his last word on a given subject, particularly where they are in contrast to previously expressed views; and whether or not he felt that some inconsistencies and contradictions represented the closest possible approach to the problems they concern.

Ernest Manheim has translated the first two articles from German, Kecskemeti the third. Their terminology differs at times, and their editorial policy and approach to the task of translation seem not the same. Translating Mannheim is a particularly difficult task: Lowe advises us that "... the editors had to rethink the original text without distorting the author's intentions," but he also asserts the translation is accurate "in the letter as well as in the spirit." Kecskemeti, in a special note, admits his translation to be free; Manheim does not state his policy. Their difficulties started with the title. What Mannheim was talking about was not culture but *Geist*. Neither "culture" nor "mind" nor "spirit" is sufficiently ambiguous and sufficiently loaded with emotional connotations to do justice to the term. They use the terms "mind" ("something akin to reason") and "culture" ("the socially shared and objective heritage") interchangeably.

Ernest Manheim, in an excellently written and well-reasoned Introduction, tries to present a unified line of thought as running through the three essays. However, a reader who does not share the translator's sympathetic approach

may have considerable difficulty in discovering a main argument in the digressive maze.

Toward the end of "The Democratization of Culture," Mannheim arrives at the insight that democracy, pragmatism, and positivism tend to be associated and not to conflict. Possibly this insight, together with a growing appreciation of democracy in the presence of rising German nazism, motivated him to search for a new approach to sociology, free from Hegelian and Marxist dogma and method. The first essay, "Towards the Sociology of the Mind: An Introduction," takes its start from Hegel's *Phenomenology of the Mind* (*Phenomenologie des Geistes*) and contrasts it with the subject proposed in the title of the essay. This implies a turning-away from the historical frame of reference. But through all three essays the reader is treated to endless historical accounts and generalizations from isolated historical cases whose causality is assessed on no other basis than the very principle that the case exhibits. Historical continuity and historical change are still the basic framework of much of the discussion. The turning-away from Hegel also implies a turning-away from dialectics, both in Hegel's "idealistic" and Marx's "materialistic" form. And, indeed, Mannheim abstains more or less from dialectic reasoning until in the very last pages of the book he takes to prophesying about the future of democracy (p. 234). The rational and mechanistic view of the world, he states, is only partial, and the real achievement of democracy lies in making it possible for man to experience love as a purely personal and existential matter, transcending all social categories, and to "possess himself as he is in his supra-social essence . . . unconstricted by his contingent social situation." In its final development, democracy resolves the antitheses of the I and the object, the I and the Thou, and the I and the Myself in syntheses of ecstasy. And so the original intent to abandon Hegel is given up after some valiant attempts toward nominalism and empiricism.

The first essay establishes a sociological frame of reference. Three levels of analysis are distinguished: general sociology in the sense of Simmel or Park, the most abstract approach; comparative sociology, somewhat more con-

crete; and historical sociology, the most concrete, on which involved phenomena like the New Deal or the French Academy can be studied. Problems are posed in the German thinking of the 1920's with little bearing on American thinking of today, except where the sociology of thought, of ideas, or of knowledge becomes involved. In this field, as always, Mannheim is suggestive and tantalizing.

The second essay, "The Problem of the Intelligentsia: An Enquiry into Its Past and Present Role," is partly a defense against accusations that Mannheim considered the intelligentsia an exalted stratum, privy to revelations. The intelligentsia is not a class and cannot form a party, but it is interstitial to the classes. The class, he states, consists of individuals who "act uniformly in accordance with their like interests and like position in the productive process," and thus differs from a conscious class, whose members "act collectively in accordance with a conscious evaluation of their class position." The major part of the essay is devoted to a history of the intelligentsia. The short "Digression on the Social Roots of Scepticism"—said to emerge from the eclipse of a group-centered world view—may well be the most valuable part of the book. The final section, which deals with the intellectual in the modern world, deserves the attention of educators, citizens in general, and the intellectuals themselves.

"The Democratization of Culture" ("culture" stands again for *Geist*), starts by listing three basic principles of democracy, which are applied to various aspects of philosophy, science, art, etiquette, language, and aesthetics. "Distance" between elites and masses, between individuals, and even between aspects of the self within the individual is used as a key concept in the discussion of democratization. This essay is the most stimulating of the three, at least before it reaches its anticlimactic ending in the ecstatic synthesis already mentioned.

Mannheim's life work is now available in its completeness. What is to survive will depend on the taste of future generations. No doubt his statements about relationships among social and cultural variables will be submitted increasingly to empirical testing and will survive either as he formulated them or in appropriately modified forms. His conceptual framework will probably be discarded.

FRANZ ADLER

University of Arkansas

Community Life and Social Policy: Selected Papers by Louis Wirth. Edited by ELIZABETH MARVICK WIRTH and ALBERT J. REISS, JR. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956.

Wirth's untimely death in 1952 places his contributions to the literature of the social studies in the realm of history; he was, however, a person of quite exceptional ability and energy; and during his too short life he was able to formulate in lucid and provocative language much stimulating and revealing observation, insight, and generalization. Except for his early *The Ghetto* (1928), his writings were published, one by one, in a number of different journals and other media; it is unlikely, accordingly, that many of us have ever seen all of them. It is a real service to the social science community, therefore, to have the more significant of them brought together in this handsome volume, painstakingly edited by Elizabeth Wirth Marvick and Albert J. Reiss, Jr., with a Foreword by Herbert Blumer and an Introduction by Philip M. Hauser.

Doubtless no one ever made an entirely original contribution to the accumulating body of ordered human thought, and to this Louis Wirth was no exception. In general, the influence of Robert E. Park is apparent in his choice of subject matter, in the manner of conceptualization, and even in the general style of his thought. Wirth had a keen and profound insight into fundamental or "theoretic" points and issues, but, like Park, he sometimes expressed these rather cryptically.

The editors have grouped the twenty-five papers republished here under four headings: "Community and Society," "The Human Community," "Problems of Social Life," and "Social Problems and Planning." This choice of subtitles well expresses the main trend of Wirth's thought and interest. Some of his best writings were expressly concerned with social action—notably his address before the Commercial Club of Chicago in 1944, "Chicago: Where Now?"—the most provocative paper in this volume and one not widely known. On the other hand, Wirth's powers of abstraction and conceptualization are strikingly exemplified in "Social Interaction: The Problem of the Individual and the Group" (pp. 21-34 [1939]); in his brilliant Preface to the translation of Karl Mannheim's *Ideology and Utopia*, which he and Edward Shils published in 1936; and, in only slightly lesser degree, in one or two of the other

papers collected in the present volume.

"Urbanism as a Way of Life" (July, 1938), while not entirely original (some of its points had been anticipated by Park in 1915 and 1925, and by others before him) and while some of its points may now be outdated, is still a very suggestive and profound treatment of the significance of urbanism, which was perhaps the most central theme of Wirth's studies throughout his career. Unlike some of the others who had written about rural-urban differences, he emphasized the gradual transitions that have taken place from rural to urban ways and the persistence of rural or village norms in the city.

The volume is very attractively printed and bound and includes a complete Bibliography of the writings of Louis Wirth and an Index which seems to be adequate.

FLOYD N. HOUSE

University of Virginia

Peasant Society and Culture: An Anthropological Approach to Civilization. By ROBERT REDFIELD. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. 162. \$2.75.

This little book deals with "that enlargement of the anthropological subject matter" which follows from an increasing amount of field work in communities not isolated and self-contained. Redfield deals primarily with "peasant" societies and cultures, reviewing and integrating data and interpretations from Middle America, China, the Islamic world, Paraguay, Norway, Spain, France, Italy, India, and other areas. He considers social relations, culture or tradition, and "the peasant view of the good life."

Redfield defines as "peasant" societies "those in which there are long-established relations with an elite whose culture is that of the peasant carried to another level of development." In considering country-wide networks of social relations, one must take account of the following elements: "The closeness or openness of the mesh, the range or scope of the network, the kinds of human interests served by the relationships that make up the mesh, the stability of the relationships—whether occasional or permanent. . . . We may think of peasant culture as a small circle overlapping with much larger and less clearly defined areas of culture, or . . . as a lower circle unwinding into the upward-spreading spirals of civilization." Systems of thought must be developed—and are being developed—

appropriate to the enlarged contexts of traditions that have great historical depth.

The author's earlier conception of peasantry as "an attitude toward the universe" involving a cluster of three closely related values (an intimate and reverent attitude toward the land; the idea that agricultural work is good and commerce is not; an emphasis on productive industry as a prime virtue) is revised in the light of recent studies in Italy, Spain, and Syria. Redfield wonders whether the exceptions to his generalizations in these areas arise from the fact that in them all the *polis* and the *civitas* flourished for many centuries. After an extremely incisive discussion, he presents a modified statement of peasant values which he recognizes as "vague and impressionistic": an intense attachment to native soil; a reverent disposition toward habitat and ancestral ways; a restraint on individual self-seeking in favor of family and community; a certain suspiciousness, mixed with appreciation, of town life; a sober and earthy ethic.

This latest book is, of course, written in the urbane, pleasant, and cultivated style we have come to expect from Robert Redfield. And there are many plums, both conceptual and methodological, in this intellectual pudding. By way of example: the author explains why "primitives" are more easily drawn into industrialization than true "peasants." He introduces some new variations on his familiar theme of relations between the humanities and the social sciences. Work among peasant groups forces a juxtaposition of "textual" and "contextual" techniques. In particular, anthropological work in India will compel a synthesis.

CLYDE KLUCKHOHN

Harvard University

Democracy and the American Party System. By AUSTIN RANNEY and WILLMOORE KENDALL. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1956. Pp. xiv+550.

This appraisal of the American party system as an agency of democratic government is, as the authors take pains to acknowledge, a restricted view of the subject; obviously, there are other very important criteria by which the parties might be evaluated. For them, democracy is the procedure of the town meeting, with such modifications as are made necessary by the size and other circumstances of the nation-state.

Their "democratic model" is built on four main principles: popular sovereignty, political equality, popular consultation, and majority rule.

These pages on the nature of democracy are reasonable if one accepts their premise. However, popular sovereignty, for example, means that "the whole power of the government resides in the whole people." Is this to say that in a democracy everyone is equally with everyone else the source of political legitimacy? Or that in a democracy the ability (not the *right*) of everyone to influence political decisions is in some sense equal to (the same as?) the ability of everyone else? What is the relation of this to "political equality," which exists when "each member of the community has the same formal right as the others to participate in the community's decision-making process"?

These ambiguities are not crucial, for the theory has little relation to what follows: highly informative sections on the history of political parties, the structure of the American party system, the major activities of the parties, and the nature and role of the minor parties. The appraisal of the party system by the standards set up is left for a brief final chapter, and it turns out that only one principle—popular consultation—contributes to the analysis.

On the whole, the book is good, but one suspects that a different understanding of the nature of democracy might have made it better. Different premises might, for example, have led the authors to inquire how it happens that a party system which is in many respects extremely "undemocratic" as to the principles of the majority nevertheless keeps on producing a political outcome which is, on balance, more "democratic," in a different and more significant sense, than that produced by the institutions of almost any other big country. Putting the question this way might have led to more insight into party behavior and to a more tenable theory of democracy.

EDWARD C. BANFIELD

University of Chicago

The Baumannville Community: A Study of the Family Life of Urban Africans. Edited by WILBUR C. HALLENBECK. Durban: Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, 1955. Pp. 217.

The Baumannville Community is the first of five racial and interracial areas to be studied in

Durban. The inner flyleaf's caption, "A Study of the First African Family Location in Durban" seems more appropriate and inclusive. Chapters on "The People," "Houses, Families, and Households," and "Marriage, Family Life, and Children" are placed in their proper context when occupation, education, religious and magical beliefs, leisure time, and individual and family adjustment to urban living are considered. There is a description of the historical background and administrative policies of the location, and the monograph concludes with the study of the residents' attitudes toward other racial groups and the means whereby community solidarity is attained. The appropriate chapters were written co-operatively by a sociologist, a psychologist, and a social anthropologist.

It is no surprise to read of overcrowding, aggravated by the implanting of the tribal kinship system here as new migrants seek to adjust to a new social milieu, while, at the same time, they help others to do likewise. Overcrowding is also related to the paucity of social and welfare services, limited economic opportunities, lack of available housing, and the apartheid system. The researchers do not defend the latter or hesitate to identify the resulting manifestations of the practice. Rather, they suggest remedies which would benefit the whole society, if this system were removed or relaxed and the needed changes effected. Much of this, however, is couched in the responses elicited from the interviewees. A pertinent illustration is the admission of "sneak conversions" following the unwillingness of municipal authorities to heed the residents' pleas for larger quarters for growing families as well as the inability of the municipality to finance new housing for the 120 households embracing some 800 people. The living quarters for each household consist of about two and a half rooms, into which a dozen and more occupants crowd. The legal and social restrictions circumscribing the lives and aspirations of the residents are discussed at some length.

The attitudes of Baumannville's residents toward other groups, especially the Indians and Coloured, are stressed, despite the claim that "contacts with other races are neither extensive nor intense." It is on this topic that the data could be more illuminating. Little is revealed of the Europeans' attitudes toward the Africans. Moreover, the residents' reactions to the visits of Europeans (mainly officials, church dignitaries, social workers, or salesmen) on specified occasions with a definite purpose are not re-

ported with penetration. Such visits include house-to-house raids and searches for illicitly brewed beer and the sale thereof to supplement or provide needed income; enforcement of legal restrictions; suppressing fights between them and the Indians (separated by a fence) or the beer customers in the adjacent "bachelor's location." In brief, contacts between the "rulers" and the "ruled" are held to a minimum.

The researchers suggest that the minimal degree of contact between Baumannvillers and others intensifies their persistent prejudices. Quoting Allport, they claim that "while intense contacts tend to reduce prejudice, casual contacts seem more likely to increase it." To readers with any knowledge of the South African society, this comparison is unrealistic. It is laying the blame for "social distance" at the door of the Africans, who, save for the hours of work outside the community, have little choice in initiating, maintaining, or continuing social relations with Europeans. It can hardly be said that they do not have contacts with Indians, their neighbors, and with the Coloured, some of whom reside in Baumannville.

This volume illustrates a very important sociological theorem: rural migrants settling in cities must undergo a period of acculturation. This requires the constant and unrestricted *sharing* of urban culture and city ways with others who have lived there longer. If acculturation is selective, abnormal behavior patterns are apt to be acquired and then transmitted to the young. In time, they become normative. In the end this undermines the social control set up by Europeans. Gradually, community solidarity is threatened, and social as well as personal disorganization tends to rise. Such is suggested to be occurring already in Baumannville.

Baumannville is a model location whose residents have been exposed longest to urban influences, new behavior patterns and values, and European control. Since this is a pioneer effort, it is hoped that later studies will utilize the present findings for definitive comparisons with other communities, whether they are African, Indian, or Coloured.

This monograph is commendable for blazing the trail in objectively presenting the way of life of an African community about which the average reader knows little. Even for those with a more intimate knowledge of South Africa, it points to the varying degrees of permissiveness or oppressiveness, operating within the framework of apartheid found in the Union of South Africa. The Institute for Social Research at the

University of Natal has demonstrated again that its efforts to portray social life and organization in Durban have far-reaching influence and do much to counteract the sensational works that have wider circulation.

ROSE HUM LEE

Roosevelt University

The Yao Village: A Study in the Social Structure of a Nyasaland Tribe. By J. CLYDE MITCHELL. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1956. Pp. xviii+235. 30s.

Among the central African peoples cultivating with the hoe and tending flocks of small stock, the local village not only is spatially the most significant social group but, as the structural unit in the larger chiefdom, on the one hand, and as the focus of individual kinship and the achievement of status, on the other, is the logical point from which to view the total society. Among the Yao, chiefdoms are independent collections of villages, which are, in turn, nearly autonomous. Chiefs, themselves village headmen, function as ritual leaders, as judges (today, of course, under white authority), and as representatives of their people against oppressive headmen or between the people and the administration. The extent to which a subject village and its headmen are under the control of the chief depends partly upon the headman's kin relationship with his chief and partly on the size of his village. As their villages increase in size and importance, headmen take over some of the judicial functions of the local chief and rise in prestige.

The structural analysis of Yao society which Mitchell provides is far from static, for he focuses not only on the relationship between chiefs, headmen, and villagers but also on such processes as those which permit a headman to gain authority at the expense of his chief and those which lead to fission of the villages. Particularly in the analysis of the ambivalent role of a male headman in a matrilineal and uxori-local society the structural approach in the tradition of British social anthropology leads to a clear understanding of the opposing internal forces locally at play. Family disputes, between sisters, between wives and daughters of the extended family, or between other villagers, are likely to be carried both to the headman and to other male kinsmen, who then frequently find themselves supporting rival factions. Village disharmony opens the door to accusations of

sorcery to which the village would otherwise be immune, and, unless there is prompt and decisive action, including ritual public disavowal or recantation of malice, the general tension, heightened by the fear of sorcery, may lead to the splitting-off of a section of the village. There is then, of course, a consequent reduction in the importance of the parent village and a fall in the status of its headman.

Mitchell's studies of the Yao are indeed a welcome addition to the growing literature of the sociology of political systems.

GORDON D. GIBSON

University of Utah

Polish Immigrants in Britain: A Study in Adjustment. By JERZY ZUBRZYCKI. The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1956. Pp. 192. 11.65 guilders.

This is the third volume in "Studies in Social Life," a series published in the Netherlands under the editorship of Gunther Beyer and Julius Isaac. Zubrzycki, who was at one time at the Polish University College in London, has based his study on personal observations and field work, data from newspapers and the records of various associations, and some personal documents. Judging from the three life-stories included in the Appendix, the personal documents seem meager.

The form and process of adjustment of these Polish settlers in Britain is, it appears, remarkably similar to experiences in the United States. The recent immigrants in Britain are in the first stage of adaptation, in which they live in relatively isolated communities, actively participate in numerous ethnic organizations, the Polish parishes being of the greatest significance, and support a Polish press that is thoroughly propagandistic. Familiar problems of adjustment are somewhat aggravated in Great Britain because of British xenophobia and the immigrants' widespread political interests.

The study is well organized and succinct. After a brief discussion of the historical background Zubrzycki presents a description of the present Polish communities in Great Britain and gives the necessary vital statistics. His principal concern is with the adjustment of the Polish community, which is actually anti-assimilationist, and the processes of accommodation, assimilation, and conflict. According to

him, the process of accommodation predominates, and he concludes from this that the Polish community is a separate entity that accepts basic British institutions as a frame of reference but that personal relationships with one another are not regulated by the institutions.

This study inevitably brings to mind the classical work of Thomas and Znaniecki whose pioneer studies, on the whole, it supplements and confirms. Zubrzycki acknowledges their influence. In addition, he has benefited from Park's studies and uses his conceptual scheme for the analysis of the processes of adjustment.

THEODORE ABEL

Hunter College

Gosforth: The Sociology of an English Village. By W. M. WILLIAMS. Frome: Butler & Tanner, Ltd.; first published in the United States by Free Press, 1956. Pp. x+246.

This study, made in 1950-52 by an English anthropologist, describes a relatively isolated village-centered community of 750 people in northwestern England. The ten chapters deal with the economy, the family, the life-cycle, kinship, social classes, associations, neighbors, community, contact with the outside world, and religion. This picture of the English countryside adds to a growing international literature of comparable community studies useful in both teaching and research.

A theme running throughout the book is the disrupting influences of urban life on the local society whose origins may be traced back a thousand or more years. The study is in the cultural and structural tradition of analysis and makes no attempt at investigating action processes and community organization; it follows the conventions in being highly descriptive rather than analytical, i.e., focusing on research procedures, the clarification of concepts, and the support of explicit hypotheses.

Within a descriptive and structural framework the study is well done. It provides useful statistical distributions on such matters as place of birth, age, sex, occupation, and size and type of landholdings. In addition to an abundance of facts, interpretation is commendable from the standpoint both of time perspective and of the relating of institutions to each other and to the environment. The book is highly readable except for its twelve figures, which present important data but which lack titles.

In Gosforth are seen many similarities to American communities of like size, economy, and degree of urbanization. Some are in the pattern of dispersed farmsteads, exchange of labor, strength of kinship, outward migration from farms, centralization in the village, impact of urbanization and industrialization, and the decline in community identity. Noticeable differences include lack of interest in formal education, the nature of the class structure, and the role of organized religion.

The Church of England is dominant, with the Nonconformists a very small minority. Through parish organization the church provides an institutional and geographic unity. Not the preaching service and the Sunday school but celebration of religious holidays, money-raising endeavors, acts of charity, and christenings, marriages, and funerals are the major contacts of the church with the community.

The two procedures followed in identifying social class are well known to American researchers. Relatively small "intermediate" and "medial" classes were found, in contrast to the middle-class structure of American rural communities. A question might be raised as to whether any of this difference is an artifact of analysis.

HAROLD F. KAUFMAN

Mississippi State College

Sinhalese Social Organization. By RALPH PIERIS. Colombo, Ceylon: Ceylon University Press Board, 1956. Pp. xiii+311. Rs. 10.

Dr. Pieris, a sociologist at the University of Ceylon, has written a scholarly and authoritative account of Sinhalese social organization in the Kandyan period, the three centuries prior to the British occupation in 1815, a time of political, religious, and cultural integration.

The author states that the unit of investigation is to be the repeated and persisting social relations between persons and groups of persons at the period; i.e., his is an institutional study. Over half the book is a detailed explanation of the king's retinue, the coronation ceremony, titles of inferior government offices, the land-tenure and revenue systems, and copies of the records of payments made for government servants and household supplies. Obviously, the information has been carefully culled from a great store of historical knowledge which attests fa-

miliarity with the language and culture of Ceylon.

In the chapters, "Social Stratification" and "Kinship and Marriage," the emphasis is again on minute description of the formal codes and laws governing social life, a dynamic analysis of the processes of interaction being noticeably absent. As in India, Sinhalese society is divided into major caste and subcaste groupings. Almost the entire discussion of social stratification is subsumed under an analysis of the formal obligations that members of different castes have toward one another: occupations indigenous to a given subcaste, the services which members of lower castes must perform to higher castes, and the dining and marital restrictions among castes and subcastes are carefully enumerated and documented.

Similarly, Pieris' discussion of kinship and marriage is an intricate description of the formal patterning of the institution: Who may marry whom, marriage ceremonial, and a historical tracing of polyandry. The patterns of interaction among different members of the household are mentioned only in passing.

The author plans to write a subsequent analysis of the changes in the social system in the nineteenth century. A serious weakness of the present study is its failure to take into account the forces within the existing social system that were straining and reshaping the structure at vulnerable points. Sinhalese social organization, as Pieris describes it, appears like an intricate piece of tapestry with a network of patterns in separate units; the connection of one with another is never explicitly stated.

RITA JAMES

Chicago

A Report on World Population Migrations. By GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY POPULATION AND MIGRATION PROJECT, STANLEY J. TRACY, director. Washington, D.C.: George Washington University, 1956. Pp. 449.

The Crisis in World Population. By J. O. HERTZLER. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1956. Pp. 279. \$5.00.

Population and Planned Parenthood in India. By S. CHANDRASEKHAR, with an Introduction by JULIAN HUXLEY. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1955. Pp. xii+108. (\$2.95 through the Macmillan Co.)

The *Report* is a useful, not very well-organized monograph, valuable chiefly for its comprehensive bibliography, which deals almost exclusively with the history and problems of immigration into the United States. Three brief chapters are devoted to the economic effects of migration (Wilson E. Schmidt), needed research in the demographic and sociological aspects of immigration (Carr B. Lavell), and problems and prospects of American immigration (Richard C. Haskett). These are provocative but, because so brief, often superficial. Dean Lavell's statement (p. 17) that "immigration represents a relatively neglected area of sociological interest" is belied by the last chapter, which constitutes most of the book: a 204-page bibliography of the history of American immigration and a 150-page annotated bibliography of the demographic, economic, and sociological aspects of immigration. These seem to be excellent.

The Hertzler book is a concise description and analysis of the complex forces producing the increasing crisis in world population. The broad but critical approach covers the history and essentials of demographic theory; the population and economic problems of underdeveloped countries; and such possible, partial solutions as increasing the world's food supply, migration, and world fertility reduction. Of particular interest, even to specialists, are the chapters on the modernization-demographic differential and on reduction of fertility. The former chapter makes a strong case for increased financial and technical assistance programs as important means of helping less-favored nations to achieve the low birth and death rates necessary for future stability. The whole work is forceful and pleasantly tough-minded and seems to use the best of current research. Sociological theory is somewhat neglected, but the book is definitely worthy of use as a brief, specialized undergraduate text.

Closely related is the work of Chandrasekhar, which presents a cogent analysis of the progress and problems of planned parenthood in India today. The author properly notes, disagreeing somewhat with the Hertzler thesis, that a long-term industrialization policy is no solution to the immediate problems of increasing overpopulation. He devotes brief but highly informative sections to moral and religious problems and to the various methods of birth control. The former section and the one on administrative and human problems in introducing birth control offer lucid insights into some of the vast cul-

tural obstacles facing planned parenthood. The dedication is worth noting: "To the Mothers of India who suffer from improvident maternity."

ARTHUR JORDAN FIELD

University of Rhode Island

From Generation to Generation: Age Groups and Social Structure. By S. N. EISENSTADT. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 357. \$6.00.

As a first large-scale comparative essay on age and the issues of continuity in the arrangements by which people link the future with the past, Eisenstadt's second book is in the best sociological tradition. What have been the main ways of using age in social organization? How is a society's attachment or indifference to age related to its kinship system, occupational arrangements, and general moral tune?

Eisenstadt's data are bewilderingly inclusive and of course not equally reliable—a fact which seems inadequately acknowledged. We are reminded or told of Kibbutz and the Swazi, the Nupe and Komsomol, the Nyakyusa, Sparta, and English public schools, *Wandervogel* and the French *mâtres d'études*, Athens and American debutantes and many others. Indeed, the book is so rich and wide-ranging that the interminable parade of examples and references is often suspended by "etc.," a thoroughly ugly word that appears virtually on every page (at one point four times in seven lines). Indeed, this is as stimulating and instructive a book as it is annoying. It is stimulating and instructive because it boldly confronts a vivid succession of non-literate, historical, and contemporary societies and suggests that it is unlikely, where the web of kinship rules supreme and the over-all direction of moral choice is "particularistic" and "ascriptive" (rather than "universalistic" and "achievement-oriented"), for there to be age-groups that cut across kinship ties and help transfer people from the family to the occupational system.

Eisenstadt also provides an array of suggestions for a functional analysis of age groups and for classifying them as those directly integrated with pre-existing kinship and those which draw their members from widely different kin groups and link one institutional sector of a society with another. There is nothing parochial about this work: the Nuer and the Nandi, the Tiv Tiv and the Murgin, the Irish and the French

Canadians, all come in for their share in helping to illustrate some guiding hypotheses and to implement a welcome wish to carry on a truly comparative sociology as conceived by Max Weber and brought up-to-date by linking it to psychology. The whole effort is cast into Durkheim's mold of letting social facts answer specific questions.

But Eisenstadt overreaches himself, and the symptoms of it make the book unhappily annoying. The style is a mixture of drawn-out proposals which often seem to reach no definite destination and of overcondensed formulations that leave one looking for evidence: the whole is like a garden consisting only of cacti and ivy. The necessary references are as plentiful as they are incomplete. The text itself has many errors, misspellings, and missing words (which may be entirely the fault of the editors). Yet even when one makes allowances, there remains a defeating quality about the book. Nothing quite matches. The thick layer of abstractions seem like clothes that are too big and have been handed down. Eisenstadt does not sufficiently bend his terms to his own use. An extraordinarily informed vision is thus blunted in being expressed. Such haste, moreover, lets one savor nothing in peace. This is a great pity, for obviously Eisenstadt has more to say than most of us. He should have begun with some general considerations about age, instead of giving them two-thirds of the way through the book. He should then have concentrated on three or four strategic cases and suggested their frequency in tabular form. It is too late to imitate Max Weber when it comes to presenting universal historical knowledge. Virtually none of us has such knowledge. Besides, Weber was driven by a demon, whose two horns were intellectual and political—and he stood in an immediate and *concerned* relation to what he knew and said. If Eisenstadt had concentrated his exposition with the help of a few examples, he would have instructed us much more successfully. We could then keep in mind several matters at once: age as an aspect of social roles and as a condition of membership in social groups; forms of age (youth versus old age) as seats of utopia or deviance; and the relations between the use of age and other features of society.

It is an irony when one must say about a book on age that it has not aged enough. In its present form it appears more like a first draft of necessary notes than a seasoned creation which its author wants others to know about. His work is an undertaking that we definitely need,

and he could well provide this, *if* he forsook his haste, related himself more intimately to abstractions than he really wanted and found necessary, retained his present scope, and accepted the bitter fact that we must always say less than we know if we want others to know what we say.

KASPAR NAEGELE

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The American Community. By BLAINE E. MERCER. New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. xiv+304. \$3.75.

This little volume gives an admirable introductory statement of the structure-function approach to sociology. It is less successful in its discussion of community culture and personality and least successful—indeed, even fallacious—in its discussion of social status and processes.

On page 6 we read that status is "a pattern of privileges and responsibilities and represents a person's position in the value hierarchy of his society," a definition which the author promises to use consistently. Yet his data on social status deal almost exclusively with individual symbols of prestige which have nothing at all to do with privileges and responsibilities or even with position in the value hierarchy. They are even, in some cases, quite idiosyncratic, such as the emphasis by one woman on her widowhood to highlight what she had been able to accomplish without help or the pride of an eighty-seven-year-old in his ability to ride a bicycle. These are illustrations of seeking recognition, not of social status in the sense in which the author has defined it.

The only social processes mentioned are cooperation and conflict. Although it is true that "the source of conflict is value differences," it is not true that all the differences are sources of conflict. Nor is it enough to view conflict as the result of personal and individual needs or desires along with common values. Conflict is not an inevitable concomitant of competition, nor are people "bound to stand in one another's way while attempting to capture for their individual uses the scarce resources of a niggardly world." The widespread use of cultural substitutes for competition in allocating scarce resources—systems of priority, of seniority, of rationing, self-sacrifice, etc.—is ignored. The discussion of competition is incidental and confused.

Most serious of all, however, is the funda-

mental error which sociologists have so long attempted to clear up, namely, the interpretation of social conflict in terms of individual psychological mechanisms (p. 178). Mercer identifies individual aggression with social conflict and concludes that group conflict may be reduced by a reduction in hostility, rechanneling of hostility, or repression of overt conflict (pp. 179-81).

It is rather discouraging to find ignored the distinction between individual aggression and tensions, on the one hand, and sociological conflict, on the other, while the demonstrably patent fallacy of attacking sociological conflict in terms of individual psychological mechanisms is once more being taught to new generations of students. The kind of confused, watered-down, even fallacious, discussion of conflict offered to the layman and college student in this volume is no contribution to their thinking or to the science of sociology.

JESSIE BERNARD

Pennsylvania State University

Life in a Kibbutz. By MURRAY WEINGARTEN.
New York: Reconstructionist Press, 1955.
Pp. 172. \$3.25.

Molding Society to Man. By ESTHER TAUBER.
New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1955. Pp.
151. \$2.25.

Israel is the only Western and technologically advanced country in which communal living is a dominant social, economic, and cultural force: in its nearly 250 *Kibbutz* villages having a population of 70,000 persons all means of production are owned and worked jointly and income is apportioned primarily on the basis of need. The *Kibbutz* system negates a number of plausible, almost provable, social generalizations; for example, they are a drastic reversal of the general movement toward cities, particularly among Jews, who are generally the epitome of urbanized *Homo sapiens*. The *Kibbutzim* converted the children of city dwellers into rural manual workers, farmers, and front-line soldiers. Their members reject the aspiration to rise to middle-class status and professional or business occupations.

These two new books on the subject advance our knowledge of this intriguing social system, although there has been no shortage of descriptive material on the *Kibbutz* movement. One need only look at Tauber's footnotes. Her *Molding Society to Man* includes more up-to-date

demographic and economic information than any of the previous published studies.

For a long time the *Kibbutzim* were thought, even by many Zionists, to be settlements of otherworldly impractical idealists. Tauber documents the contrary view. They have reclaimed deserts and swamps and made them the core of Israel's agriculture, helped develop a powerful co-operative sector in what is otherwise a primarily capitalist economy and provide much of Israel's military, cultural, and political leadership.

Tauber's social-psychological title, *Molding Society to Man*, would really be more appropriate for Murray Weingarten's participant observer study, *Life in a Kibbutz*. Its author and other native-born Americans who joined a group of Israelis to found Gesher Hassiv Kibbutz about a decade ago on the Mediterranean on the site of an abandoned British army camp have drawn upon their personal experience and social-anthropological insight to reach a keen analysis of the social planning that propels this collectivistic society. He deals with the problems of people motivated by a strong ideology and utopianism when they must meet such hard realities of life as credit, work organization, and the "selfish" involvement of parents with their children. Individual adjustment, even with the *Kibbutz's* extensive welfare programs, can never be taken for granted: pressures toward both freedom and conformity coexist within the system.

Anyone who has ever thought about reforming his social system must read *Life in a Kibbutz*. Unlike most people fighting for a cause, Weingarten can describe and analyze the social-psychological field in which he lives, although he never lets the reader forget that his subject is of more than academic interest to him. He does not want Israel to become "a Levantine orange and banana republic." At times he writes like a sociologically sophisticated Isaiah.

JOSEPH W. EATON

University of California

The Individual Psychology of Alfred Adler: A Systematic Presentation in Selections from His Writings. By HEINZ L. ANSBACHER and ROWENA R. ANSBACHER. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. xxiii+503. \$7.40.

This is a timely arrival on the scene of psychiatric literature. The Ansbachers deserve credit for the excellent performance of a monu-

mental task; they have translated into English many of the hitherto unavailable contributions of Adler and gathered and arranged this material into a meaningful and significant whole, thus compiling and presenting in one volume the theories and concepts of the individual psychology of Alfred Adler. Moreover the comments of the authors, always placed in italics and labeled as "Comment" to differentiate them from Adler's actual works, provide the explanatory connecting links between one selection and the next.

This is an altogether enjoyable and worthwhile book. In the comments of the authors, however, there is a noticeable tendency to praise Adler and damn Freud. They repeatedly stress the differences between the two: the repetitious theme that Adler said it first or better runs throughout the book. The Ansbachers, unfortunately, only widen the schism, and their stressing of the differences serves only to establish another divergent school, or "splinter group," in psychiatry, of which, already, there are many. Perhaps psychiatry today is more in need of unification than of diversification. By these authors, moreover, the name of Freud is usually equated with psychoanalysis. However, only toward the latter part of his career did Freud start to think in terms of ego psychology, and this was then developed further by his co-workers even after his death. Present-day psychoanalysis in practice is an ego psychology not too discrepant from Adler's individual psychology as presented in this book. The Ansbachers never make clear that they are comparing Adler with Freud's early works. Further, they never differentiate between Freud and psychoanalysis as currently practiced, thus running the risk that the uninformed reader may mistake the condemnation of Freud for condemnation of the practice of psychoanalysis, which, after all, has stood the test of time and proved its merit.

The foregoing criticisms are in no way meant to detract from the value of this work. The book is divided into two parts. Part I deals with "Personality Theory and Its Development" and discusses Adler's basic concept of compensation and confluence, organ inferiority, the aggression drive, the need for affection, masculine protest, fictionalism and finalism, striving for superiority, social interests, and social imbeddedness, etc. Part II is devoted to "Abnormal Psychology and Related Fields," considering such Adlerian concepts as the neurotic disposition, inferiority and superiority complexes, neurotic safeguarding behavior, the dynamic unity of mental disorders, understanding and treating

the problem child, crime and related disorders, general life-problems, and problems of social psychology.

This book will probably find its place as one of the basic, important, and valuable books in psychiatry. Clearly printed, it reads smoothly and is easily understandable. It is the first systematic presentation of Adler's writings and should prove valuable, interesting, and informative reading for the non-Adlerian as well as for the Adlerian.

ROBERT ROSS MEZER

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A Study of the Response to the Houston, Texas, Fireworks Explosion. By LEWIS M. KILLIAN, RANDOLPH QUICK, and FRANK STOCKWELL. ("Disaster Studies," No. 2.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1956. Pp. v+25.

Tornado in Worcester: An Exploratory Study of Individual and Community Behavior in an Extreme Situation. By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. ("Disaster Studies," No. 3.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1956. Pp. xi+166.

Human Behavior in Extreme Situations: A Survey of the Literature and Suggestions for Further Research. By ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE. ("Disaster Studies," No. 1.) Washington, D.C.: Committee on Disaster Studies, National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council, 1956. Pp. iv+35.

These monographs report two early studies sponsored by the Committee on Disaster Studies of the National Research Council. While the committee's funds are ultimately committed to applied interests, neither of these studies is simply a piece of "action research."

In the responses to the explosion of a fireworks plant in Houston, Killian and his co-authors examine how people with different degrees or kinds of exposure to the event perceive an otherwise unstructured situation. It would be uncouth to cavil about the representativeness of the sample ($N = 139$) in such an exploratory study when the parameters of the relevant universe are unknown. The report confirms that people tend to structure an ambiguous event largely in terms of its situational context in which, moreover, their predispositions and ex-

pectations of "probable" occurrences are major variables. Killian *et al.* conclude that people do not know enough about the appearance of an atomic explosion to be able to distinguish one from some lesser event.

While the authors are concerned with "rationality" in the verification of impressions, their unspecified criteria of reality-testing seem arbitrary. For example, they regard as rational the use of "approved" sources (radio, press, TV) to learn what really happened. But it is apparently not rational to find out by going to the scene one's self or by being told by somebody one meets or by a friend who telephones specifically to give the information. To tax a respondent with non-rational validation because somebody else took the initiative to inform him seems gratuitous.

While it is not trivial to validate established principles in new contexts, some scholars might differ with the authors' interpretation of the data on reality-testing. They emphasize the predominance of non-rational modes of validation, but these may have less significance than the stress laid on them. For example, 13 per cent of the sample construed the explosion as an atomic bomb, and another 4 per cent interpreted it as a conventional bomb. Recent training or reading had apparently predisposed them to this interpretation. Yet they did not effectively test their impression. But, the authors point out, the people who rejected an A-bomb hypothesis because it seemed too improbable or because other explanations seemed more likely similarly did not check their impressions rationally. However, *Gestalt* evidence or subliminal cues, both of which are difficult to verbalize, may have provided as "rational" a validation for this group as a careful scrutiny of a smoke cloud. Furthermore, fully 50 per cent of the sample viewed the event as "just an explosion" or as some local incident. Ten per cent knew what had happened. Another 16 per cent had "other" impressions. Seven per cent, or half as many as those who perceived an atomic attack, had no idea what had happened, but they made no extravagant guesses. Thus five-sixths of the sample (83 per cent) did not give it a military or a drastically unreal interpretation. In the language of psychology, the stimulus seems much too structured.

As an early, "windfall" disaster study, this research adds interesting and useful, if unavoidably limited, data to the literature on perceptual dynamics and affords some guide for future work.

Wallace's report on the Worcester tornado of 1953 does not focus on so specific a problem as the earlier Houston research. More meticulous in execution and considerably more comprehensive in scope, it indicates the rapid strides possible in penetrating new areas of study.

He tentatively suggests a time-space scheme for the systematic sorting of all disaster behavior. The time dimension, adapted from previous disaster work, consists of eight sequential disaster stages and he divides the larger disaster setting into five ecological zones. The resulting time-space matrix enables a preliminary test of his hypothesis that disaster behavior can be functionally differentiated on both dimensions. From this framework, Wallace abstracts the following: (1) The victims' "disaster syndrome" is activated by psychological mechanisms of denial and regression as a defense against traumatic impact. Related to disaster stages, the syndrome includes phases of (a) withdrawal, dissociation, and regression; (b) suggestibility and altruism; (c) euphoric identification with the community; and (d) the recovery of normal ambivalent attitudes. About one-third of the victims in the sample displayed this pattern, although Wallace holds no brief either for the generality of the percentage or for the sample's representativeness. (2) Activated as a defense against guilt and anxiety is the "counterdisaster syndrome," the panicky hyperactivity of non-victims and other community members. It, too, is distinguished by phases: anxiety, ineffective action, competition to help, and sensitivity to feared inadequacy or incompetence. (3) The duration of the "isolation period" or the delay in outside help may aggravate casualties, extend damage, complicate rescue and remedial operations, and intensify "secondary effects." Finally, he states, (4) the "Cornucopia Theory," i.e., that abundant resources orient people to remedial rather than protective measures, and that conditions of natural disaster make its lessons inapplicable to catastrophes of nuclear warfare.

The virtues of Wallace's monograph lie in his careful reconstruction of the tornado. His comprehensive description clearly documents his systematic interests. This is as careful a disaster study as has come to this reviewer's attention. He also brings a sophisticated psychiatric viewpoint to the interpretation of case-study materials. Rich qualitative data bring to life the disaster and counterdisaster syndromes.

While certain reservations may be held about elements of the time-space scheme, the proof of

the pudding will be in the eating. That the framework is on too high a level of abstraction, for some of the data may be less a telling criticism than a reflection of the early stage in cumulative research at which it was introduced. Regardless of subsequent modifications, the scheme is valuable. It provides referents for the systematic classification of data; it eases the integration of team research; it facilitates comparative studies of disasters; and it makes possible the isolation of relevant data for the intensive analysis of selected problems.

Wallace's earlier monograph, *Human Behavior in Extreme Situations* ("Disaster Studies Series"), reviews the literature and suggests possible research. Natural disaster obviously presents unusual research opportunities in this area, and its advantages for psychology and psychiatry are self-evident.

However, disaster exposes community institutions to stress and, therefore, offers distinctive opportunities to investigate strengths and weaknesses in elements of the *social system*. Accordingly, the major *sociological* importance of disaster research lies in problems beyond the psychological impact-on-victim studies. Some of Wallace's materials make a start in this direction, and future work may carry this further.

IRVING ROSOW

Sutton, Surrey, England

The Study of Groups. By JOSEPHINE KLEIN. ("International Library of Sociology and Social Reconstruction.") New York: Humanities Press, 1956. Pp. ix+200. \$5.00.

This is a carefully constructed and thoughtful book by an English author well informed about American studies of small groups. She puts together research findings on various aspects of group process in a series of typical situations. Thus chapters are internally organized on the basis of "assumptions"—e.g., "Let the correct solution [in a group problem] be unverifiable," "Let differences in status be recognized by members of the group," "Let there be disturbances in the communication network." This method, and the summarizing of conclusions in each chapter, make for orderly presentation. Chapters are devoted to task performance, authority, communication, norms, sentiments, and the analysis of interaction. The first part of the book, then, is largely an inventory of research, as in Lindzey's *Handbook of Social Psychology*;

the latter part is an extended essay on Bales. As a whole, it represents an attempt at the sort of stocktaking and critique of which the study of small groups stands in so much need. An Appendix reports a study carried out by the author.

Those who distrust general theories should find the author's clarity as to conditions under which relationships hold very much to their liking, though they will probably be bored by the closely argued critique of Bales. Those who look for general interpretations will be disappointed that the "assumptions" are not cumulative but merely state a variety of possible circumstances of group life on which data are available. For them, the discussion of Bales will be intriguing, though not entirely satisfactory, inasmuch as the author ends up behind Bales as often as she does in front of him. Thus, while in aim and procedure this book has many exemplary qualities, it is perhaps less new architecture than it is skilful redecoration.

MICHAEL S. OLMSTED

Smith College

Professional Public Relations and Political Power. By STANLEY KELLEY, JR. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1956. Pp. 235. \$4.50.

Have the gentlemen from Madison Avenue usurped the boys from the river wards? Is politics taking the road of toothpaste, with the package becoming more important than the product? These are the important questions to which Kelley addresses himself. His book is part exposé, part analysis of technique, part speculation and prognosis upon larger trends, exposé predominating. In five of his seven chapters, Kelley describes the California public relations firm of Whitaker and Baxter, which specializes in making mass attitudes and in standardizing opinions on politics; the 1949-52 campaign they directed of the American Medical Association against what it chose to call "socialized medicine"; the successful senatorial campaign in 1950 in Maryland of John M. Butler against Millard Tydings, a campaign directed by the Chicago public relations counsel, Jon M. Jonkel, and pitched largely on the issue of Tydings' alleged softness toward communism; a more detailed description in two chapters of Eisenhower's 1952 presidential campaign, epitomized by the statement of Batten, Barton, Durstin, and Osborn's president, Bernard C. Duffy, as one of "merchandising Eisenhower's frankness, honesty and integrity, his sincere and whole-

some approach." Kelley precedes these descriptive accounts with a chapter on the evolution of the public relations specialist's powerful professional role and attempts to analyze the present and coming importance in politics of public relations techniques and their manipulators.

The author believes that the role of public relations specialists will inevitably increase in importance and that the ascendancy of the cannoneers of the mass media will inevitably be accompanied by the decline of the traditional political bosses, who utilize only the puny weapons of friendship and personal favor. More important, according to Kelley, is that the public relations man will not and cannot be content with serving as an adviser on technique; he is thrust into the leading role in defining issues, making policy, and, perhaps, selecting candidates.

Kelley sees some value in these developments. The ascendancy of public relations means the decline of the boss and therefore a new importance for the discussion of issues: "to criticize political public relations, to explore the problems it presents, is to examine the problems that result from the closer approach of democracy to its own ideal." On the other hand, the author also sees danger ahead. The merchandising of personality brings politics to the "star" system, where the exterior polish—or the gloss that the public relations man can apply—becomes the first requirement of success. Even more to be deplored, the public relations man possesses powerful, expensive, and effective tools. The consent of the governed seems to be giving away to the "engineering of consent."

Kelley defines issues that no one concerned with politics, and especially the social basis of politics, can ignore. His case studies are pointed and lucid. He discusses the problems they raise with caution and circumspection. He identifies accurately many of the larger problems involved. But, having said this much, it is also necessary to add that there is hardly one of his larger conclusions that does not need more thought and more complete analysis. Do the mass media operate actually predominantly to substitute façade for substance? Whatever can be said in the affirmative to such a question must certainly be balanced by negative considerations: the very existence of such media exposes what once could be hidden, establishes public expectations for information that were

previously nonexistent. Television is a device par excellence for the grease-paint artist and stage-effect specialist; but television is also a uniquely inquisitive instrument, delving deeply and revealing intimately what previously could be ignored or effaced.

Even Kelley's strictures that the mass public relations specialist is replacing the boss in American politics is highly doubtful. Strong national leaders—Jefferson, Polk, Lincoln, Cleveland, Theodore Roosevelt, Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, to name but a few—have always "managed" local leaders, and in the process had their way, frequently by appealing directly to the voters. The public relations specialist and the media and skills available to him give such a leader an additional weapon. But it is a weapon that must be used cautiously, for the very reason that it is so obviously a weapon and simultaneously so revealing of its purposes. Furthermore, the direct appeal to the voters cannot be continuous, and it backfires if used too often. And, always and inevitably, the hard interpersonal work between national leaders and state and local ones, between precinct worker and voter, continues to be of first importance.

So it can be very much doubted, as Kelley, for all his caution, suggests from time to time, that the issue will be won by the side that makes the best use of public relations techniques and that elevates the public relations specialist to the highest point in party councils. But have the public relations specialist and the mass media added anything fundamentally new to American politics? If anything new has been added, it may very well be that it is a *diminution* in the power of opinion manipulators. At least, they can no longer hide their candidates or impose silence upon them. In 1836, as Herbert Agar tells in *The Price of Union*, the Whig presidential candidate, William Henry Harrison, was not allowed by the party managers to say "a single word about what he thinks now or will do hereafter." Contrary to fact he, a man of modest achievements and many failures, was presented to the country as a "log cabin and hard cider" candidate, a frontiersman's friend, and a military hero. Harrison won. But what opinion manipulation did for him could not be duplicated today.

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FASHION¹

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ABSTRACT

Fashion is a form of imitation and so of social equalization, but, paradoxically, in changing incessantly, it differentiates one time from another and one social stratum from another. It unites those of a social class and segregates them from others. The elite initiates a fashion and, when the mass imitates it in an effort to obliterate the external distinctions of class, abandons it for a newer mode—a process that quickens with the increase of wealth. Fashion does not exist in tribal and classless societies. It concerns externals and superficialities where irrationality does no harm. It signalizes the lack of personal freedom; hence it characterizes the female and the middle class, whose increased social freedom is matched by intense individual subjugation. Some forms are intrinsically more suited to the modifications of fashion than others: the internal unity of the forms called “classic” makes them immune to change.

The general formula in accordance with which we usually interpret the differing aspects of the individual as well as of the public mind may be stated broadly as follows: We recognize two antagonistic forces, tendencies, or characteristics, either of which, if left unaffected, would approach infinity; and it is by the mutual limitation of the two forces that the characteristics of the individual and public mind result. We are constantly seeking ultimate forces, fundamental aspirations, some one of which controls our entire conduct. But in no case do we find any single force attaining a perfectly independent expression, and we are thus obliged to separate a majority of the factors and determine the relative extent to which each shall have representation. To do this we must establish the degree of limitation exercised by the counteraction of some other force, as well as the influence exerted by the latter upon the primitive force.

¹ *International Quarterly* (New York), X (October, 1904), 130-55. Reprinted by kind permission of Dodd, Mead & Co.

Man has ever had a dualistic nature. This fact, however, has had but little effect on the uniformity of his conduct, and this uniformity is usually the result of a number of elements. An action that results from less than a majority of fundamental forces would appear barren and empty. Over an old Flemish house there stands the mystical inscription, “There is more within me”; and this is the formula according to which the first impression of an action is supplemented by a far-reaching diversity of causes. Human life cannot hope to develop a wealth of inexhaustible possibilities until we come to recognize in every moment and content of existence a pair of forces, each one of which, in striving to go beyond the initial point, has resolved the infinity of the other by mutual impingement into mere tension and desire. While the explanation of some aspects of the soul as the result of the action of two fundamental forces satisfies the theoretical instinct, it furthermore adds a new charm to the image of things, not only by tracing distinctly the outlines of the fact, but also by

interpreting the vague, often enigmatic, realization that in the creation of the life of the soul deeper forces, more unsolved tensions, more comprehensive conflicts and conciliations have been at work than their immediate reality would lead one to suppose.

There seem to be two tendencies in the individual soul as well as in society. All designations for this most general form of dualism within us undoubtedly emanate from a more or less individual example. This fundamental [131] form of life cannot be reached by exact definition; we must rest content with the separation of this primitive form from a multitude of examples, which more or less clearly reveal the really inexpressible element of this duality of our soul. The physiological basis of our being gives the first hint, for we discover that human nature requires motion and repose, receptiveness and productivity—a masculine and a feminine principle are united in every human being. This type of duality applied to our spiritual nature causes the latter to be guided by the striving towards generalization on the one hand, and on the other by the desire to describe the single, special element. Thus generalization gives rest to the soul, whereas specialization permits it to move from example to example; and the same is true in the world of feeling. On the one hand we seek peaceful surrender to men and things, on the other an energetic activity with respect to both.

The whole history of society is reflected in the striking conflicts, the compromises, slowly won and quickly lost, between socialistic adaptation to society and individual departure from its demands. We have here the provincial forms, as it were, of those great antagonistic forces which represent the foundations of our individual destiny, and in which our outer as well as our inner life, our intellectual as well as our spiritual being, find the poles of their oscillations. Whether these forces be expressed philosophically in the contrast between cosmotheism and the doctrine of inherent differentiation and separate existence of every cosmic element, or whether they be ground in practical conflict

representing socialism on the one hand or individualism on the other, we have always to deal with the same fundamental form of duality which is manifested biologically in the contrast between heredity and variation. Of these the former represents the idea of generalization, of uniformity, of inactive similarity of the forms and contents of life; the latter stands for motion, for differentiation of separate elements, producing the restless changing of an individual life. The essential forms of life in the history of our race invariably show the effectiveness of the two antagonistic principles. Each in its sphere attempts to combine the interest in duration, unity, and similarity with that in change, specialization, and peculiarity. It becomes self-evident that there is no institution, no law, no estate of life, which can uniformly satisfy the full demands of the two opposing principles. The only realization of this condition possible for humanity finds expression in constantly changing approximations, in ever retracted attempts and ever revived hopes. It is this that constitutes the whole wealth of our development, the whole incentive to advancement, the possibility of grasping a vast proportion of [132] all the infinite combinations of the elements of human character, a proportion that is approaching the unlimited itself.

Within the social embodiments of these contrasts, one side is generally maintained by the psychological tendency towards imitation. The charm of imitation in the first place is to be found in the fact that it makes possible an expedient test of power, which, however, requires no great personal and creative application, but is displayed easily and smoothly, because its content is a given quantity. We might define it as the child of thought and thoughtlessness. It affords the pregnant possibility of continually extending the greatest creations of the human spirit, without the aid of the forces which were originally the very condition of their birth. Imitation, furthermore, gives to the individual the satisfaction of not standing alone in his actions. Whenever we imitate, we transfer not only the demand for creative activ-

ity, but also the responsibility for the action from ourselves to another. Thus the individual is freed from the worry of choosing and appears simply as a creature of the group, as a vessel of the social contents.

The tendency towards imitation characterizes a stage of development in which the desire for expedient personal activity is present, but from which the capacity for possessing the individual acquirements is absent. It is interesting to note the exactness with which children insist upon the repetition of facts, how they constantly clamor for a repetition of the same games and pastimes, how they will object to the slightest variation in the telling of a story they have heard twenty times. In this imitation and in exact adaptation to the past the child first rises above its momentary existence; the immediate content of life reaches into the past, it expands the present for the child, likewise for primitive man; and the pedantic exactness of this adaptation to the given formula need not be regarded offhand as a token of poverty or narrowness. At this stage every deviation from imitation of the given facts breaks the connection which alone can now unite the present with something that is more than the present, something that tends to expand existence as a mere creature of the moment. The advance beyond this stage is reflected in the circumstance that our thoughts, actions, and feelings are determined by the future as well as by fixed, past, and traditional factors: the teleological individual represents the counterpole of the imitative mortal. The imitator is the passive individual, who believes in social similarity and adapts himself to existing elements; the teleological individual, on the other hand, is ever experimenting, always restlessly striving, and he relies on his own personal conviction.

Thus we see that imitation in all the instances where it is a productive factor represents one of the fundamental tendencies of our character, [133] namely, that which contents itself with similarity, with uniformity, with the adaptation of the special to the general, and accentuates the constant element

in change. Conversely, wherever prominence is given to change, wherever individual differentiation, independence, and relief from generality are sought, there imitation is the negative and obstructive principle. The principle of adherence to given formulas, of being and of acting like others, is irreconcilably opposed to the striving to advance to ever new and individual forms of life; for this very reason social life represents a battle-ground, of which every inch is stubbornly contested, and social institutions may be looked upon as the peace-treaties, in which the constant antagonism of both principles has been reduced externally to a form of coöperation.

The vital conditions of fashion as a universal phenomenon in the history of our race are circumscribed by these conceptions. Fashion is the imitation of a given example and satisfies the demand for social adaptation; it leads the individual upon the road which all travel, it furnishes a general condition, which resolves the conduct of every individual into a mere example. At the same time it satisfies in no less degree the need of differentiation, the tendency towards dissimilarity, the desire for change and contrast, on the one hand by a constant change of contents, which gives to the fashion of today an individual stamp as opposed to that of yesterday and of to-morrow, on the other hand because fashions differ for different classes—the fashions of the upper stratum of society are never identical with those of the lower; in fact, they are abandoned by the former as soon as the latter prepares to appropriate them. Thus fashion represents nothing more than one of the many forms of life by the aid of which we seek to combine in uniform spheres of activity the tendency towards social equalization with the desire for individual differentiation and change. Every phase of the conflicting pair strives visibly beyond the degree of satisfaction that any fashion offers to an absolute control of the sphere of life in question. If we should study the history of fashions (which hitherto have been examined only from the view-point of the development of their con-

tents) in connection with their importance for the form of the social process, we should find that it reflects the history of the attempts to adjust the satisfaction of the two counter-tendencies more and more perfectly to the condition of the existing individual and social culture. The various psychological elements in fashion all conform to this fundamental principle.

Fashion, as noted above, is a product of class distinction and operates like a number of other forms, honor especially, the double function of which consists in revolving within a given circle and at the same time emphasizing it as separate from others. Just as the frame of a picture characterizes [134] the work of art inwardly as a coherent, homogeneous, independent entity and at the same time outwardly severs all direct relations with the surrounding space, just as the uniform energy of such forms cannot be expressed unless we determine the double effect, both inward and outward, so honor owes its character, and above all its moral rights, to the fact that the individual in his personal honor at the same time represents and maintains that of his social circle and his class. These moral rights, however, are frequently considered unjust by those without the pale. Thus fashion on the one hand signifies union with those in the same class, the uniformity of a circle characterized by it, and, *uno actu*, the exclusion of all other groups.

Union and segregation are the two fundamental functions which are here inseparably united, and one of which, although or because it forms a logical contrast to the other, becomes the condition of its realization. Fashion is merely a product of social demands, even though the individual object which it creates or recreates may represent a more or less individual need. This is clearly proved by the fact that very frequently not the slightest reason can be found for the creations of fashion from the standpoint of an objective, aesthetic, or other expediency. While in general our wearing apparel is really adapted to our needs, there is not a trace of expediency in the method by which

fashion dictates, for example, whether wide or narrow trousers, colored or black scarfs shall be worn. As a rule the material justification for an action coincides with its general adoption, but in the case of fashion there is a complete separation of the two elements, and there remains for the individual only this general acceptance as the deciding motive to appropriate it. Judging from the ugly and repugnant things that are sometimes in vogue, it would seem as though fashion were desirous of exhibiting its power by getting us to adopt the most atrocious things for its sake alone. The absolute indifference of fashion to the material standards of life is well illustrated by the way in which it recommends something appropriate in one instance, something abstruse in another, and something materially and aesthetically quite indifferent in a third. The only motivations with which fashion is concerned are formal social ones. The reason why even aesthetically impossible styles seem *distingué*, elegant, and artistically tolerable when affected by persons who carry them to the extreme, is that the persons who do this are generally the most elegant and pay the greatest attention to their personal appearance, so that under any circumstances we would get the impression of something *distingué* and aesthetically cultivated. This impression we credit to the questionable element of fashion, the latter appealing to our consciousness as the new and consequently most conspicuous feature of the *tout ensemble*.

[135] Fashion occasionally will accept objectively determined subjects such as religious faith, scientific interests, even socialism and individualism; but it does not become operative as fashion until these subjects can be considered independent of the deeper human motives from which they have risen. For this reason the rule of fashion becomes in such fields unendurable. We therefore see that there is good reason why externals—clothing, social conduct, amusements—constitute the specific field of fashion, for here no dependence is placed on really vital motives of human action. It is the field which we can most easily relinquish

to the bent towards imitation, which it would be a sin to follow in important questions. We encounter here a close connection between the consciousness of personality and that of the material forms of life, a connection that runs all through history. The more objective our view of life has become in the last centuries, the more it has stripped the picture of nature of all subjective and anthropomorphic elements, and the more sharply has the conception of individual personality become defined. The social regulation of our inner and outer life is a sort of embryo condition, in which the contrasts of the purely personal and the purely objective are differentiated, the action being synchronous and reciprocal. Therefore wherever man appears essentially as a social being we observe neither strict objectivity in the view of life nor absorption and independence in the consciousness of personality.

Social forms, apparel, aesthetic judgment, the whole style of human expression, are constantly transformed by fashion, in such a way, however, that fashion—*i.e.*, the latest fashion—in all these things affects only the upper classes. Just as soon as the lower classes begin to copy their style, thereby crossing the line of demarcation the upper classes have drawn and destroying the uniformity of their coherence, the upper classes turn away from this style and adopt a new one, which in its turn differentiates them from the masses; and thus the game goes merrily on. Naturally the lower classes look and strive towards the upper, and they encounter the least resistance in those fields which are subject to the whims of fashion; for it is here that mere external imitation is most readily applied. The same process is at work as between the different sets within the upper classes, although it is not always as visible here as it is, for example, between mistress and maid. Indeed, we may often observe that the more nearly one set has approached another, the more frantic becomes the desire for imitation from below and the seeking for the new from above. The increase of wealth is bound to hasten the process considerably and render it visible, be-

cause the objects of fashion, embracing as they do the externals of life, are most accessible to the mere call of money, and conformity to the higher set [136] is more easily acquired here than in fields which demand an individual test that gold and silver cannot affect.

We see, therefore, that in addition to the element of imitation the element of demarcation constitutes an important factor of fashion. This is especially noticeable wherever the social structure does not include any super-imposed groups, in which case fashion asserts itself in neighboring groups. Among primitive peoples we often find that closely connected groups living under exactly similar conditions develop sharply differentiated fashions, by means of which each group establishes uniformity within, as well as difference without the prescribed set. On the other hand, there exists a wide-spread predilection for importing fashions from without, and such foreign fashions assume a greater value within the circle, simply because they did not originate there. The prophet Zephaniah expressed his indignation at the aristocrats who affected imported apparel. As a matter of fact the exotic origin of fashions seems strongly to favor the exclusiveness of the groups which adopt them. Because of their external origin, these imported fashions create a special and significant form of socialization, which arises through mutual relation to a point without the circle. It sometimes appears as though social elements, just like the axes of vision, converge best at a point that is not too near. The currency, or more precisely the medium of exchange among primitive races, often consists of objects that are brought in from without. On the Solomon Islands, and at Ibo on the Niger, for example, there exists a regular industry for the manufacture of money from shells, etc., which are not employed as a medium of exchange in the place itself, but in neighboring districts, to which they are exported. Paris modes are frequently created with the sole intention of setting a fashion elsewhere.

This motive of foreignness, which fash-

ion employs in its socializing endeavors, is restricted to higher civilization, because novelty, which foreign origin guarantees in extreme form, is often regarded by primitive races as an evil. This is certainly one of the reasons why primitive conditions of life favor a correspondingly infrequent change of fashions. The savage is afraid of strange appearances; the difficulties and dangers that beset his career cause him to scent danger in anything new which he does not understand and which he cannot assign to a familiar category. Civilization, however, transforms this affectation into its very opposite. Whatever is exceptional, bizarre, or conspicuous, or whatever departs from the customary norm, exercises a peculiar charm upon the man of culture, entirely independent of its material justification. The removal of the feeling of insecurity with reference to all things new was accomplished by the progress of civilization. At the same time it may be the old inherited prejudice, [137] although it has become purely formal and unconscious, which, in connection with the present feeling of security, produces this piquant interest in exceptional and odd things. For this reason the fashions of the upper classes develop their power of exclusion against the lower in proportion as general culture advances, at least until the mingling of the classes and the leveling effect of democracy exert a counter-influence.

Fashion plays a more conspicuous *rôle* in modern times, because the differences in our standards of life have become so much more strongly accentuated, for the more numerous and the more sharply drawn these differences are, the greater the opportunities for emphasizing them at every turn. In innumerable instances this cannot be accomplished by passive inactivity, but only by the development of forms established by fashion; and this has become all the more pronounced since legal restrictions prescribing various forms of apparel and modes of life for different classes have been removed.

Two social tendencies are essential to the establishment of fashion, namely, the need of union on the one hand and the need of

isolation on the other. Should one of these be absent, fashion will not be formed—its sway will abruptly end. Consequently the lower classes possess very few modes and those they have are seldom specific; for this reason the modes of primitive races are much more stable than ours. Among primitive races the socializing impulse is much more powerfully developed than the differentiating impulse. For, no matter how decisively the groups may be separated from one another, separation is for the most part hostile in such a way, that the very relation the rejection of which within the classes of civilized races makes fashion reasonable, is absolutely lacking. Segregation by means of differences in clothing, manners, taste, etc., is expedient only where the danger of absorption and obliteration exists, as is the case among highly civilized nations. Where these differences do not exist, where we have an absolute antagonism, as for example between not directly friendly groups of primitive races, the development of fashion has no sense at all.

It is interesting to observe how the prevalence of the socializing impulse in primitive peoples affects various institutions, such as the dance. It has been noted quite generally that the dances of primitive races exhibit a remarkable uniformity in arrangement and rhythm. The dancing group feels and acts like a uniform organism; the dance forces and accustoms a number of individuals, who are usually driven to and fro without rime or reason by vacillating conditions and needs of life, to be guided by a common impulse and a single common motive. Even making allowances for the tremendous difference in the outward appearance of the dance, we are [138] dealing here with the same element that appears in the socializing force of fashion. Movement, time, rhythm of the gestures, are all undoubtedly influenced largely by what is worn: similarly dressed persons exhibit relative similarity in their actions. This is of especial value in modern life with its individualistic diffusion, while in the case of primitive races the effect produced is directed within and is therefore not dependent

upon changes of fashion. Among primitive races fashions will be less numerous and more stable because the need of new impressions and forms of life, quite apart from their social effect, is far less pressing. Changes in fashion reflect the dulness of nervous impulses: the more nervous the age, the more rapidly its fashions change, simply because the desire for differentiation, one of the most important elements of all fashion, goes hand in hand with the weakening of nervous energy. This fact in itself is one of the reasons why the real seat of fashion is found among the upper classes.

Viewed from a purely social standpoint, two neighboring primitive races furnish eloquent examples of the requirement of the two elements of union and isolation in the setting of fashion. Among the Kaffirs the class-system is very strongly developed, and as a result we find there a fairly rapid change of fashions, in spite of the fact that wearing-apparel and adornments are subject to certain legal restrictions. The Bushmen, on the other hand, who have developed no class-system, have no fashions whatsoever,—no one has been able to discover among them any interest in changes in apparel and in finery. Occasionally these negative elements have consciously prevented the setting of a fashion even at the very heights of civilization. It is said that there was no ruling fashion in male attire in Florence about the year 1390, because every one adopted a style of his own. Here the first element, the need of union, was absent; and without it, as we have seen, no fashion can arise. Conversely, the Venetian nobles are said to have set no fashion, for according to law they had to dress in black in order not to call the attention of the lower classes to the smallness of their number. Here there were no fashions because the other element essential for their creation was lacking, a visible differentiation from the lower classes being purposely avoided.

The very character of fashion demands that it should be exercised at one time only by a portion of the given group, the great majority being merely on the road to adopt-

ing it. As soon as an example has been universally adopted, that is, as soon as anything that was originally done only by a few has really come to be practiced by all—as is the case in certain portions of our apparel and in various forms of social conduct—we no longer speak of fashion. As fashion spreads, it gradually goes to its [139] doom. The distinctiveness which in the early stages of a set fashion assures for it a certain distribution is destroyed as the fashion spreads, and as this element wanes, the fashion also is bound to die. By reason of this peculiar play between the tendency towards universal acceptance and the destruction of its very purpose to which this general adoption leads, fashion includes a peculiar attraction of limitation, the attraction of a simultaneous beginning and end, the charm of novelty coupled to that of transitoriness. The attractions of both poles of the phenomena meet in fashion, and show also here that they belong together unconditionally, although, or rather because, they are contradictory in their very nature. Fashion always occupies the dividing-line between the past and the future, and consequently conveys a stronger feeling of the present, at least while it is at its height, than most other phenomena. What we call the present is usually nothing more than a combination of a fragment of the past with a fragment of the future. Attention is called to the present less often than colloquial usage, which is rather liberal in its employment of the word, would lead us to believe.

Few phenomena of social life possess such a pointed curve of consciousness as does fashion. As soon as the social consciousness attains to the highest point designated by fashion, it marks the beginning of the end for the latter. This transitory character of fashion, however, does not on the whole degrade it, but adds a new element of attraction. At all events an object does not suffer degradation by being called fashionable, unless we reject it with disgust or wish to debase it for other, material reasons, in which case, of course, fashion becomes an idea of value. In the practice of life anything else similarly new and suddenly disseminated is

not called fashion, when we are convinced of its continuance and its material justification. If, on the other hand, we feel certain that the fact will vanish as rapidly as it came, then we call it fashion. We can discover one of the reasons why in these latter days fashion exercises such a powerful influence on our consciousness in the circumstance that the great, permanent, unquestionable convictions are continually losing strength, as a consequence of which the transitory and vacillating elements of life acquire more room for the display of their activity. The break with the past, which, for more than a century, civilized mankind has been laboring unceasingly to bring about, makes the consciousness turn more and more to the present. This accentuation of the present evidently at the same time emphasizes the element of change, and a class will turn to fashion in all fields, by no means only in that of apparel, in proportion to the degree in which it supports the given civilizing tendency. It may almost be considered a sign of the increased power of fashion, that it has overstepped the bounds of its original domain, which [140] comprised only personal externals, and has acquired an increasing influence over taste, over theoretical convictions, and even over the moral foundations of life.

From the fact that fashion as such can never be generally in vogue, the individual derives the satisfaction of knowing that as adopted by him it still represents something special and striking, while at the same time he feels inwardly supported by a set of persons who are striving for the same thing, not as in the case of other social satisfactions, by a set actually doing the same thing. The fashionable person is regarded with mingled feelings of approval and envy; we envy him as an individual, but approve of him as a member of a set or group. Yet even this envy has a peculiar coloring. There is a shade of envy which includes a species of ideal participation in the envied object itself. An instructive example of this is furnished by the conduct of the poor man who gets a glimpse of the feast of his rich neighbor. The mo-

ment we envy an object or a person, we are no longer absolutely excluded from it; some relation or other has been established—between both the same psychic content now exists—although in entirely different categories and forms of sensations. This quiet personal usurpation of the envied property contains a kind of antidote, which occasionally counter-acts the evil effects of this feeling of envy. The contents of fashion afford an especially good chance for the development of this conciliatory shade of envy, which also gives to the envied person a better conscience because of his satisfaction over his good fortune. This is due to the fact that these contents are not, as many other psychic contents are, denied absolutely to any one, for a change of fortune, which is never entirely out of the question, may play them into the hands of an individual who had previously been confined to the state of envy.

From all this we see that fashion furnishes an ideal field for individuals with dependent natures, whose self-consciousness, however, requires a certain amount of prominence, attention, and singularity. Fashion raises even the unimportant individual by making him the representative of a class, the embodiment of a joint spirit. And here again we observe the curious intermixture of antagonistic values. Speaking broadly, it is characteristic of a standard set by a general body, that its acceptance by any one individual does not call attention to him; in other words, a positive adoption of a given norm signifies nothing. Whoever keeps the laws the breaking of which is punished by the penal code, whoever lives up to the social forms prescribed by his class, gains no conspicuousness or notoriety. The slightest infraction or opposition, however, is immediately noticed and places the individual in an exceptional position by calling the attention of the public to [141] his action. All such norms do not assume positive importance for the individual until he begins to depart from them. It is peculiarly characteristic of fashion that it renders possible a social obedience, which at the same time is a form

of individual differentiation. Fashion does this because in its very nature it represents a standard that can never be accepted by all. While fashion postulates a certain amount of general acceptance, it nevertheless is not without significance in the characterization of the individual, for it emphasizes his personality not only through omission but also through observance. In the dude the social demands of fashion appear exaggerated to such a degree that they completely assume an individualistic and peculiar character. It is characteristic of the dude that he carries the elements of a particular fashion to an extreme; when pointed shoes are in style, he wears shoes that resemble the prow of a ship; when high collars are all the rage, he wears collars that come up to his ears; when scientific lectures are fashionable, you cannot find him anywhere else, etc., etc. Thus he represents something distinctly individual, which consists in the quantitative intensification of such elements as are qualitatively common property of the given set of class. He leads the way, but all travel the same road. Representing as he does the most recently conquered heights of public taste, he seems to be marching at the head of the general procession. In reality, however, what is so frequently true of the relation between individuals and groups applies also to him: as a matter of fact, the leader allows himself to be led.

Democratic times unquestionably favor such a condition to a remarkable degree, so much so that even Bismarck and other very prominent party leaders in constitutional governments have emphasized the fact that inasmuch as they are leaders of a group, they are bound to follow it. The spirit of democracy causes persons to seek the dignity and sensation of command in this manner; it tends to a confusion and ambiguity of sensations, which fail to distinguish between ruling the mass and being ruled by it. The conceit of the dude is thus the caricature of a confused understanding, fostered by democracy, of the relation between the individual and the public. Undeniably, however, the dude, through the conspicuousness

gained in a purely quantitative way, but expressed in a difference of quality, represents a state of equilibrium between the social and the individualizing impulses which is really original. This explains the extreme to which otherwise thoroughly intelligent and prominent persons frequently resort in matters of fashion, an extreme that outwardly appears so abstruse. It furnishes a combination of relations to things and men, which under ordinary circumstances appear more divided. It is not only the mixture of individual [142] peculiarity with social equality, but, in a more practical vein, as it were, it is the mingling of the sensation of rulership with submission, the influence of which is here at work. In other words, we have here the mixing of a masculine and a feminine principle. The very fact that this process goes on in the field of fashion only in an ideal attenuation, as it were, the fact that only the form of both elements is embodied in a content indifferent in itself, may lend to fashion a special attraction, especially for sensitive natures that do not care to concern themselves with robust reality. From an objective standpoint, life according to fashion consists of a balancing of destruction and upbuilding; its content acquires characteristics by destruction of an earlier form; it possesses a peculiar uniformity, in which the satisfying of the love of destruction and of the demand for positive elements can no longer be separated from each other.

Inasmuch as we are dealing here not with the importance of a single fact or a single satisfaction, but rather with the play between two contents and their mutual distinction, it becomes evident that the same combination which extreme obedience to fashion acquires can be won also by opposition to it. Whoever consciously avoids following the fashion, does not attain the consequent sensation of individualization through any real individual qualification, but rather through mere negation of the social example. If obedience to fashion consists in imitation of such an example, conscious neglect of fashion represents similar imitation, but under an inverse sign. The

latter, however, furnishes just as fair testimony of the power of the social tendency, which demands our dependence in some positive or negative manner. The man who consciously pays no heed to fashion accepts its forms just as much as the dude does, only he embodies it in another category, the former in that of exaggeration, the latter in that of negation. Indeed, it occasionally happens that it becomes fashionable in whole bodies of a large class to depart altogether from the standards set by fashion. This constitutes a most curious social-psychological complication, in which the tendency towards individual conspicuousness primarily rests content with a mere inversion of the social imitation and secondly draws in strength from approximation to a similarly characterized narrower circle. If the club-haters organized themselves into a club, it would not be logically more impossible and psychologically more possible than the above case. Similarly atheism has been made into a religion, embodying the same fanaticism, the same intolerance, the same satisfying of the needs of the soul that are embraced in religion proper. Freedom, likewise, after having put a stop to tyranny, frequently becomes no less tyrannical and arbitrary. So the phenomenon of conscious departure from fashion illustrates [143] how ready the fundamental forms of human character are to accept the total antithesis of contents and to show their strength and their attraction in the negation of the very thing to whose acceptance they seemed a moment before irrevocably committed. It is often absolutely impossible to tell whether the elements of personal strength or of personal weakness preponderate in the group of causes that lead to such a departure from fashion. It may result from a desire not to make common cause with the mass, a desire that has at its basis not independence of the mass, to be sure, but yet an inherently sovereign position with respect to the latter. However, it may be due to a delicate sensibility, which causes the individual to fear that he will be unable to maintain his individuality in case he adopts the forms, the tastes, and the cus-

toms of the general public. Such opposition is by no means always a sign of personal strength.

The fact that fashion expresses and at the same time emphasizes the tendency towards equalization and individualization, and the desire for imitation and conspicuousness, perhaps explains why it is that women, broadly speaking, are its staunchest adherents. Scientific discretion should caution us against forming judgments about woman "in the plural." At the same time it may be said of woman in a general way, whether the statement be justified in every case or not, that her psychological characteristic in so far as it differs from that of man, consists in a lack of differentiation, in a greater similarity among the different members of her sex, in a stricter adherence to the social average. Whether on the final heights of modern culture, the facts of which have not yet furnished a contribution to the formation of this general conviction, there will be a change in the relation between men and women, a change that may result in a complete reversal of the above distinction, I do not care to discuss, inasmuch as we are concerned here with more comprehensive historical averages. The relation and the weakness of her social position, to which woman has been doomed during the far greater portion of history, however, explains her strict regard for custom, for the generally accepted and approved forms of life, for all that is proper. A weak person steers clear of individualization; he avoids dependence upon self with its responsibilities and the necessity of defending himself unaided. He finds protection only in the typical form of life, which prevents the strong from exercising his exceptional powers. But resting on the firm foundation of custom, of what is generally accepted, woman strives anxiously for all the relative individualization and personal conspicuousness that remains.

Fashion furnishes this very combination in the happiest manner, for we have here on the one hand a field of general imitation, the individual floating [144] in the broadest social current, relieved of responsibility for his

tastes and his actions, yet on the other hand we have a certain conspicuousness, an emphasis, an individual accentuation of the personality. It seems that there exists for each class of human beings, probably for each individual, a definite quantitative relation between the tendency towards individualization and the desire to be merged in the group, so that when the satisfying of one tendency is denied in a certain field of life, he seeks another, in which he then fulfills the measure which he requires. Thus it seems as though fashion were the valve through which woman's craving for some measure of conspicuousness and individual prominence finds vent, when its satisfaction is denied her in other fields.

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries Germany exhibits an unusually strong development of individuality. Great inroads were made upon the collectivistic regulations of the Middle Ages by the freedom of the individual. Woman, however, took no part in this individualistic development: the freedom of personal action and self-improvement were still denied her. She sought redress by adopting the most extravagant and hypertrophic styles in dress. On the other hand, in Italy during the same epoch woman was given full play for the exercise of individuality. The woman of the Renaissance possessed opportunities of culture, of external activity, of personal differentiation such as were not offered her for many centuries thereafter. In the upper classes of society, especially, education and freedom of action were almost identical for both sexes. It is not astonishing, therefore, that no particularly extravagant Italian female fashions should have come down to us from that period. The need of exercising individuality in this field was absent, because the tendency embodied therein found sufficient vent in other spheres. In general the history of woman in the outer as well as the inner life, individually as well as collectively, exhibits such a comparatively great uniformity, leveling and similarity, that she requires a more lively activity at least in the sphere of fashion, which is nothing more nor less than

change, in order to add an attraction to herself and her life for her own feeling as well as for others. Just as in the case of individualism and collectivism, there exists between the uniformity and the change of the contents of life a definite proportion of needs, which is tossed to and fro in the different fields and seeks to balance refusal in one by consent, however acquired, in another. On the whole, we may say that woman is a more faithful creature than man. Now fidelity, expressing as it does the uniformity and regularity of one's nature only in the direction of the feelings, demands a more lively change in the outward surrounding spheres in order to establish the balance in the tendencies of life referred to above. Man, [145] on the other hand, a rather unfaithful being, who does not ordinarily restrict dependence to a relation of the feelings with the same implicitness and concentration of all interests of life to a single one, is consequently less in need of an outward form of change. Non-acceptance of changes in external fields, and indifference towards fashions in outward appearance are specifically a male quality, not because man is the more uniform but because he is the more many-sided creature and for that reason can get along better without such outward changes. Therefore, the emancipated woman of the present, who seeks to imitate in the good as well as perhaps also in the bad sense the whole differentiation, personality and activity of the male sex, lays particular stress on her indifference to fashion.

In a certain sense fashion gives woman a compensation for her lack of position in a class based on a calling or profession. The man who has become absorbed in a calling has entered a relatively uniform class, within which he resembles many others, and is thus often only an illustration of the conception of this class or calling. On the other hand, as though to compensate him for this absorption, he is invested with the full importance and the objective as well as social power of this class. To his individual importance is added that of his class, which often covers the defects and deficiencies of his purely per-

sonal character. The individuality of the class often supplements or replaces that of the member. This identical thing fashion accomplishes with other means. Fashion also supplements a person's lack of importance, his inability to individualize his existence purely by his own unaided efforts, by enabling him to join a set characterized and singled out in the public consciousness by fashion alone. Here also, to be sure, the personality as such is reduced to a general formula, yet this formula itself, from a social standpoint, possesses an individual tinge, and thus makes up through the social way what is denied to the personality in a purely individual way. The fact that the demi-monde is so frequently a pioneer in matters of fashion, is due to its peculiarly uprooted form of life. The pariah existence to which society condemns the demi-monde, produces an open or latent hatred against everything that has the sanction of law, of every permanent institution, a hatred that finds its relatively most innocent and aesthetic expression in the striving for ever new forms of appearance. In this continual striving for new, previously unheard-of fashions, in the regardlessness with which the one that is most diametrically opposed to the existing one is passionately adopted, there lurks an aesthetic expression of the desire for destruction, which seems to be an element peculiar to all that lead this pariah-like existence, so long as they are not completely enslaved within. [146]

When we examine the final and most subtle impulses of the soul, which it is difficult to express in words, we find that they also exhibit this antagonistic play of the fundamental human tendencies. These latter seek to regain their continually lost balance by means of ever new proportions, and they succeed here through the reflection which fashion occasionally throws into the most delicate and tender spiritual processes. Fashion insists, to be sure, on treating all individualities alike, yet it is always done in such a way that one's whole nature is never affected. Fashion always continues to be regarded as something external, even in

spheres outside of mere styles of apparel, for the form of mutability in which it is presented to the individual is under all circumstances a contrast to the stability of the ego-feeling. Indeed, the latter, through this contrast, must become conscious of its relative duration. The changeableness of those contents can express itself as mutability and develop its attraction only through this enduring element. But for this very reason fashion always stands, as I have pointed out, at the periphery of personality, which regards itself as a *pièce de résistance* for fashion, or at least can do so when called upon.

It is this phase of fashion that is received by sensitive and peculiar persons, who use it as a sort of mask. They consider blind obedience to the standards of the general public in all externals as the conscious and desired means of reserving their personal feeling and their taste, which they are eager to reserve for themselves alone, in such a way that they do not care to enter in an appearance that is visible to all. It is therefore a feeling of modesty and reserve which causes many a delicate nature to seek refuge in the leveling cloak of fashion; such individuals do not care to resort to a peculiarity in externals for fear of perhaps betraying a peculiarity of their innermost soul. We have here a triumph of the soul over the actual circumstances of existence, which must be considered one of the highest and finest victories, at least as far as form is concerned, for the reasons that the enemy himself is transformed into a servant, and that the very thing which the personality seemed to suppress is voluntarily seized, because the leveling suppression is here transferred to the external spheres of life in such a way that it furnishes a veil and a protection for everything spiritual and now all the more free. This corresponds exactly to the triviality of expression and conversation through which very sensitive and retiring people, especially women, often deceive one about the individual depth of the soul. It is one of the pleasures of the judge of human nature, although somewhat cruel withal, to feel the anxiousness with which woman clings to the com-

monplace contents and forms of social intercourse. The impossibility of enticing her beyond the most banal and trite forms of expression, [147] which often drives one to despair, in innumerable instances signifies nothing more than a barricade of the soul, an iron mask that conceals the real features and can furnish this service only by means of a wholly uncompromising separation of the feelings and the externals of life.

All feeling of shame rests upon isolation of the individual; it arises whenever stress is laid upon the *ego*, whenever the attention of a circle is drawn to such an individual—in reality or only in his imagination—which at the same time is felt to be in some way incongruous. For that reason retiring and weak natures particularly incline to feelings of shame. The moment they step into the centre of general attention, the moment they make themselves conspicuous in any way, a painful oscillation between emphasis and withdrawal of the *ego* becomes manifest. Inasmuch as the individual departure from a generality as the source of the feeling of shame is quite independent of the particular content upon the basis of which it occurs, one is frequently ashamed of good and noble things. The fact that the commonplace is good form in society in the narrower sense of the term, is due not only to a mutual regard, which causes it to be considered bad taste to make one's self conspicuous through some individual, singular expression that not every one can repeat, but also to the fear of that feeling of shame which as it were forms a self-inflicted punishment for the departure from the form and activity similar for all and equally accessible to all. By reason of its peculiar inner structure, fashion furnishes a departure of the individual, which is always looked upon as proper. No matter how extravagant the form of appearance or manner of expression, as long as it is fashionable, it is protected against those painful reflections which the individual otherwise experiences when he becomes the object of attention. All concerted actions are characterized by the loss of this feeling of shame. As a member of a mass the individual will do many things

which would have aroused unconquerable repugnance in his soul had they been suggested to him alone. It is one of the strangest social-psychological phenomena, in which this characteristic of concerted action is well exemplified, that many fashions tolerate breaches of modesty which, if suggested to the individual alone, would be angrily repudiated. But as dictates of fashion they find ready acceptance. The feeling of shame is eradicated in matters of fashion, because it represents a united action, in the same way that the feeling of responsibility is extinguished in the participants of a crime committed by a mob, each member of which, if left to himself, would shrink from violence.

Fashion also is only one of the forms by the aid of which men seek to save their inner freedom all the more completely by sacrificing externals to enslavement by the general public. Freedom and dependence also belong to [148] those antagonistic pairs, whose ever renewed strife and endless mobility give to life much more piquancy and permit of a much greater breadth and development, than a permanent, unchangeable balance of the two could give. Schopenhauer held that each person's cup of life is filled with a certain quantity of joy and woe, and that this measure can neither remain empty nor be filled to overflowing, but only changes its form in all the differentiations and vacillations of internal and external relations. In the same way and much less mystically we may observe in each period, in each class, and in each individual, either a really permanent proportion of dependence and freedom, or at least the longing for it, whereas we can only change the fields over which they are distributed. It is the task of the higher life, to be sure, to arrange this distribution in such a way that the other values of existence require thereby the possibility of the most favorable development. The same quantity of dependence and freedom may at one time help to increase the moral, intellectual, and aesthetic values to the highest point and at another time, without any change in quantity but merely in dis-

tribution, it may bring about the exact opposite of this success. Speaking broadly, we may say that the most favorable result for the aggregate value of life will be obtained when all unavoidable dependence is transferred more and more to the periphery, to the externals of life. Perhaps Goethe, in his later period, is the most eloquent example of a wholly great life, for by means of his adaptability in all externals, his strict regard for form, his willing obedience to the conventions of society, he attained a maximum of inner freedom, a complete saving of the centres of life from the touch of the unavoidable quantity of dependence. In this respect fashion is also a social form of marvelous expediency, because, like the law, it affects only the externals of life, only those sides of life which are turned to society. It provides us with a formula by means of which we can unequivocally attest our dependence upon what is generally adopted, our obedience to the standards established by our time, our class, and our narrower circle, and enables us to withdraw the freedom given us in life from externals and concentrate it more and more in our innermost natures.

Within the individual soul the relations of equalizing unification and individual demarcation are to a certain extent repeated. The antagonism of the tendencies which produces fashion is transferred as far as form is concerned in an entirely similar manner also to those inner relations of many individuals, who have nothing whatever to do with social obligations. The instances to which I have just referred exhibit the oft-mentioned parallelism with which the relations between individuals are repeated in the correlation between the psychic elements of the individual himself. With more [149] or less intention the individual often establishes a mode of conduct or a style for himself, which by reason of the rhythm of its rise, sway, and decline becomes characterized in fashion. Young people especially often exhibit a sudden strangeness in behavior; an unexpected, objectively unfounded interest arises and governs their whole sphere of consciousness, only to dis-

appear in the same irrational manner. We might call this a personal fashion, which forms an analogy to social fashion. The former is supported on the one hand by the individual demand for differentiation and thereby attests to the same impulse that is active in the formation of social fashion. The need of imitation, of similarity, of the blending of the individual in the mass, are here satisfied purely within the individual himself, namely through the concentration of the personal consciousness upon this one form or content, as well as through the imitation of his own self, as it were, which here takes the place of imitation of others. Indeed, we might say that we attain in this case an even more pronounced concentration, an even more intimate support of the individual contents of life by a central uniformity than we do where the fashion is common property.

A certain intermediate stage is often realized within narrow circles between individual mode and personal fashion. Ordinary persons frequently adopt some expression, which they apply at every opportunity—in common with as many as possible in the same set—to all manner of suitable or unsuitable objects. In one respect this is a group fashion, yet in another respect it is really individual, for its express purpose consists in having the individual make the totality of his circle of ideas subject to this formula. Brutal violence is hereby committed against the individuality of things; all variation is destroyed by the curious supremacy of this one category of expressions, for example, when we designate all things that happen to please us for any reason whatsoever as "*chic*," or "*smart*," even though the objects in question may bear no relation whatsoever to the fields to which these expressions belong. In this manner the inner world of the individual is made subject to fashion, and thus reflects the aspects of the external group governed by fashion, chiefly by reason of the objective absurdity of such individual manners, which illustrate the power of the formal, unifying element over the objective rational element. In the

same way many persons and circles only ask that they be uniformly governed, without thinking to inquire into the nature or value of the authority. It cannot be denied that inasmuch as violence is done to objects treated in this way, and inasmuch as they are all transformed uniformly to a category of our own making, the individual really renders an arbitrary decision with respect to these objects, he acquires an individual feeling of power, and thus the *ego* is strongly emphasized. [150]

The fact that appears here in the light of a caricature is everywhere noticeable to a less pronounced degree in the relation of persons to things. Only the noblest persons seek the greatest depth and power of their *ego* by respecting the individuality inherent in things. The hostility which the soul bears to the supremacy, independence, and indifference of the universe gives rise—beside the loftiest and most valuable strivings of humanity—to attempts to oppress things externally; the *ego* offers violence to them not by absorbing and molding their powers, not by recognizing their individuality only to make it serviceable, but by forcing it to bow outwardly to some subjective formula. To be sure the *ego* has not in reality gained control of the things, but only of its own false and fanciful conception of them. The feeling of power, however, which originates thus, betrays its lack of foundation and its fanciful origin by the rapidity with which such expressions pass by. It is just as illusory as the feeling of the uniformity of being, which springs for the moment from this formulating of all expressions. As a matter of fact the man who carries out a schematic similarity of conduct under all circumstances is by no means the most consistent, the one asserting the *ego* most regularly against the universe. On account of the difference in the given factors of life, a difference of conduct will be essential whenever the same germ of the *ego* is to prevail uniformly over all, just as identical answers in a calculation into which two factors enter, of which one continually varies, cannot be secured if the other remains unchanged, but

only if the latter undergoes variations corresponding to the changes of the former.

We have seen that in fashion the different dimensions of life, so to speak, acquire a peculiar convergence, that fashion is a complex structure in which all the leading antithetical tendencies of the soul are represented in one way or another. This will make clear that the total rhythm in which the individuals and the groups move will exert an important influence also upon their relation to fashion, that the various strata of a group, altogether aside from their different contents of life and external possibilities, will bear different relations to fashion simply because their contents of life are evolved either in conservative or in rapidly varying form. On the one hand the lower classes are difficult to put in motion and they develop slowly. A very clear and instructive example of this may be found in the attitude of the lower classes in England towards the Danish and the Norman conquests. On the whole the changes brought about affected the upper classes only; in the lower classes we find such a degree of fidelity to arrangements and forms of life that the whole continuity of English life which was retained through all those national vicissitudes rests entirely upon the persistence and immovable conservatism of the lower classes. The [151] upper classes, however, were most intensely affected and transformed by new influences, just as the upper branches of a tree are most responsive to the movements of the air. The highest classes, as everyone knows, are the most conservative, and frequently enough they are even archaic. They dread every motion and change, not because they have an antipathy for the contents or because the latter are injurious to them, but simply because it is change and because they regard every modification of the whole, as suspicious and dangerous. No change can bring them additional power, and every change can give them something to fear, but nothing to hope for. The real variability of historical life is therefore vested in the middle classes, and for this reason the history of social and cultural movements has fallen into

an entirely different pace since the *tiers état* assumed control. For this reason fashion, which represents the variable and contrasting forms of life, has since then become much broader and more animated, and also because of the transformation in the immediate political life, for man requires an ephemeral tyrant the moment he has rid himself of the absolute and permanent one. The frequent change of fashion represents a tremendous subjugation of the individual and in that respect forms one of the essential complements of the increased social and political freedom. A form of life, for the contents of which the moment of acquired height marks the beginning of decline, belongs to a class which is inherently much more variable, much more restless in its rhythms than the lowest classes with their dull, unconscious conservatism, and the highest classes with their consciously desired conservatism. Classes and individuals who demand constant change, because the rapidity of their development gives them the advantage over others, find in fashion something that keeps pace with their own soul-movements. Social advance above all is favorable to the rapid change of fashion, for it capacitates lower classes so much for imitation of upper ones, and thus the process characterized above, according to which every higher set throws aside a fashion the moment a lower set adopts it, has acquired a breadth and activity never dreamed of before.

This fact has important bearing on the content of fashion. Above all else it brings in its train a reduction in the cost and extravagance of fashions. In earlier times there was a compensation for the costliness of the first acquisition or the difficulties in transforming conduct and taste in the longer duration of their sway. The more an article becomes subject to rapid changes of fashion, the greater the demand for *cheap* products of its kind, not only because the larger and therefore poorer classes nevertheless have enough purchasing power to regulate industry and demand objects, which [152] at least bear the outward semblance of style, but

also because even the higher circles of society could not afford to adopt the rapid changes in fashion forced upon them by the imitation of the lower circles, if the objects were not relatively cheap. The rapidity of the development is of such importance in actual articles of fashion that it even withdraws them from certain advances of economy gradually won in other fields. It has been noticed, especially in the older branches of modern productive industry, that the speculative element gradually ceases to play an influential *rôle*. The movements of the market can be better overlooked, requirements can be better foreseen and production can be more accurately regulated than before, so that the rationalization of production makes greater and greater inroads on chance conjunctures, on the aimless vacillation of supply and demand. Only pure articles of fashion seem to prove an exception. The polar oscillations, which modern economics in many instances knows how to avoid and from which it is visibly striving towards entirely new economic orders and forms, still hold sway in the field immediately subject to fashion. The element of feverish change is so essential here that fashion stands, as it were, in a logical contrast to the tendencies for development in modern economics.

In contrast to this characteristic, however, fashion possesses this peculiar quality, that every individual type to a certain extent makes its appearance as though it intended to live forever. When we furnish a house these days, intending the articles to last a quarter of a century, we invariably invest in furniture designed according to the very latest patterns and do not even consider articles in vogue two years before. Yet it is evident that the attraction of fashion will desert the present article just as it left the earlier one, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with both forms is determined by other material criterions. A peculiar psychological process seems to be at work here in addition to the mere bias of the moment. Some fashion always exists and fashion *per se* is indeed immortal, which fact seems to

affect in some manner or other each of its manifestations, although the very nature of each individual fashion stamps it as being transitory. The fact that change itself does not change, in this instance endows each of the objects which it affects with a psychological appearance of duration.

This apparent duration becomes real for the different fashion-contents within the change itself in the following special manner. Fashion, to be sure, is concerned only with change, yet like all phenomena it tends to conserve energy; it endeavors to attain its objects as completely as possible, but nevertheless with the relatively most economical means. For this very reason, fashion repeatedly returns to old forms, as is illustrated particularly in wearing-apparel; and the course of fashion has been likened to a circle. [153] As soon as an earlier fashion has partially been forgotten there is no reason why it should not be allowed to return to favor and why the charm of difference, which constitutes its very essence, should not be permitted to exercise an influence similar to that which it exerted conversely some time before.

The power of the moving form upon which fashion lives is not strong enough to subject every fact uniformly. Even in the fields governed by fashion, all forms are not equally suited to become fashion, for the peculiar character of many of them furnishes a certain resistance. This may be compared with the unequal relation that the objects of external perception bear to the possibility of their being transformed into works of art. It is a very enticing opinion, but one that cannot hold water, that every real object is equally suited to become the object of a work of art. The forms of art, as they have developed historically—constantly determined by chance, frequently one-sided and affected by technical perfections and imperfections—by no means occupy a neutral height above all world objects. On the contrary, the forms of art bear a closer relation to some facts than they do to others. Many objects assume artistic form without apparent effort, as though nature had created

them for that very purpose, while others, as though wilful and supported by nature, avoid all transformation into the given forms of art. The sovereignty of art over reality by no means implies, as naturalism and many theories of idealism so steadfastly maintain, the ability to draw all the contents of existence uniformly into its sphere. None of the forms by which the human mind masters the material of existence and adapts it to its purpose is so general and neutral that all objects, indifferent as they are to their own structure, should uniformly conform to it.

Thus fashion can to all appearances and *in abstracto* absorb any chosen content: any given form of clothing, of art, of conduct, of opinion may become fashionable. And yet many forms in their deeper nature show a special disposition to live themselves out in fashion, just as others offer inward resistance. Thus, for example, everything that may be termed "classic" is comparatively far removed from fashion and alien to it, although occasionally, of course, the classic also falls under the sway of fashion. The nature of the classic is determined by a concentration of the parts around a fixed centre; classic objects possess an air of composure, which does not offer so many points of attack, as it were, from which modification, disturbance, destruction of the equilibrium might emanate. Concentration of the limbs is characteristic of classic plastics: the *tout ensemble* is absolutely governed from within, the spirit and the feeling of life governing the whole [154] embrace uniformly every single part, because of the perceptible unity of the object. That is the reason we speak of the classic repose of Greek art. It is due exclusively to the concentration of the object, which concentration permits no part to bear any relation to any extraneous powers and fortunes and thereby incites the feeling that this formation is exempt from the changing influences of general life. In contrast to this everything odd, extreme and unusual will be drawn to fashion from within: fashion does not take hold of such characteristic things as an external fate, but rather as the historical

expression of their material peculiarities. The widely projecting limbs in baroque-statues seem to be in perpetual danger of being broken off, the inner life of the figure does not exercise complete control over them, but turns them over a prey to the chance influences of external life. Baroque forms in themselves lack repose, they seem ruled by chance and subjected to the momentary impulse, which fashion expresses as a form of social life. But still another factor confronts us here, namely, that we soon grow tired of eccentric, bizarre or fanciful forms and from a purely physiological standpoint long for the change that fashion outlines for us.

I have had occasion to point out above that the *tempo* of fashion depends upon the loss of sensibility to nervous incitements which are formed by the individual disposition. The latter changes with the ages, and combines with the form of the objects in an inextricable mutual influence. We find here also one of the deep relations which we thought to have discovered between the classical and the "natural" composition of things. The conception of what is included in the term natural is rather vague and misleading, for as a rule it is merely an expression of value, which is employed to grace values prized for different reasons, and which has therefore been uniformly supported by the most antagonistic elements. At the same time, we may limit the term "natural" from a negative standpoint by a process of exclusion, inasmuch as certain forms, impulses and conceptions can certainly lay no claim to the term; and these are the forms that succumb most rapidly to the changes of fashion, because they lack that relation to the fixed centre of things and of life which justifies the claim to permanent

existence. Thus Elizabeth Charlotte of the Palatinate, a sister-in-law of Louis XIV, exceedingly masculine in her ways, inspired the fashion at the French Court of women acting like men and being addressed as such, whereas the men conducted themselves like women. It is self-evident that such behavior can be countenanced by fashion only because it is far removed from that never-absent substance of human relations to which the form of life must eventually return in some way, shape, or manner. We cannot claim that all fashion is unnatural, because the existence of fashion itself seems perfectly [155] natural to us as social beings, yet we can say, conversely, that absolutely unnatural forms may at least for a time bear the stamp of fashion.

To sum up, the peculiarly piquant and suggestive attraction of fashion lies in the contrast between its extensive, all-embracing distribution and its rapid and complete disintegration; and with the latter of these characteristics the apparent claim to permanent acceptance again stands in contrast. Furthermore, fashion depends no less upon the narrow distinctions it draws for a given circle, the intimate connection of which it expresses in the terms of both cause and effect, than it does upon the decisiveness with which it separates the given circle from others. And, finally, fashion is based on adoption by a social set, which demands mutual imitation from its members and thereby releases the individual of all responsibility—ethical and aesthetic—as well as of the possibility of producing within these limits individual accentuation and original shading of the elements of fashion. Thus fashion is shown to be an objective characteristic grouping upon equal terms by social expediency of the antagonistic tendencies of life.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD TAVERN AND THE COCKTAIL LOUNGE

A STUDY OF CLASS DIFFERENCES¹

DAVID GOTTLIEB

ABSTRACT

The neighborhood tavern and the cocktail lounge exhibit a relationship between the use of leisure and its meaning to the individual. The lounge caters to a transient clientele which does not form a cohesive group. But the tavern, a product of the neighborhood and catering to individuals with similar backgrounds, becomes the center of a voluntary association enforcing group norms and organizing group action.

The neighborhood tavern and the cocktail lounge are two types of a class of retail business which is more numerous in the United States than any other sort of retail business save grocery stores; nearly five cents out of every retail dollar is spent in drinking establishments. They are interesting, too, as voluntary associations in which the community can no longer function as an all-inclusive social group. What light do they show on variations between the social classes in the use of leisure? What is their effect upon the patron?

First of all, how is one to differentiate between a neighborhood tavern and a cocktail lounge? At first, they were classified according to the wording of the signs over the door. But it soon grew clear that a more reliable criterion was needed, and eventually continued observations and interviews yielded the following criteria.

A lounge is located in a commercial area. There will be booths in addition to a bar and television or, in some cases, professional performers. Primarily mixed drinks will be served. It is open for business in the early afternoon and will cater to afternoon and early-evening clientele.

A tavern is located in a residential section of the city. There will be a bar and, in some cases, tables. The principal drinks are beer,

served on draught, and whiskey. For the amusement of patrons there will be television and perhaps electric bowling and a juke box. It will open for business in the early morning.

There are, of course, variations in lounges and taverns and marginal establishments of each type.

The sample was collected from several sections of Chicago and its suburbs, representative as to income, racial composition, and condition of dwellings. Interviews were conducted in twenty-four neighborhood taverns and twenty-two cocktail lounges, in all cases with both patrons and bartenders. All told, sixty respondents were interviewed in neighborhood taverns and forty-eight in cocktail lounges. The interviews were of a conversational and participatory nature, directed at finding out what people did with their leisure and on social activities in the tavern and the lounge. They sought information as well for computing an Index of Status Characteristics for each person interviewed.

Apparently, leisure activity in taverns and lounges varies by social class. The lounge is most used by the upper-middle class, and its use declines rapidly in the lower-middle and still further for the upper-lower class. The opposite holds true of taverns. For example, of twenty-seven respondents of the upper-middle class, 96 per cent patronized lounges, 4 per cent taverns. Of fifty-four patrons of the lower-middle class, 72 per cent were in the neighborhood tavern, 28 per cent in the cocktail

¹ Paper delivered at the Thirty-third Annual Institute, Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, on data compiled for Social Research Incorporated. The author is indebted to Ira O. Glick, of Social Research Incorporated, and W. Lloyd Warner, of the University of Chicago.

lounge. The upper-middle class claims to spend from four to seven hours per week in drinking establishments; the lower-middle class, seven to twelve hours; and the upper-lower class, fourteen to twenty-three hours.

Taverns and lounges which do not meet the criteria are marginal institutions located in areas of transient residence and neighborhoods where the population is changing. An example is the neighborhood lounge which is found in areas of apartment houses and residential hotels. Patrons are of one social class and tend to spend more time there than those who frequent the lounges downtown. The relationships which develop there resemble those found in the neighborhood tavern. A second marginal case is the lounge in transition. Located in areas of population change, it, too, will change in order to serve a new clientele. The following quotes are from an interview with a bartender in such a lounge.

This used to be one of the nicest places on the avenue—used to get some of the top names in show business coming here. Big people came in to see the shows. Now we get the colored—gone from cocktails to beer and shots. Hell, the boss tore out everything. Got rid of the stage and all the fancy booths. Now we got that noisy juke box and a TV set. Used to be different.

The proprietor, because he wished to continue in business, changed his establishment into a neighborhood tavern. The tavern, which develops as a neighborhood center, differs from the lounge which is a sort of private service organization and is, so to speak, non-institutionalized. The tavern is both a phenomenon of the lower social classes and of the immediate neighborhood. Eighty-three per cent of the respondents resided within two blocks of the neighborhood tavern in which they were interviewed.

Since the lounges downtown cater primarily to transients, no attempt was made to get information about residence. Less than 30 per cent of patrons interviewed in the neighborhood lounge resided within two blocks of it; 50 per cent within eight blocks of it.

Each neighborhood tavern has its "regu-

lars," who can be found there at the same time each day. The bartender speaks of setting his watch by them. In the morning and early afternoon the regulars seem to be elderly local residents, usually individuals living on pensions.

For these older patrons the tavern becomes a source for both social interaction and psychological satisfaction. There he meets his friends and, in buying a drink, is able to maintain his independence and dignity. A retired railroad worker pointed out:

Well, I've been coming here for quite a few years. . . . Lou [the bartender] sees me here every day. . . . Go ahead—ask him. . . . I have a few shots with my friends . . . known most of these men for years . . . used to work together . . . see each other most every day.

There is general anxiety and speculation when a regular fails to show up or is late.

Patrons of the neighborhood tavern commonly are of a similar religious, ethnic, and social class. Four Chicago taverns in our sample catered primarily to Polish-Americans, three to German-Americans, five to southern whites, and three to Negroes. In a suburb with a population of 17,000 the division along lines of class and ethnicity was even more pronounced: there were taverns for Old Poles, New Poles (recent immigrants), Germans, hillbillies, and Italians. In six of the local taverns respondents identified along ethnic lines the patrons of taverns in other parts of the city, and their accuracy was confirmed in later research. An example of the carry-over from the neighborhood to its tavern can be found in comparing taverns located within a block of one another.

Tavern A caters to Polish-American residents in the neighborhood. Posters on its walls advertise programs of the local organization of Polish-American war veterans. The music played in the juke box consists primarily of polkas. The older patrons talk to each other in Polish. The following remarks were made in an interview with the proprietor:

Well, after a few years, you get to know all of the customers . . . get the same ones all the time. . . . Most of them come in at a certain time. . . . They all live around here. . . . Once in a while, we get someone who is new—someone who happens to be in the neighborhood. Most of my customers are Polish. . . . I know their names, sure . . . had the old man, and now we get the sons. . . . I see them here and in church. . . . They come in all the time. . . . No, the tavern across the street is not like this one . . . all hillbillies over there . . . never come in here—don't want them in here. . . . We never have any trouble, and we don't want any. . . . They stay in their places. . . . No, they just learn fast when they move in here that this is not a place for them.

In selecting a tavern, one seems to depend on contact with others in the neighborhood who are of a similar ethnic background. Seldom will a member of Tavern A cross over and patronize Tavern B, whose patrons are primarily southern whites who have migrated to Chicago in the past few years. The music from the juke box is "rock and roll" and western ballads. There is a difference, too, in the drinking habits of the patrons: in Tavern A the big drink is beer; in Tavern B it is "shots" of bourbon.

A major difference is also found in comparing the extent of patron stability found within these two taverns. In the tavern that caters to individuals who have resided in the neighborhood for many years, norms and behavior patterns are well established, but in the tavern catering to new residents the group is still forming, and social control is relatively unstable.

The second hypothesis is that the frequency of interaction between the members of a tavern and of their common activities determines the extent to which they assimilate its norms and values and how profoundly their behavior will be controlled by these standards; in other words, social interaction in each tavern over a period of years establishes behavior patterns. With their development, the sense of belonging has gone so far in several taverns that individuals have set up formal organizations:

We started the club because we saw that the same guys were coming in all the time. Well, it works like this. . . . You pay three dollars dues, and you get your card. The membership card allows you to come to the Christmas party and the picnic . . . drinks are on the house. . . . No, only members can come. . . . We got lots of ways of raising money. . . . A guy can challenge another member to show his card . . . if he doesn't have it, he has to put 25 cents in the kitty. . . . Then we have special drinking nights . . . like we put up a sign that says tonight is left-handed drinking night. . . . Every member has to take the drink with his left hand—if he doesn't, he pays a fine. . . .

In one tavern the patrons sit at a long bar, engrossed in a television program and indulging in little talking. During the commercial announcements, the bartender refills glasses without comment. Once the program resumes, silence reigns. An individual entering the tavern during the program sits at the bar, gets his drink, and delays greetings until the program is over. The interviewer entering upon the scene is looked upon as any other stranger: he is an intruder, and there is general concern as to who he is and what he wants.

Each tavern seems to set its own norms as to what degree of inebriation it will tolerate. The old timers are allowed a certain freedom. In others, drunkenness and boisterousness are generally not acceptable, and the offending individual will be rejected. The feeling of belonging is important to the "member" of the neighborhood tavern. The sense of participation is rewarding; loss of it hurts him. A bartender gives some clues: •

Every once in a while one of the fellows will overdo it . . . too much drinking. . . . The others don't go for it, and they tell him. . . . We've got one guy that still comes in here . . . used to be a pretty steady drinker. Then he started drinking heavy. . . . The fellows liked him, and we all tried to get him to cut down. . . . It was no use. . . . After awhile the fellows started to complain so we asked the guy not to come. . . . Well, he still comes in, but they've got nothing to do with him. . . . I guess he's found a new place by now.

In a neighborhood tavern the bartender seldom asks a regular what he will have: he knows what and how much to serve. Observations in a tavern near the steel mills revealed:

Five minutes before the change in shifts, the bartender set up the bottles of beer, shots of whiskey with beer chasers, and glasses of beer along the length of the bar. A few moments later the men arrived—each standing before the drink which was arranged for him. Each man knew his place at the bar. The bartender informed me later that this was customary procedure. He knew who drank what and that there were seldom any changes as to drink or when the men arrived.

Reference was made above to changes that take place in the lounge when the neighborhood changes. More dramatic changes are observed in the neighborhood tavern. Of the twenty-four taverns studied, five were in areas where an invasion of Negro residents is interpreted by the respondents as an imminent threat to the neighborhood's future. Four are in areas where changes have already taken place and two where the change is virtually completed, and the members of the tavern are now of the local minority. Neighborhood conditions as defined here are found in the interviews and by observation.

In the group of five taverns the respondents, who on an average spend thirteen hours a week in them, have drawn up an organized program for resisting potential Negro patrons.

The door to the taven was locked. In the window there was a sign that read "For Members Only." I rang a bell, and a man came to the door—he looked out at me and then opened the door. In a conversation with one of the patrons, I was informed that this closed-club approach was introduced in order to keep Negroes out of the tavern. The same technique was used by other taverns in the area.

The four taverns in areas actually undergoing population change have carried the

tactics of the closed club a step further. They seem to attract local residents who had not been patrons before. The average number of hours spent in them increases. In two of the four taverns patrons had formed block committees to persuade their neighbors not to sell their houses to Negroes. All this gives the patrons confidence that they will be able to forestall change.

Where the cycle of change is completed, patrons average twenty-three hours per week in the tavern. The members are united in what seems to be a last stand. As the neighborhood caters to fewer and fewer leisure activities, the old-time patrons spend more and more time in the tavern; they develop, it seems, a greater dependence upon each other. As members of the in-group move out of the neighborhood, the hard reality of the situation becomes more clear to the others and to the proprietor. Bitterness and hostility toward the newcomers increase, and in time the remaining patrons make plans for leaving the neighborhood. For the proprietor the choice is to sell his establishment or open the door to the new people. Said the proprietor of a tavern in this plight:

Used to be busy all the time . . . day and night. . . . Now all I get is the "Spics." What can I do? I have to live, too. The people who lived here moved when the Spics came, so I began to sell to them. . . . So the old ones that were left wouldn't come here anymore. . . . Now they don't even talk to me when I see them.

In concluding, it must be admitted that the smallness of the sample and the neatness of the findings in this study raise speculation as to the value of the working hypotheses that have been proposed. The investigation, however, does present the basis for further research on the role of the voluntary association in social class differentiation and community change.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

YOUTH AND POPULAR MUSIC: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF TASTE¹

JOHN JOHNSTONE AND ELIHU KATZ

ABSTRACT

Preferences in popular music among teen-age girls vary according to the neighborhood in which a girl lives and her relative popularity among her peers. Highly popular girls are shown to conform more closely than the less popular to the prevailing neighborhood norms in popular music. Musical tastes and preferences for particular songs and for particular disk jockeys are found to be anchored in relatively small groups of friends, suggesting that personal relations play an important role in musical fads and fashions.

John Peatman in 1942 by content analysis differentiated themes in popular song lyrics.² While they deal continuously with "love," Peatman arrived at three main types: the "happy-in-love" ballad, the "frustrated-in-love" song, and the "novelty song with sex interest." Following this lead, in 1954 one of the present authors also made a content analysis of the popular song lyrics³ of a twenty-five-year period (1927-51), using essentially the same categories as Peatman. Not only did the lyrics deal with the "love" theme about three-quarters of the time but, in addition, an overwhelming majority were either "happy" or "frustrated." Love songs are invariably personal, "ego" either indulging in or being deprived of love.

A further study of the meaning of popular music for its major consumer, the teenager, took as its starting point that of several recent pieces of effective research.

¹ This is a publication of the Center for the Study of Leisure of the University of Chicago; the Center is supported by a grant from the Ford Foundation.

² John G. Peatman, "Radio and Popular Music," in Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank Stanton (eds.), *Radio Research, 1942-43* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944), pp. 335-93.

³ John W. C. Johnstone, unpublished research report, Carleton College, Ottawa, Ontario, 1954. The exact categories used were "indulgent" (where the status of the actor or action was generally desirable), "deprivational" (where the status of the actor or action was generally undesirable), or "neutral" (where the lyrics did not deal with the dimension of attraction-repulsion at all). Among the love songs, then, the correspondence among these categories and Peatman's was virtually perfect.

Eleanor Maccoby, for one, recently reported the different uses of television among children who show evidence of being frustrated and those who do not.⁴ Freidson found that a child's relative preference for television as against movies may be related to his relative preference for family as against friends.⁵ Similarly, the Rileys have shown that identical materials may serve quite different functions for children according as they are or are not well integrated in peer groups.⁶ Other writers, too, such as Riesman, argue that the same popular materials are used by audiences in radically different ways and for radically different purposes.⁷

The question was raised, then, as to whether the polar types of love songs might not serve different functions for different fans—say, for the popular adolescent as compared with the isolated. Attention was focused on the female adolescent audience, since it is generally agreed that this group constitutes, if not the largest, at least the most vocal, single audience. One of the most

⁴ Eleanor E. Maccoby, "Why Do Children Watch Television?" *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVIII (1954), 239-44.

⁵ Eliot Freidson, "The Relation of the Social Situation of Contact to the Media in Mass Communication," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (1953), 230-38.

⁶ Matilda W. and John W. Riley, Jr., "A Sociological Approach to Communications Research," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XV (1951), 445-60.

⁷ David Riesman, "Listening to Popular Music," in *Individualism Reconsidered* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

obvious settings for the enjoyment of popular music by a teen-age girl would be in connection with her social activities, and therefore tastes in popular music were compared with dating. Thus, the original hypothesis of the study sought to relate frequent dating with preferences for the "happy" or "indulgent" love song and rarer dating with preferences for the "blues" or "deprived" songs.

But boy-and-girl activities constitute only a part of an adolescent girl's social life, and a second concern of this study, therefore, is with the part played by the girl's peer group in the formation of musical tastes, in the preference for one song over another, and for one celebrity over another in the world of popular music—in short, with conformity in this area of popular interest. No attempt is made in this study to tell the whole story of a "hit" song or even to relate in detail how a particular song makes its way among members of a given group. Writers like Peatman⁸ have stressed the all-important role which radio plays in the creation of "hit" tunes, and others, such as Adorno,⁹ point out that the favorites of the popular-music fan will be those which are most played or "plugged" on the radio. While plugging is important, so, too, are leadership in opinion and other group attributes of the audience.¹⁰ It is from the point of view of personal influence and the shared tastes of adolescent peers, in any

event, that the subject of musical taste is approached. As such, the investigation involves an examination of the comparative musical interests and tastes of close friends, of more distant friends, of members of the same organizations who are not close friends, and of individuals who do not know each other.

DESIGN AND PROCEDURE OF STUDY

The field work was conducted during the winter and spring of 1954–55 by self-administered questionnaires completed by eight clubs of teen-age girls. Questions covered the following: (1) relative interest in various types of music; (2) preferences in songs in the then-current "Hit Parade"; (3) preferences in disk jockeys; (4) preferences in particular kinds of popular songs; (5) sociometric choices of best friends; and (6) dating.

The respondents were chosen from among members of eight Hi-Y clubs in two neighborhoods of South Side Chicago: four in the Hyde Park YMCA and four in the South Shore YMCA. All were high-school students, aged from thirteen to eighteen years, and the age distributions were practically the same in each neighborhood. The clubs had from 9 to 28 members, of whom a total of 133 girls were questioned—53 from the Hyde Park and 80 from the South Shore clubs. Members of South Shore clubs were, on the whole, from higher socioeconomic backgrounds; this variable was not, however, systematically recorded in the surveys, unfortunately.

The South Shore groups were interviewed approximately four months after the Hyde Park clubs, and the questions which were asked of the first groups were given to the second set. The popular songs listed for ranking were, of course, brought up to date with the "Hit Parade." Each group was questioned separately, either before or following its weekly club meeting. Interest in the questionnaire was high, and, on the whole, the respondents undertook their task with genuine seriousness.

⁸ *Op. cit.*

⁹ T. W. Adorno, "A Social Critique of Radio Music," in Bernard Berelson and Morris Janowitz (eds.), *Public Opinion and Communication* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), p. 314. •

¹⁰ Studies of the role of opinion leaders in voting (Bernard Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee, *Voting* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954]) show that personal influences do come between the mass media and the individual and that people who interact with each other typically maintain attitudes in common. The theory of the "two-step flow of communication" was first cited in Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, *The People's Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944), and is elaborated in Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955).

DATING AND POPULAR MUSIC

Does a girl's popularity with boys affect her taste in popular music? The initial hypothesis—that many dates lead to a preference for “happy” or “indulgent” songs and infrequent dates for “blues” or “sad” or “deprived” songs—was tested by posing the question:

Of all the songs which become popular each year, about three-quarters of them deal with love. In some of these songs the love is a happy love, where the boy and the girl are happy, etc., while in others, as you know, either the boy or the girl has the blues. Generally speaking, which type of song do you like better?

The happy song.....
The blues song.....

In Table 1 the responses of the original sample of the Hyde Park girls are shown,

TABLE 1

DATING AND TYPE OF SONG PREFERRED
IN HYDE PARK CLUBS

Song Preference	Dates at Least Once a Week	Dates Less than Once a Week	Total*
Prefers “happy” songs.....	7	14	21
Prefers “blues” songs.....	23	5	28
Total.....	30	19	49

* $\chi^2 = 11.8$; $P < .001$.

and a striking relationship between frequency of dating and the song preferred is noted. This relationship, however, is exactly opposite to the one originally predicted: “heavy” daters, it is clear, overwhelmingly prefer the “sad” songs, while infrequent daters like “happy” songs.

This finding invited a number of interesting interpretations; for example, the “blues” songs help the frequent dater to add excitement to her relationships—by suggesting crises, breakups, and the like—and thus, perhaps, helping to end an affair that might grow too serious; but the infrequent dater can ill afford these emotional adventures. Another possibility is that the frequent dater is more realistic about love, while the

infrequent dater, with relatively little experience, dreams about her “blue heaven”; or that the tunes accompanying “sad” songs were better as dance rhythm and more appropriate to romance and thus more useful to the popular girl.

However intriguing these interpretations may be, there is an important complication: when the second set of interviews was conducted four months later with girls in a second neighborhood, the results were not at all the same (Table 2). In South Shore clubs

TABLE 2

DATING AND TYPE OF SONG PREFERRED
IN SOUTH SHORE CLUBS

Song Preference	Dates at Least Once a Week	Dates Less than Once a Week	Total*
Prefers “happy” songs.....	38	18	56
Prefers “blues” songs.....	12	9	21
Total.....	50	27	77

* $\chi^2 = .7$; $P > .80$.

there is so great a liking for “happy” songs that it surpasses the preference for them of the infrequent daters (76 per cent as compared with 67 per cent).

Clearly there is an important difference between neighborhoods. While the proper relationship between popularity and song preferences in Hyde Park is still to be explained, the more pressing problem is the difference in the relationship between the two variables in the two neighborhoods.

THE CULTURE OF THE NEIGHBOR-
HOOD YOUTH

The two neighborhoods, we think, represent two “culture areas,” not simply because the relationship between frequency of dating and song preferences is different in them but also because the local preferences as a whole are different (Table 3).

A second question used in the study permits a test of the hypothesis that the two patterns of response come from two different cultures. Respondents were to fill in the missing word on the fourth line of what was

described as a "typical love song lyric." The jingle went as follows:

You were there in my dreamworld,
In the dreams which I had
Last night when I saw you,
When you made me so.....

A total of five responses were given by 111 individuals: "glad" (by 57), "sad" (by 24), "mad" (by 15), "blue" (by 10), and "happy" (by 5). Among these, "glad" and "happy" were assumed to be "indulgent" responses, and "sad," "mad," and "blue"

norms, the strong relationship between frequency of dating and song preferences in the "blue" neighborhood and the virtual absence of such a relationship in the "happy" neighborhood remain. Two very tentative explanations suggest themselves.

One possibility is that more popular girls embrace the neighborhood norms more. To explore this possibility, we separated the respondents according to the number of sociometric choices they received, and the sociometric status is then compared with their preferences in type of song. In each case the predominant mood of the neighborhood is most strongly affirmed by the most popular girls, although the relationship is considerably more pronounced in Hyde Park (Table 5).¹³ Moreover, on the whole, the

TABLE 3
SONG PREFERENCES BY NEIGHBORHOOD

STATED PREFERENCE	HYDE PARK GIRLS		SOUTH SHORE GIRLS	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prefers "happy" songs.	21	43	56	73
Prefers "blues" songs...	28	57	21	27
Total*.....	49	100	77	100

* $\chi^2 = 11.1$; $P < .001$.

to be deprived. In Table 4 these responses are sorted according to the neighborhood affiliations of the respondents, and the differences revealed are seen to coincide with the differences found in the question of preference in songs.¹¹ The large majority of Hyde Park girls, that is, respond with "sad" or "mad," while the majority of South Shore girls say "glad." This seems to be evidence of a difference in outlook between the two neighborhoods on boy-girl relations.

Unfortunately, we are not in a position to report on the possible determinants of this difference in outlook. The only clue available is impressionistic—that the South Shore girls are, on the whole, wealthier and more solidly middle class than the Hyde Park girls. If this is true, it may help explain the particular *content* of the two "cultures."¹²

But, whatever accounts for the difference in the content of the two neighborhood

¹¹ The responses of Hyde Park girls to the projective question were obtained from a follow-up survey, and it is impossible, therefore, to compare their answers to the projective question with their answers to the question on song-type preferences.

TABLE 4
RESPONSES TO PROJECTIVE QUESTION BY NEIGHBORHOOD AFFILIATION

TYPE OF RESPONSE	HYDE PARK GIRLS		SOUTH SHORE GIRLS	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
"Indulgent".....	13	39	49	63
"Deprivational"....	20	61	29	37
Total*.....	33	100	78	100

* $\chi^2 = 5.1$; $P < .05$.

Hyde Park girls are relatively more interested in popular music than are the girls of South Shore, which may be why the relationship between popularity and conform-

¹² This, of course, raises the possibility that the relationship between socioeconomic status and song preferences may be individualist in that rich girls (even in poor neighborhoods) would prefer "happy" songs and poor girls (even in rich neighborhoods) would prefer the "blues." If so, the neighborhood norm would not be a product of group interaction at all, which seems highly improbable.

¹³ That the behavior of a neighborhood may be reflected in the habits of its "leaders" is affirmed in a recent study of the adoption of new farm practices. C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman, in "Group Influences and Agricultural Innovations: Some Tentative Findings and Hypotheses," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (May, 1956), 588-94, report that, in areas of high adoption, those from whom other farmers obtain farming information have higher adoption rates than farmers in general, while, in areas of low adoption, the adoption rates of leaders are similar to the rates of all farmers.

ity is so much stronger in that neighborhood.¹⁴

The other possible explanation is that there is something special about the "blues"—that girls in "blue" neighborhoods may lead a more intense adolescent life and move out of the orbit of their families earlier and more drastically. The meaning of heavy dating in this kind of neighborhood may be quite different from what it is in the "happy" upper-middle-class neighborhood, and it may be that the heavy-dating girls really "use" popular music in ways discussed above.

TABLE 5
SOCIOMETRIC STATUS AND CONFORMITY
TO NEIGHBORHOOD NORM

No. of Sociometric Choices Received	HYDE PARK GIRLS		SOUTH SHORE GIRLS	
	Prefer		Prefer	
	"Blues" Songs	"Happy" Songs	"Blues" Songs	"Happy" Songs
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Three or more.....	16	88	15	87
Two.....	9	56	23	78
One or less.....	24	38	39	64

THE OVERLAPPING TASTES OF PEERS

If neighborhoods and popularity in groups have a role in shaping preferences for popular songs, the more minute details of the mechanisms of group life which breed similar opinions, attitudes, tastes, and habits ought to be examined more carefully with reference to the world of popular music. Accordingly, the questionnaire sought to tap behavior in which the influence of friends upon each other might be apparent. Three of these are: general tastes in music, favorite disk jockeys, and the ranking of "Hit Parade" songs.

To measure relative taste for various kinds of music, each respondent was asked to imagine that she was choosing ten free recordings and to decide how many of the records she would choose from each of five different types of music—classical, semi-classical, popular, jazz, and western. The

¹⁴ Asked to select free recordings from five possible types of music, Hyde Park girls made 54 per cent and South Shore girls 44 per cent of their choices from popular music.

choices of each were then compared with those of every other member in her club simply by deriving the percentage of overlapping choices. At the same time sociograms of best friends were constructed, thus making it possible to compare overlapping musical tastes, first, among mutual-choice friends where each chooses the other; second, among one-way choice friendships where one chooses the other but is not chosen in return; and, third, among individuals who did not choose each other as close friends (Table 6). The overlap percentages have been averaged, and, while the differences are not large, the trend indicates that close friends do tend to have similar musical tastes.

From this finding alone it cannot be argued that peer groups influence an individual's listening habits, but whether or not "other people" are instrumental in formulating these attitudes is a difficult question. It may very well be that cliques emerge

TABLE 6
IDENTICAL MUSICAL TASTES BY
DEGREE OF FRIENDSHIP

Degree of Friendship	No. of Compari- sons	Index of Agreement (Per Cent)
Mutual-choice friends.....	72	59
One-way-choice friends.....	79	52
Non-close friends.....	998	49
Total.....	1,149	50

within larger groups primarily because of pre-existing similar attitudes, although it is also likely that influence would operate in both directions. Unfortunately, this study provides little to solve this question; only a developmental study which starts with a group at its inception could do so.

That the peer group may direct an individual in listening to music, however, is indicated in data on favorite disk jockeys. While practically every girl in the whole sample named one disk jockey, Howard Miller, as a favorite, there are nonetheless indications from among other choices that specific groups name specific disk jockeys as favorites.

In one of the clubs (Club B), for ex-

ample, there are wide differences among the major clique groups as to favorite disk jockeys (Table 7). Disk Jockey Dalie was

TABLE 7

FAVORITE DISK JOCKEYS OF GROUP B		
Disk Jockey	Clique I	Clique II
Miller.....	3	3
Hubbard.....	0	2
Trompeter.....	0	1
Dalie.....	4	0
Porter.....	1	0
Total.....	8	6

the exclusive and unanimous favorite of the four members of Clique I. This is especially striking in that only 2 other persons in the whole sample of 133 named Dalie as a favorite. Furthermore, Howard Miller was the only one of five disk jockeys named by members of both cliques.

homogeneity correlation was found for each club and for each of the three subgroups defined by degree of friendship (Table 8). Here again the differences

TABLE 8

IDENTITY OF SONG PREFERENCES
BY DEGREE OF FRIENDSHIP

Degree of Friendship	No. of Comparisons	Mean Rank Correlation
Mutual-choice friends.....	72	.38
One-way-choice friends.....	79	.28
Non-close friends.....	998	.25
Total.....	1,149	.26

among groups are not great, but, again, the values form a trend consistent with expectation. Identical choice of songs is uncommon but at least more common among friends of mutual choice.

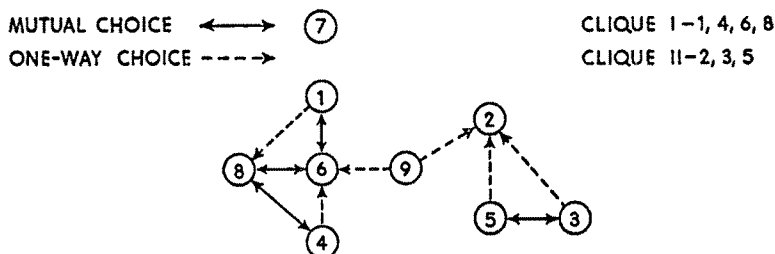


FIG. 1.—Sociogram of group "B"

For other cliques, too, similar findings—although by no means as clear cut—emerged, suggesting that a peer group may influence and restrict preferences in disk jockeys and, consequently, in the music to which its members will listen.

THE RANKING OF "HIT PARADE" SONGS

Analysis somewhat similar to that used in studying interest in different types of music showed that degree of friendship does relate to agreement on "Hit Parade" preferences. The data for this analysis were derived from asking respondents to rank five popular songs drawn from the current "Hit Parade," rank-difference correlations being then computed between each respondent's rankings and those of every other member of her group. Then a mean

Song preferences change much more rapidly than does the general musical taste: the current "Hit Parade" is very seldom the same two weeks in succession. We might expect, therefore, that there would be considerably greater chance for personal influence to determine specific song favorites. In many cases popular songs are very much alike, and, without other influences, an individual may really have a hard time in deciding which songs to single out as favorites. In any event it seems extremely far-fetched to argue that individuals choose their close friends because they prefer certain songs. It is more reasonable to argue that they choose friends because of their general interest in music.

CANADIAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION
AND
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE DIALOGUE OF COURTSHIP IN POPULAR SONGS

DONALD HORTON¹

ABSTRACT

The lyrics of American popular songs consist largely of elements of dialogue appropriate to a limited range of situations and relationships in the cycle of courtship. They provide a conventional language in which adolescents may formulate their changing and developing reciprocal expectations and self-conceptions.

American popular songs are frequently written in the mode of direct address, of intimate conversation, in which the speaker and the person spoken to are identified as "I" and "you." In some the "I" is identified as masculine or feminine, while in others no clues to the sex of the speaker are given, and the same verses could be used by either sex in addressing the other. The relationships described or implied in the lyrics are those of dating and courtship. Some merely express an attitude or sentiment of the speaker toward the one addressed. More often the content is an appeal, request, demand, complaint, or reproach, soliciting response, as though the songs were fragments of dialogue. Musical comedies, motion pictures, and television programs such as "Your Hit Parade" regularly dramatize them as intimate conversations between lovers.

We might surmise, then, that the popular song provides a conventional conversational language for use in dating and courtship, one whose highly stylized and repetitious rhetorical forms and symbols are confined to the expression and manipulation of a narrow range of values. The questions asked here are: What can be said in this language? To what situations is it appropriate? What relationships between speaker and others are recognized in it? With what problems of social interaction can it deal?

The important role of language in motivating and directing social interaction has

been discussed by numerous social psychologists² whose empirical studies have, however, been few in number.³ The present paper is intended as a discussion of the social-psychological functions of language as found in popular song lyrics but also as a contribution to the analysis of other forms of art, both popular and sophisticated. The data are verses published in the June, 1955, issues of four periodicals devoted to song lyrics: *Hit Parader*, *Song Hits Magazine*, *Country Song Roundup*, and *Rhythm and Blues*.⁴ The four magazines contained 290

² Cf. Herbert Blumer, "The Psychological Import of the Human Group," in *Group Relations at the Crossroads*, ed. Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (New York, 1953); Kenneth Burke, *Attitudes towards History* (New York, 1937) and *A Rhetoric of Motives* (New York, 1945); Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (1951), 14-21; Hans Gerth and C. Wright Mills, *Character and Social Structure* (New York, 1953); Alfred R. Lindesmith and Anselm L. Strauss, *Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York, 1956); George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago, 1934).

³ For two recent studies see Thomas Burns, "Friends, Enemies and the Polite Fiction," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (1953), 654-62, and Leonard Schatzman and Anselm Strauss, "Social Class and Modes of Communication," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 329-38.

⁴ The first two are published monthly; the other two, bimonthly. All have editorial offices at the same address and have some staff members in common. At the time of our study they were the only song lyric magazines on the magazine stands in Chicago. Our examples of *Hit Parader* and *Song Hits* had identical advertising copy and similar editorial content (pictures and biographical sketches of popular singers, "disk jockeys," etc.) and 48 per cent duplication of songs. *Country Song Roundup* is devoted to "hillbilly" and "cowboy" music and its performers and duplicates the first two in only 7 song

¹ Grateful acknowledgment is made to the Social Science Research Committee of the Division of the Social Sciences, University of Chicago, for financial aid and to Virginia Olesen for technical assistance in the preparation of this paper.

lyrics, but with some duplication; a net total of 235 different lyrics constituted the material for analysis. Of these, 196 (83.4 per cent) are conversational songs about love. The various phases or stages of the love relationship represented in them may be arranged as "scenes" in a drama of courtship.⁵

THE DRAMA OF COURTSHIP

Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming.—A few songs belong to what might be called a prologue to the drama; they voice the anticipations of youngsters who have not yet begun to take part in love affairs. "Someone To Watch Over Me" is a girl's prayer for a lover ("I hope that he'll turn out to be someone to watch over me"); in a complementary song, "A Girl To Love," the boy may sing, "Here I wait with open arms for a girl to love." Two of the lyrics seem to represent lines to be said by a more experienced actor to a reluctant neophyte. A girl may quote from "Dance with Me Henry" (subtitled "The Wallflower"), "Hey baby, what do I have to do to make a hit with you?" and advise the timid boy to "get the lead out of your feet," for, "If you

lyrics of a total of 68. *Rhythm and Blues* appears to be published primarily for Negroes (most of the performers and correspondents whose photographs are reproduced are Negroes, and some of the advertising, especially that concerned with hair-dressing devices, is obviously directed to Negroes). This magazine duplicates the others in 9 songs of a total of 69. Though the country-song and Negro magazines belong in different musical subcultures and address different audiences from those of "standard" popular songs, all our major content categories are found in strikingly similar proportions in all four magazines (Table 2). There are minor differences in vocabulary and thematic emphasis but nothing to invalidate the supposition that these songs belong to a common universe of discourse. Differences in the accompanying music and in the relative popularity of a given song or type of song are not relevant here. •

⁵ This arrangement is possible without overlapping because most of the songs contain a single (and usually simple) "message." Where analysis would disclose more, one is usually manifestly dominant, as shown by repetition and emphasis. In the quotations that follow we have not used the same song in more than one category or "scene."

don't start trying, / You're gonna end up crying." In the other the boy who knows from experience tells the one who does not: "If you ain't lovin' then you ain't livin'." To the prologue belong also some general recommendations of the state of love: "When You Are in Love" ("When you are in love / You will discover a wonderland") and "Cherry Pink and Apple Blossom White" ("It's cherry pink and apple blossom white / When your true lover comes your way").

Act I: Courtship.—We might expect a boy and girl on first meeting to go through a period of friendship preceding love; but such a stage is not provided for in our songs, or at least there is no characteristic dialogue for it. The more aggressive of the two prospective lovers is provided with gambits for winning the reluctant other which might be called the "direct," the "sweet," and the "desperate" approaches. No doubt one might be used successfully without the others, but in the hypothetical drama they are successive scenes.

In Scene 1 the direct approach is provided with words like "Oh, what I'd give for a moment or two, / Under the bridges of Paris with you" ("Under the Bridges of Paris") or "I'd love to gain complete control of you, and handle even the heart and soul of you" ("All of You"). For the brash and boisterous there is "Here Comes All My Love," in which the lover can say: "You been teasin' long enough—now I'm gonna call your bluff," or "Main Event," which says: "Now that we've done a little fancy dancin', / Sparred with each other to our heart's content, / If you intend to do some real romancin' (Boing), / Let's get to the main event."

We may doubt that this kind of attack is often successful. At any rate, the current crop of songs provides the sweet dialogue of Scene 2, in which the lover makes some show of devotion and offers simple declarations of love in a variety of dialects: "I love you, / For sentimental reasons" ("I Love You"); "I love you more than jambalaya Creole shrimp and crawfish pie" ("I Love You

More and More"); and "Honey Bunch, I go for you" ("Honey Bunch"). The lover's demands may be excessively modest: "A little love that slowly grows and grows / . . . That's all I want from you" ("That's All I Want from You"). He asks for a return of love ("Do, do, do what your heart says, / Love me as I love you" ["Do, Do, Do"]) but may accept a policy of gradualism ("Little by little our dreams will come true" [*ibid.*]) and patience ("Someday you may love me the way I love you" ["It's Your Life"]).

When neither simple appeal nor gentle persuasion wins, the heroic and desperate songs of Scene 3 are available. In the language provided here the lover may plead, "How can I make you love me, / What can I say or do?" ("How Can I"), or "Your love is all I'm needing, / Why can't you hear my pleading?" ("Your Love"). If these supplications fail, he may make heroic promises: "For you my love I'd do most anything" ("For You My Love"); "I would laugh, I would cry, / For your love I'd gladly die" ("Sweet Brown-eyed Baby"). He may humble himself with "I'm just a fool,⁶ / A fool in love with you" ("Earth Angel"); "I confess pretty baby 'cause I'm just a fool for you" ("I Confess"). Reaching the depths of self-pity and self-humiliation, he may cry, "Bring me tears, bring me pain, / Fill my days with never-ending rain, / But bring me your love" ("Bring Me Your Love"); or "Treat me like a fool, / Treat me mean and cruel, / But love me" ("Love Me").

Before the beloved yields to these entreaties, he (or more probably she) may ask, in Scene 4, further reassurances and commitments. The developing love relationship may seem dangerous and overwhelming: "First you think its fun to try to kiss and run, / But each time you do, then love comes running after you . . . / That's why I tried to run away, / Fly with panic in my heart" ("Boomerang"). Are the lover's avowals genuine? Can he be intrusted with

love? Will the new relationship be founded on mutual respect and mutual obligations? "Are you in love with me honestly, honestly? . . . / Is this dream a perfect dream that we can share? / Is it love or is it just a love affair?" ("Honestly"); "If I give to you my kisses, / I've got to know that you know how to handle it. . . . / Whatever we arrange, / Let's make it a fair exchange" ("Fair Exchange"); "Darling, say that you'll be true, / Let each kiss express, / Just how much I mean to you" ("Fill My Heart with Happiness"); "Handle me with gentleness and say you'll leave me never" ("Softly, Softly"). The lover who cannot give these assurances is resisted: "Please stay away from my heart, / And please don't let me love you, / 'Cause I know you'll be untrue" ("Please Don't Let Me Love You"). Marriage or the promise of marriage may be added as a condition to these questions and pleadings, although only two songs in the present collection go so far: "You gotta walk me, walk me, walk me down that well-known aisle" ("D'ja Hear What I Say"); and "If I'm only dreaming, you'll make those dreams come true, / On the day I'm hearing wedding bells, / Walking down the aisle with you" ("Wedding Bells").

The ritual responses to these demands are provided in songs like "Pledging My Love" ("Forever my darling, / My love will be true") and "I'm Sincere" ("I'm sincere when I cry that I'll love you 'til I die"). Fidelity is sworn in such words as "Never will my lips be for any one but you" ("You're the Heart That Loves Me"), and considerateness is promised in "I'd never forgive myself, / If I ever made you cry" ("I'd Never Forgive Myself"). In the song "Are You Mine?" a section of dialogue has alternate lines for the boy and the girl: "[Boy] Are you mine? [Girl] Yes, I am. [Boy] All the time? [Girl] Yes, I am. [Boy] Mine alone? [Girl] Yes, sirree. [Boy] All my own? [Girl] Yes, sirree." Only one song provides a specific answer on the marriage question: "So, baby, if you'll just tell me you want me to, / I'll book a weddin' for me and you" ("I've Been Thinking").

⁶ In the lexicon of song-writing "fool" does not mean silly or stupid but rather not responsible for one's condition—a helpless, though willing, victim.

It is quite possible, of course, that the actors may go through this drama more than once. The same lyrics, read with different overtones and connotations, may serve at different (should we say "higher" or "lower"?) levels of experience. The metaphors of "heart," "love's wonderland," "make your dreams come true," "make you mine," and so on are serviceably ambiguous to confound the censors. In the songs themselves, however, references to prior loves or conflicts between a new love and an old are scarce. It is perhaps in Scene 4, the scene of appeals, promises, reassurances, and final commitments, that we should note the songs in which a struggle of loyalties is expressed. In "Make Believe" the lover sings: "You belong to another . . . / I belong to someone too, / But they can't seem to see / That our love has to be. / We'll make believe 'till / We can make it come true." In "Conscience" the conflict is more agonizing: "Conscience, keeper of my heart . . . / Let me live and let me love . . . / Please don't treat a love like ours / As just an evil thing. . . . / Will I choose the one I love / Or the one I'm tied to?" If this conflict is resolved, then the songs of pledge and counterpledge quoted above may be invoked.

In Scene 5 one of the lovers is becoming impatient. Mere acknowledgments, mere kisses, are not enough. "How long must I wait for you, / To do what I ask you to, / Baby, how long?" ("How Long Must I Wait"); and "Let's stay home tonight . . . / There's a message in your eyes and if I'm right, / Let's stay home tonight" ("Let's Stay Home Tonight"). To these urgencies the other may respond with some anxiety: "Your love's like quicksand, I'm sinking deeper by the hour. / I'm up to my heart, I'm helpless in your power" ("Quicksand"); or can warn himself (herself) with "Look out, little fool, you're not wise, not wise to love so completely, / Or fall for the look in her [his] eyes" ("Danger, Heartbreak Ahead"). The other may reply: "Come a little closer, don't have no fear. . . . I heard what you told me, / Heard what you said. / Don't worry, my pretty, won't lose my

head." The timid, yielding, might whisper: "Take my all, darling, do, / But don't unless you love me too, / There's no right way to do me wrong" ("There's No Right Way To Do Me Wrong"); while the bold, putting all fears behind, might say: "Starting with the 'A, B, C' of it, / Right down to the 'X, Y, Z' of it, / Help me solve the mystery of it, / Teach me tonight" ("Teach Me Tonight").

Act II: The Honeymoon.—"The first thing I want in the morning, and the last thing I want at night, / Is Yoo-hoo, baby" ("My Heart's Delight") sings the intoxicated lover in Scene 1 of Act II; "You sweet as honey that comes from a bee, / You precious as an apple that comes from a tree" ("Nothing Sweet as You"). This is the honeymoon period whose songs describe the exhilaration of mutual (and perhaps fulfilled) love: "Tweedle tweedle tweedle dee, I'm as happy as can be" ("Tweedle Dee"); "Baby when you hold me in your arms I feel better all over" ("Feel Better All Over"). The lover is by turns boastful ("I got a sweetie way over town, / He's so good to me . . . / I feel so proud walkin' by his side, / Couldn't get a better man, / No matter how hard I tried" ["I Got a Sweetie"]) or humble ("I will pray to every star above; / And give them thanks for you / And drink a toast to love" ["A Toast to Lovers"]) or astonished ("I found out since we've been kissin', / All the things I've been missin', / The wilder your heart beats, / The sweeter you love" ["The Wilder Your Heart Beats"]). Here is the appropriate place for the old favorite, "Carolina in the Morning":⁷ "No-one could be sweeter / Than my sweetie when I meet her in the morning. . . . / Nothing could be finer / Than to be in Carolina in the morning."

If this happiness is troubled, it is only by a doubt that anything so wonderful could be real, "If you are but a dream, I hope I never waken" ("If You Are But a Dream"), and by the pain of parting at night, for these lovers are not yet legally married: "Please

⁷ Originally copyrighted in 1922 but reprinted in *Hit Parader*.

don't say goodnight to me so soon, / Hold me close some more, / That's what arms are for" ("Please Don't Go So Soon"). Even in this euphoric stage only one song refers to marriage: "I'm so happy, so happy, / This is my wedding day" ("My Wedding Day").⁸

Act III: The Downward Course of Love.—The first uncertainties may occur in the new relationship if the lovers are temporarily separated, an event not unlikely among youngsters who do not yet control their own lives. Scene 1 provides for simple loneliness: "There's a hope in my heart that you'll soon be with me" ("The Sand and the Sea"); but loneliness may be touched with anxiety: "I've hungered for your touch a long lonely time . . . / And time can do so much. / Are you still mine?" ("Unchained Melody"); "Don't forget how much I love you . . . / And tho' other eyes may shine, / Tie a string around your heart, / Ev'ry moment we're apart" ("Don't Forget"); "I can't stay away like this, / I'm afraid that you'll get careless, and someone will steal a kiss" ("I Can't Stand It Any Longer").

In Scene 2 forces hostile to love's happiness appear. Parents may intervene: "My mother, she is scoldin' me / Because I love you so" ("Oh, Mother Dear"). Jealousy, even jealousy of past loves, may arise: "How important can it be / That I've tasted other lips?" ("How Important Can It Be?"). Malicious talk is a danger: "Don't listen to gossip whatever you do, / It's usually lies that you'll hear, / What they say about me they say about you, / So kiss me and dry up your tears" ("Gossip"). The lover may be unfaithful or simply unkind: "Give me your love instead of all those heartaches . . . why must you make me cry?" ("Give Me Your Love"); "Mama he treats me badly" ("He Treats Your Daughter Mean"); and, as one of the partners begins to "cool" (for whatever reasons), the other instantly de-

fects it: "A heart may be fickle, / And words may deceive . . . / But kisses don't lie / . . . I know you are changing, that I'm losing you . . . / You don't want to hurt me, / But kisses don't lie" ("Kisses Don't Lie").

The answer to infidelities and unkindness is the threat of leaving (Scene 3) and the offending lover's remorse. "Maybe when I've said my last goodbye, / Your anxious heart will cry and cry" ("Anxious Heart"); "If you can't be true, I'm gonna fall out of love with you" ("I'm Gonna Fall Out of Love with You"); "If you can't give me half the love / That I've been giving you, / You'd better hold me tighter dear / 'Cause I'll go slipping through" ("Butterfingers"); and, finally: "Nobody loves me, / Nobody seems to care. / I'm going to pack my suitcase, / Movin' on down the line" ("Everyday I Have the Blues"). In reply to such threats, one may plead inexperience, as in "Give a Fool a Chance" ("If I make you cry at times, / If I tell a lie at times, / It's my first romance, / Give a fool⁹ a chance"), or simply, as in "One Mistake," beg for pity ("Oh, oh baby, why don't you forgive and forget, / Or will I have to spend the rest of my life / Paying for my one mistake?").

Now the final parting occurs, Scene 5 furnishing the melancholy dialogue: "One more kiss before I leave you . . . / You have caused a lot of trouble. / Darling, you have broke my heart" ("Don't This Road Look Rough and Rocky"); "I thought our love was here to stay / And now you tell me / That you don't love me, / And you must go, / And you must go" ("Is It True—Is It True"). The deserted lover may plead, "Why don't you reconsider, baby" ("Reconsider, Baby"), and the other may reply, "Let me go, let me go" ("Let Me Go, Lover"). The braver course is to say: "I'll step aside . . . / Your happiness means everything to me. / I'll step aside just for your sake, / Altho my heart will surely break" ("I'll Step Aside"), or "I'm losing you and it's grieving me, / But I'll say

⁸ One song ("Where Will the Dimple Be?") is appropriate to the married state—but only for the pregnant wife: "Now I wake up ev'ry night, / With such an appetite, / Eat a chocolate pie topped off with sauerkraut. . . ."

⁹ Here "fool" does imply stupidity.

'Goodbye' with a smile" ("No Tears, No Regrets").

Act IV: All Alone.—"Time goes by and I still love you" ("Time Goes By") is the new motif. "Ever since my baby's been gone, I sure have a hard time living alone" ("Ever Since My Baby's Been Gone"). The forsaken lover still loves and dreams of persuading the other to come back. He may appeal to her pity for his miserable state: "Can't eat no more and my clothes don't fit right . . . / Since you left me baby / Can't sleep no more at night" ("Carry On"); "Since you've gone from me dear / And we've lost the flame, / Tears fall like rain on my window pane. / Please come back, all my dreams are in tatters" ("Parade of Broken Hearts"). To appeals for pity he may add apologies: "I made a horrible mistake / To ever try a new romance, / And now my heart will surely break / Unless you give me one more chance" ("Change of Heart"); "Thoughtlessly I know I hurt you" ("In the Year You've Been Gone"); "I guess I took that gal of mine / For granted too darn long" ("I Gotta Go Get My Baby"). Or, while blaming the other, he may forgive: "I gave you my heart / And carelessly, you broke it so carelessly . . . [yet] / If you'd call again, I'd give my all again" ("Foolishly"); "It may sound silly, / For me to say this, / After the way you broke my heart, / But I still love you . . . / It may sound silly, / But if you 'phoned me and asked forgiveness for doing me wrong . . . / I'd be waiting with open arms" ("It May Sound Silly"). But love, broken, is not easily mended. There are few lyrics for answering these appeals, unless, perhaps, some of the business of Act I may be repeated, with demands for new reassurances and new pledges. There is one song, however, giving an answer in the negative: "Don't ask me while we dance / To start a new romance, / I just can't take the chance, / No, not again" ("No, Not Again").

Scene 2 opens a prospect of hopeless love. The abandoned one no longer thinks of winning back the other: "There goes my

heart, / There goes the one I love, / There goes the girl I wasn't worthy of . . . / There goes somebody else in place of me" ("There Goes My Heart"); "I'll keep remembering forever and ever, I'll love you dear / As long as I live" ("As Long as I Live"). The symbol of unrequited love appears to be the faded rose petal: "Now our love is a mem'ry / Where it's gone nobody knows, / But I'll hold so dear as a souvenir / Just a petal from a faded rose" ("A Petal from a Faded Rose").

Some actors in Scene 2 are less stoical and more given to tears: "Tomorrow I'll be twice as blue, / Because I'm still in love with you" ("Tomorrow's Just Another Day To Cry"); "When a romance sours, / Smiles are just a lie. / Play me hearts and flowers, / And let me cry" ("Play Me Hearts and Flowers"); or, still more forlornly, "Where does a broken heart go when it dies of pain? / Is there a heaven for broken hearts? / Will it live again?" ("Where Does a Broken Heart Go?").

A bitter dialogue is available as an alternative conclusion of Scene 2 in phrases such as, "I trusted you, believed your lies" ("Unsuspecting Heart"). The other is cruel, unfeeling, selfish: "To each new love a lot of pain is all you'll ever bring, / Because to you one broken heart just doesn't mean a thing" ("One Broken Heart Don't Mean a Thing"). In "Why Should I Cry Over You?" the forsaken one says, "All my love was a waste of time" and ends, with a touch of malice, "Someday your heart will be broken like mine, / So why should I cry over you?" In "I Hope" this uncharitable wish is expressed: "If another fool is blinded by a lie, I hope this time it's you."

In Scene 3, the lover, having thrown off the old love, may face the future with "My baby don't love me no more," but ending with the lines, "Somehow I'll find me a baby new, / And maybe I'll pick on you, / You'll hear me knocking at your door, / 'Cause my baby don't love me no more" ("No More"); or "You done messed around until I've found myself somebody new" ("All Gone"); or, finally, celebrate a new

freedom by singing, "Let me be among the crowd, / I like the way I'm living now, / Untied, untied, untied" ("Untied").

These categories of the content are derived from 196 (83.4 per cent) of the total of

Among the remainder are 9 narrative and descriptive ballads on love (3.8 per cent), bringing the total of songs about love to 205 (86.8 per cent). In addition, there are 6 religious songs, 8 ballads on other themes, 6 "dance songs," and 3 "tune songs."¹⁰ In

TABLE 1
DISTRIBUTION OF SONG LYRICS BY CONTENT

Content	No.	Per Cent
Prologue: Wishing and Dreaming	9	3.8
Act I: Courtship	76	32.3
Scene 1 (direct approach)	6	2.6
Scene 2 (sentimental appeal)	13	5.5
Scene 3 (desperation)	21	8.9
Scene 4 (questions and promises)	23	9.8
Scene 5 (impatience and surrender)	13	5.5
Act II: The honeymoon	19	8.1
Act III: The Downward Course of Love	34	14.5
Scene 1 (temporary separation)	5	2.2
Scene 2 (hostile forces)	11	4.7
Scene 3 (threat of leaving)	9	3.8
Scene 4 (final parting)	9	3.8
Act IV: All Alone	58	24.7
Scene 1 (pleading)	25	10.6
Scene 2 (hopeless love)	29	12.4
Scene 3 (new beginnings)	4	1.7
Total love songs in conversational mode	196	83.4
Narrative and descriptive ballads on love themes	9	3.8
Religious songs	6	2.6
Other ballads	8	3.4
Comic songs	4	1.7
Dance songs	6	2.5
Tune songs	3	1.3
Miscellaneous	3	1.3
Total other songs	39	16.6
Total all types	235	100.0

235 songs and include all the songs about love written in the mode of direct address.

¹⁰ "Dance songs," are those whose subject matter is the dance, perhaps suggesting the mood of the dance, describing the steps and movements, or providing a chant to accentuate the rhythm. "Mambo Rock" does all three: "There's an island in the Caribbean Sea, / Where the natives dance and rock with glee . . . / You can grab your chick right by the hand, / Then you clap your hand and stomp your feet . . . / Hey mambo, mambo rock. / Hey mambo, mambo rock." Conversely, in "tune songs" the lyrics concern the music, either describing it, interpreting it, or providing nonsense syllables to accompany it: "Keep it moderato / Like that Crazy Otto / Not too hot, oh" ("The Crazy Otto Rag"), or: "Tinkle, tinkle tay listen to him play / Tinkle tinkle tee happy melody" ("The Water Tumbler Tune").

Table 1 the "acts" and "scenes" are entered as categories, and the frequencies and percentages for the four magazines, taken together, are shown.¹¹

Table 2 shows the distribution of songs according to content in the four magazines.

¹¹ In Peatman's well-known study (J. G. Peatman, "Radio and Popular Music," in *Radio Research, 1942-43*, ed. Paul F. Lazarsfeld and Frank N. Stanton [New York, 1944]) some categories similar to ours were used but rather haphazardly. The main classification divided the songs into those of "happiness" and those of "frustration," a dichotomy which could properly apply to only a few of our songs. Peatman's sample consisted of 90 songs on the "Hit Parade" during eighteen months, and therefore his results cannot be compared with ours, which are not weighted for popularity.

Here the subcategories—"scenes" of the drama and subdivisions of the "other" category—are not shown separately because of the small numbers resulting from dividing the cases among four magazines.

The judgment that the four magazines belong to a common universe of discourse is supported by Table 2. The major categories are represented in similar proportions in all four. The subcategories are not represented, because of the smallness of the sample, but it can be reported that, with very few exceptions, songs for each of these are found in each of the magazines. The only statistically significant difference in

country songs include a few more concerned with marriage or married people and often favor a manly, semiliterate style suitable for "cowboy" and "ranch-hand" singers; but their conceptions are the same—merely expressed on occasion in a folksy patois filled with standard symbols of rural and western life. The songs in *Rhythm and Blues*, too, have their characteristic dialect, the most substantial difference being that a few songs suggest sexual feelings and relations in a less ambiguous language than the usual "hearts" and "kisses" (e.g., "How long must I wait for you / To do what I ask you to?" and "I need love so bad, / It's driving me

TABLE 2*
SONG LYRICS IN FOUR SONG MAGAZINES, BY MAJOR CATEGORIES

CONTENT	"HIT PARADER"		"SONG HITS"		"COUNTRY SONG ROUNDUP"		"RHYTHM AND BLUES"	
	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent
Prologue.....	4	5.5	3	3.8	2	2.9	1	1.5
Courtship.....	23	31.5	22	27.5	17	25.0	17	24.6
Honeymoon.....	11	15.1	14	17.5	7	10.3	9	13.0
Downward Course....	15	20.5	21	26.3	18	26.5	21	30.5
All Alone.....	8	10.9	7	8.8	15	22.1†	9	13.0
Others.....	12	16.5	13	16.1	9	13.2	12	17.4
Total.....	73	100.0	80	100.0	68	100.0	69	100.0

* The base for this table consists of all the songs (290) published in the four magazines, including duplications.

† Differences between 22.1 per cent and 8.8 per cent (*Song Hits*) and 10.9 (*Hit Parader*) are significant at the 5 per cent level. No other differences in the table are significant at the 5 per cent level.

the percentages in Table 2 occurs in the "All Alone" category between *Country Song Roundup* (22.1) and *Hit Parader* (10.9) and *Song Hits* (8.8), confirming the common impression that the hillbilly songs largely concentrate upon the doleful condition of hopeless love. Near-significant differences are found in the emphasis on the "Downward Course" in *Rhythm and Blues* (30.5) as compared with *Hit Parader* (20.5), and the converse emphasis in the latter on songs of "Courtship" (31.5 as against 24.6 in *Rhythm and Blues*)—perhaps reflecting a tendency of the public of *Rhythm and Blues* to spend less time on preliminaries and more on the troubles they subsequently get into.

In general, identical situations and dialogues occur in the four magazines. The

mad"); and a few verses imply that the lovers are or have been living together. But it cannot be said that these are typical. We are not commenting here, of course, on the distinctive character of much of the Negro music.

FUNCTIONS OF THE SONG LANGUAGE

The dialectic of courtship.—It is striking that in so large a number of instances the dialogue reflects discordances in the relative positions of the lovers in the "career" of love and provides appeals by the one to bring the other "into step." In the earlier scenes of the drama, one lover is characteristically "ahead" in moving toward increasing intimacy and commitment while the other lags

behind. Both parties to this changing and tense relationship are provided with an appropriate rhetoric—the one with devices of persuasion and reassurance, the other with ways of saying, “Go slow. I’m not ready. I’m not sure.” In the later scenes, one is typically moving away from the relationship, while the other tries to restore it. There is a lexicon of appeals, promises, self-defenses, and self-accusations for the one; a lexicon of reproaches, refusals, and forgiveness for the other. Only in the “Honey-moon” period of Act II is untroubled mutual acceptance expressed. The drama reflects the dialectical progression of a complex and difficult relationship, and this is undoubtedly the character of romantic love generally and of adolescent love in particular. Not only are those involved developing at different rates and often making conflicting demands upon each other but their mutual adjustment is also subject to environmental difficulties and pressures. However stereotyped and sometimes ludicrous the song may be, it is functionally adapted to this phase of adolescent experience.

Vicarious discourse.—One would not suppose that young people carry on extensive colloquies in verse, although casual observation confirms the fact that they do murmur the lyrics of the songs to which they are dancing and repeat lines or phrases of songs in teasing and joking at social gatherings. In a culture in which skill in the verbal expression of profound feelings is not a general trait and in which people become embarrassed and inarticulate when speaking of their love for each other, a conventional, public impersonal love poetry may be a useful—indeed, a necessary—alternative. It is not essential that such a language be used in direct discourse, for, if two people listen together to the words sung by someone else, they may understand them as a vicarious conversation. By the merest gestures it can be made clear that one is identified with the speaker, and the other with the one addressed. This is undoubtedly one of the chief functions of the professional

singer, whose audience of lovers finds in him their mutual messenger.

For the young adolescent, the neophyte in the drama of courtship, everything lies in the future; and in the popular songs of the day he or she finds a conventionalized panorama of future possibilities. These include standard situations and contingencies and the dialogue expressing appropriate standard attitudes and sentiments, for both one’s own sex and the opposite sex as well. They offer the opportunity to experiment in imagination with the roles one will have to play in the future and the reciprocal roles that will, or should be, played by the as-yet-unknown others of the drama. Again, it may be the function of the popular singer, in dramatizing these songs, to show the appropriate gestures, tone of voice, emotional expression—in short, the stage directions—for transforming mere verse into personal expression. The singer is at the same time available as an object of vicarious identification or as a fancied partner with whom in imagination the relationships and emotions of the future may be anticipated.¹²

The self as lover.—As the youngster progresses in age and experience, he moves through the successive stages of the drama, finding that in each new situation the dialogue once practiced in play now can be said in earnest. At the same time, the songs appropriate to the stages already passed will have acquired the private meanings of personal history. When the cycle has been completed, the whole of this symbolic universe will have been reinterpreted, its meaning “reduced” from an abstract, conventional possibility to a concrete, completed personal experience. In the course of this continuous translation of cultural patterns of rhetoric into personal expression, the songs, like other formulas of personal communication, may promote a sense of identity.

¹² The chief function of popular literature, confession magazines, motion pictures, and radio and television dramas may be to represent the “universe of experience” (to use Dewey’s term) which corresponds to the universe of love’s discourse.

The adolescent, especially, is preoccupied with the ceaseless construction and reconstruction of conceptions of who and what he is. He must not only learn the specifications of numerous interacting and reciprocal roles but come to identify some roles as his own.¹³ The working-out of a socially valid and personally satisfactory conception of himself and his role in relation to the opposite sex is one of his most urgent

and difficult tasks, at least in contemporary America, where so much of the responsibility for this phase of development is left to the young people themselves, aided by their cynical and somewhat predatory allies of the mass media. If television, motion pictures, and popular literature demonstrate and name the roles he may properly assume, the popular songs provide a language appropriate to such an identity.

¹³ Foote, *op. cit.*

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INTERACTION IN AUDIENCE-PARTICIPATION SHOWS

DONALD HORTON AND ANSELM STRAUSS

ABSTRACT

Television audience-participation programs are systems of social interaction involving both audiences and performers. Three modes of interaction—personal, parasocial, and vicarious—are found in these systems, and the action can be analyzed in terms of the attribution, assignment, or forcing of status by the participants. It then becomes apparent that both audience and performers exert control over one another's responses, a process which conventional methods of content analysis fail to take into account.

In a previous paper¹ attention was drawn to a type of performance especially frequent in commercial television but found also in radio and motion pictures in which the performer simulates an informal, intimate, face-to-face conversation with the invisible and remote spectator. It was suggested that, if the audience responds reciprocally even though it may be entirely in imagination, something in the nature of social interaction takes place. But the spectator's sense of immediacy is illusory. What to the individual spectator is a personal relationship is to the performer a relationship with an anonymous collectivity. The term "parasocial" was proposed to differentiate it from actual face-to-face interaction.

The character of parasocial interaction is shown by contrasting it more explicitly with two other modes of interaction: first, the immediate, face-to-face, and reciprocal mode of ordinary conversation, to be referred to here as *personal* interaction, and, second, the mode, here termed *vicarious* interaction, exemplified in the response of the audience to a theatrical drama. All three modes occur in television audience-participation and comedy-variety programs, in both of which the "persona," or parasocial personality, appears in complex relationship with several audiences.²

The audience-participation program is sustained by five main classes of participant: (a) the master of ceremonies (persona or "star"); (b) the studio audience; (c) au-

dience-performers drawn from the studio audience or other volunteers; (d) professional assistants and supporting performers; and (e) the home audience. Processes of interaction among the various parties within the system constitute a collective transaction, all parties being simultaneously involved in "the production." Of the many possible axes of interaction³ in such a program, we shall select those that include the star, for they present the perspective of the home audience.

² Many commercials also appear to the audience as intimate, face-to-face communications; but these are usually brief and impersonal, and, more important, the speakers are usually anonymous. Some, however, like Betty Furness or George Fenniman (known from his role on the Groucho Marx program), are identified and are able, or allowed, to cultivate a more personal style of advertising.

³ If we take into account the interplay within the several parties (such as communication among members of the studio audience), then there are twenty possible group relationships in the system—plus four relationships between the star and the participating groups. Overt activity during the program shifts from one relationship to another, sometimes in simple pairs but more frequently involving several simultaneously or in close succession. But such calculations misrepresent the situation as perceived and interpreted by the participants. The meaning of the respective roles of these parties in the total activity as understood, for example, by the television audience does not depend upon the acting of the moment but rather upon the meaning it gives to the activity of others. So, for example, the meaning of joking between the star and an interviewee includes the bid each makes for approval by the studio audience, although the audience is, for the moment, out of camera range. Thus, in any explicit interaction among two or more components of the system, some, or all, of the others have implicit roles essential to the program's meaning.

¹ Donald Horton and R. Richard Wohl, "Mass Communication and Parasocial Interaction," *Psychiatry*, XIX (1956), 215-24.

THREE MODES OF INTERACTION

*Personal interaction.*⁴—In this form of social intercourse, characterized by full reciprocity, each participant takes the other(s) into account and develops his own conduct in some sort of running adjustment to him. Each has to "view the conduct of the other to some degree from the standpoint of the other."⁵ Given sufficient duration and coherence, it may become what Dewey and Bentley have called a "transaction," a fusion of the separate actions of the participants into a subjectively meaningful unity. Although personal interaction can become routinized and ritualistic, most typically it evolves, and the detail and the outcome are frequently unpredictable. Each participant claims recognition and the right to participate, however passively. He participates with his own identity in one or more of the multiplicity of social statuses legitimately claimed.

Vicarious interaction.—The process of vicarious interaction through which a spectator is able to follow the interaction of others while not himself overtly taking part is, as observed by George Herbert Mead, an implicit enactment of roles: the observer takes the roles of the various actors alternately and reciprocally. Unlike personal interaction, the taking of roles remains implicit or covert. The vicarious participant, the spectator, is not acknowledged or addressed as a participant. He exerts no direct control over the observed encounter. His is, indeed, a recognized status that carries both the privilege of observing and the obligation not to intervene.

Parasocial interaction.—Parasocial interaction resembles personal interaction in that one party appears to address the other(s) directly, adjusting his course of action to the latter's responses. Insofar as the other re-

sponds as suggested, he may experience the encounter as immediate, personal, and reciprocal, but these qualities are illusory and are presumably not shared by the speaker. As in vicarious interaction, the participants stand to each other as performer to audience. Parasocial interaction is governed also by the convention of non-interference; the performer fully controls the course of action. In face-to-face situations a relationship is likely to become parasocial when an audience is so large that a speaker cannot address its members individually; but parasocial interaction is especially favored by mass media which permit enormous audiences, yet each member is addressed in relative privacy, almost as though the speaker were present.

INTERACTION AND STATUS PROCESSES

A useful way of analyzing the course of interaction—and thus preparing the way for an examination of audience-participation programs—is by examining the respective social positions. Although in a given situation each participant may have prescribed, or defined, for him a ruling status, yet within the limits of the prescription or definition there are various subordinate alternatives. The statuses shift and change during the course of interaction, whether purposely or inadvertently. The processes involved in their control will be referred to as "status processes," of which three are basic: status attribution, status assignment, and status forcing.

In routine encounters the behavior of the participants is guided by routinized attribution and assumption of status. The situation being what it is—or others' behavior being what it is—each takes up for himself and attributes to the others well-known statuses, and each, more or less, acts in the expected fashion, although subsidiary statuses may come into play. However, shifts in status may be explicitly invited, suggested, or reached by mutual agreement—when one signals such a change, for example, by saying, "I'm talking now as an impartial observer." In its extreme form status assignment is illustrated by the procedure of or-

⁴ Commonly described as "face to face," this kind of interaction may also be mediated, e.g., by telephone, and not all face-to-face interaction involves reciprocal action.

⁵ Herbert Blumer, "Psychological Import of the Human Group," in Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (eds.), *Human Relations at the Crossroads* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), p. 194.

ganizing a game: one is elected captain, and he, in turn, assigns positions to the players by mutual consent.

Interaction often develops into a contest over who is to control it, in part or wholly, and so to determine its direction and outcome. One or more parties to the action may maneuver or coerce the other into a temporary status. Such gambits, when successful, obligate the other to act contrary to his wishes. By such moves, one may be forced "down" in status (shamed, degraded, made a fool of) or forced "up" (honored, adored, idolized).⁶ Status forcing obliges one to make compromises, to surrender extreme positions; and it makes interaction fluid, rich, and unpredictable. Forcing, like assignment and attribution, need not be consciously noted or used.

Status processes occur also in vicarious interaction. If the observer accepts the dramatic metaphor as a kind of reality and is subjectively involved in what he observes, he submits to vicarious forcing and assignment in the course of the action. When he moves from vicarious participation into the "real" encounter, then he, too, may be directly in control or subject to control. Status processes may also be observed in parasocial interaction: in audience-participation shows, where all three modes of interaction are complexly interwoven.

AUDIENCE-PARTICIPATION SHOWS AND THE THREE MODES OF INTERACTION

Elaborate shows involve not only a star and his home audience but assisting performers and often a studio audience, which on occasion may also supply him with performing assistants. The dominant mode of interaction is parasocial, but the very presence of the other persons in the television theater and on the stage means that the other two modes will inevitably intrude as phases or accompanying overtones of the pervasive parasocial mode. Indeed, they

may be made to do service for the program itself.

In the early days, when directors were learning to manipulate several cameras simultaneously, the camera "on the air" occasionally would inadvertently catch other cameras and microphones. In a recent Dinah Shore program accidents of this sort were built into the make-believe of her parasocial world. She was shown lying luxuriously on a couch in an inviting screen closeup, singing "All Alone." She said, "I want to show you how all alone we are." The camera gradually directed the viewers' attention away to other cameras, with their crews in feigned focus upon Miss Shore; then the working camera gave the illusion of walking around to the rear where a prop man was spilling "rain" upon Dinah; then the camera circled slowly back, catching two men, probably directors, deep in conversation; and, finally, it moved back gradually past the cameramen pretending to be at work to the initial closeup of the star upon her couch. In the advertising business when the reader is allowed to see "behind the scenes," this technique is called "sincerity"; we might better perhaps call this "parasincerity"! What presumably began as a genuine blunder ended as part of the script. Although not all such slips can be so capitalized, it is just because performers and technicians are all too human that reality rather than action dictated by a script can appear by chance.⁷

The situation is potentially more hazardous yet when volunteers or members of the studio audience are invited to perform. Entire programs, of course, may be built around such collaboration. Here the studio audience is already in some measure prepared to collaborate and, as the program is repetitive, the lay assistants not only know enough to be reasonably well behaved but are familiar with the rules which govern the

⁶ Cf. Orrin Klapp, "The Fool as a Social Type," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1949), 157-62, and Harold Garfinkel, "Conditions of Successful Degradation Ceremonies," *American Journal of Sociology*, LXI (1956), 420-24.

⁷ On one occasion Groucho Marx became so interested in a pair of contestants that his interview of them occupied the entire program time. Since the contest required a play-off between at least two pairs of contestants, the usual routine was disrupted, and George Fenniman, the announcer and official manager of the business on the stage, had quickly to improvise a new procedure.

show. The assisting amateurs are no doubt shrewdly selected for their parts, but on occasion some one of them stops the performance by performing exceptionally well, or exceptionally badly, or in some unwonted or unwanted manner. In any event they act, however well trained or well coached, like themselves, as themselves, nervously, excitedly, grimly, humorously.

When two volunteers perform as a couple, as they often do, they interact with each other in very "genuine" ways.⁸ When they interact with the star, what ensues is curious: the star acts in his usual conventionalized parasocial style, but his temporary partners act like themselves. This interplay is particularly visible in shows in which the star utilizes an interviewing act.⁹ Occasionally, the star himself is caught napping by the others and steps out of his "persona" character.¹⁰

Vicarious interaction also occurs, by design and by chance—more often the former. Dramatic performances are built into many shows with or without the central persona as participant. Of course when he does participate, the drama is much more parasocial: he is still his parasocial self, and the play is merely one more vehicle for his personality. He may highlight this further by "hamming" and by reminding his audience that he is only play-acting. This interlarding of vicarious and parasocial modes can become technically very complex. The star may be placed as an audience to the staged drama, standing well within the television audi-

ence's sight and generally interacting with it, making asides, judgments, and quips, while the dramatic action progresses. He may be invisible but may speak as though he were not. This is rendered all the more complicated, since the star—whether within the drama or watching it—may address remarks to performers, both inside and outside the drama, and to the studio audience—even naming someone who is part of the television audience but of course invisible.¹¹

Genuine drama rather than dramatic action prescribed in detail by a script can be built quite literally into a program. "Genuine" here means personal interaction involving two or more persons and is of considerable duration and dramatic interest. Thus, in the program "This Is Your Life" people are unexpectedly made to confront each other face to face to our vicarious delight. Many shows exploit the natural dramatic performances of persons risking progressively large amounts of money. Unprepared drama develops, too, when the star is genuinely involved in a scandal or a controversy in his offstage life, so that everyone watches him during his stage appearances for some sign of its effects, vicariously enjoying this bit of realistic conflict that shadows the parasocial performance itself.¹²

¹¹ Jackie Gleason recently staged a take-off of himself when the basic plot involved him, in the usual bus-driver role, trying to speak with himself as himself. The bus-driver, a lower-class character, was trying to invite Gleason to a meeting. (The plot was complicated by a parallel doubling of Art Carney acting both as Carney and as a "sewerman.") These parasocial personalities switched back and forth in bewildering and amusing succession between their two selves. Yet another dimension needs to be added to understand the effect of this skit: both personae can be conceived as imaginatively joining the audience, watching and laughing at the characters on the stage—whether the characters are the real (parasocial) stars or their impersonations.

¹² Perhaps the most intense drama of this kind is attained when the star is known to be involved in personal difficulties with his own professional staff, as in the celebrated case of Arthur Godfrey's firing of the singer Julius LaRosa. Godfrey has involved his audiences in various other real-life dramas.

Gleason, once having mistakenly ended his show two minutes early, had to improvise and treated the audience to the spectacle of him, the persona, acting

⁸ On a recent Groucho Marx show a husband and wife attempted to win a fairly large sum of money. As the sum, hence the risk, increased, they behaved very much like a husband and wife—consulting and flashing looks of support and concern at each other.

⁹ Cf. "This Is Your Life." Another example is "Candid Camera," where people are interviewed and filmed but do not realize what is really happening.

¹⁰ Steve Allen customarily steps down to interview people in the studio audience. On one occasion observed by us he chose badly, for the two interviewees either were tongue-tied or did not understand his somewhat intellectual line of questioning. Allen lost some of his *savoir-faire*, although he kept urging them to answer.

The complex ways in which modes of interaction can be thus interwoven can be almost perfectly illustrated by a description of one of Arthur Godfrey's programs of November, 1956. Godfrey, who was acting his usual parasocial self, bringing illusory intimacy and informality to the television screen, had arranged for a blimp to fly above the television stage—which was located outdoors upon a Miami beach—so that the home audience could see it from the perspective of the stage. From the blimp itself, from time to time, boats could be seen floating in the nearby bay. While Godfrey was talking, or the singers were singing, intermittent shots were shown of the blimp as well as of the boats. Godfrey held parasocial conversation with the blimp's navigator about both the boats and the blimp. Then the star, it was told by the announcer, would climb into his helicopter and fly up to the blimp. The audience saw the helicopter take off and approach the blimp, saw successive shots of the blimp from the helicopter and vice versa, and once saw Godfrey's assisting performers looking at the sky with the aircraft in sight. Meanwhile, conversations both parasocial and personal in flavor accompanied the images. Godfrey spoke, in his usual fashion, to the audience, to the announcer, and, probably in accordance with previous agreement, to the blimp's navigator; in turn they spoke to him. When his craft approached the blimp, he requested, probably spontaneously, that the blimp speed up because it was moving too slowly; and the navigator gave him what appeared to be genuine instructions to remain to the right and move parallel to the blimp. Then the announcer warned Godfrey (whether spontaneously or not one has no way of knowing) that the program was within two minutes of its end; and Godfrey gave quick instructions to the navigator to head his craft down toward the television

stage so that the television audience could see what was happening. In what appeared to be a race, the screen picked up the blimp and the helicopter rushing past, to the accompaniment of remarks by Godfrey and the announcer: to the audience, to each other, and on Godfrey's part—and in his usual fashion—to himself.

This also illustrates the complex relationships of visual and aural perceptions as manipulated by camera and microphone. Television technique permits seeing what is heard, simultaneously or in sequence; hearing rather than seeing and seeing rather than hearing; and hearing something other than what is seen, or vice versa. To this should be added that the visual may be in one mode of interaction while the aural may be in another.

AUDIENCE-PARTICIPATION SHOWS AND STATUS PROCESSES

Control over the audiences.—The various technical devices serving to guide the viewer's eye and ear control what he will see and in some measure how he will react. But the star himself is competent at eliciting appropriate responses in his audiences.

To some extent he draws upon the traditions of show business, using standard gestures and tactics to elicit equally standardized reactions from his audiences. Within all the established forms of programs, there have evolved routine types of stage action to which audiences have grown accustomed. The specific "format" of a given show usually represents only a slight innovation in the established general pattern, a combination of old devices or a variation on established "routines." The carry-over of audience expectations to a new show, hence of the disposition to make appropriate attributions of status and to react properly, must be very great. Familiarity with the media prepares viewers for new formats.

The further training of an audience turns upon the development of parasocial relationships with a given star. His performance is more or less repetitious—if successful, it may continue in the same basic pattern for

in a tight pinch just like anyone caught unawares. Gleason had to remain "in character" but at the same time, since the audience knew he was on the spot, he could admit this fact openly—and play upon it: the persona and the "real" person acted in concert to the delight of the audience.

years. The program gets a history. Interesting and amusing events that have occurred in the past may be alluded to in the present. The star, over the months and years, reveals—and, indeed, develops—various facets of his “personality”: in performance after performance he makes the same claims upon his audience, and these claims are expected; the audience anticipates that the star will give them the same kind of entertainment, with slight variations, that he always has. In turn, the spectator, an old hand at his roles, is prepared to play his part spontaneously and enthusiastically.

Within the conventional framework of relationships that gives unity to the program as a collective action, the star has considerable freedom to control the subsidiary positions of participants. Most obviously, he controls the volunteers whom he interviews, quizzes, and sometimes requires to do stunts.

The stunt program in particular shows the contestants in what normally would be embarrassing or humiliating positions, exploiting for comic effect personal attributes such as timidity, brashness, and obesity. A favorite device is to present a wife who enthusiastically splashes, immerses, shocks, or in some way or other humiliates or victimizes her spouse. Thus the couple is forced to play out a fantasy of the battle of the sexes with the wife as aggressor and victor. The comic effect of this device is heightened often by the embarrassment of the victim and especially the sheepish submission of the husband. The audience is likely to roar with joy if the wife shows some enthusiasm for her task.

A common device in quiz programs is to force strangers to confront each other on terms laid down by the quizmaster, a method of forcing status perfected by Groucho Marx. He requires the participants to act as possible lovers or marriage partners, or he forces one to evaluate the skills, appearance, or opinions of the other. He delights in requiring married men to comment favorably upon the charms of their unmarried female partners, with sly comments directed to and

about the wife, who may be either in the studio audience or, possibly, in the television audience. Thus he plays man against woman, husband against wife, and his audience against both.

In other programs participants are confronted unexpectedly with relatives and friends from whom they have been long separated. Reunions are acted out before the spectators, with the master of ceremonies serving as a benevolent *deus ex machina*. In money programs the contestants proceed stage by stage to more difficult problems and higher stakes, progressively risking all or part of their previous winnings. Each change of status is dramatized by requiring the contestant to consider carefully for a moment—or until the following week—whether to resign or to risk further; and each further step usually is symbolized by increasingly solemn and elaborate ritual. All these and scores of other devices have the effect of creating a drama out of the responses of unskilled and unpracticed volunteers from the audience; of creating a situation in which the star can reveal himself as a parasocial personality, cheerful, urbane, witty, and masterful but if need be sympathetic and tender.

The studio audience itself falls under the persuasive control of the star. A captive audience which has come primarily to see at least a celebrity, if not a favorite persona, it is prepared to be docile and supportive. Its laughter, interjections, shouted comments, and applause establish genuine communication with him. He, in turn, may and often does directly address individuals and groups within it. He may step down into the aisles of the studio theater, selecting spectators at random for brief interviews or exchanges of repartee. The audience may be maneuvered or commanded to suit his purposes. He conventionally demands applause for the performers as well as for the advertisements. In a program in November, 1956, Steve Allen demonstrated his control over the studio audience at the expense of the performers. While a group of elderly Swiss were yodeling, he forced the studio audience to laugh by making faces. The yodelers, who

were on another part of the stage and could only have supposed that the audience was laughing at them, carried on manfully.

The well-trained audience, trained by repeated experience or instructed during a warm-up period, may be worked into the program. Groucho Marx's audience in "You Bet Your Life," in response to a signal, shouts the star's name as he enters the stage. In "talent" (contest) shows the audience is required to choose the winner among competing performers by regulating the volume of its applause. In some children's participation shows, children in the studio audience are trained to sing the commercial or the program's theme song, thus being literally educated from infancy in appropriate audience behavior. A more subtle control over the studio audience is obtained by the mere fact of repetition whereby the audience is taught to recognize, expect, and even ask for characteristic gestures, comic bits, dance steps, songs, imitations, and musical performances. These may become the program's trade marks; they set off something in the nature of an ovation—a sign of approval not simply for the performance but for the "personality" symbolized.

Status is defined for the home audience as though it were either part of the studio audience or even of the cast on the television stage. Sometimes the star refers to it in an aside to the studio audience. Periodically and momentarily, its actual status as a parasocial participant is acknowledged as the star addresses it directly. A frequent, and presumably effective, form of address is the "closeup" in which the star appears to speak directly and exclusively to the spectator, as he very often does at the opening of the program when he conveys an invitation to watch the show, promises excitement to come, and at the end, when he asks for approval of the performance, expresses gratitude for attention, and solicits future attendance. Several programs provide for contact by telephone with more or less randomly selected members of the home audience, either to invite participation in a contest or to make them recipients of gifts or

both. Others may be used as the victims of practical jokes: "Candid Camera" thus has filmed unsuspecting people placed in embarrassing situations by the interviewer. In a program like "Truth or Consequences" practical jokes are played on unsuspecting persons sometimes in distant cities; yet by means of remote cameras and microphones the scene is played before the eyes of the studio and home audiences. The audiences hear the master of ceremonies directing operations by telephone or radio, hear his comments on the event as it develops, and watch the comic trap prepared by the program's technicians and the collaborators, who are often members of the intended victim's family. The victim acts naturally, unaware of the audience, until the joke is revealed by the voice of the master of ceremonies, transmitted from the studio stage and broadcast from a concealed loudspeaker at the scene. Presumably, too, it is hoped that the home audience is responding much as does the studio audience. To further this end, they are made to hear the studio audience, laughing and clapping, and shown shots and closeups of the latter's surprise, delight, and other reactions.

Whether the audience is near or distant, the persona controls it by attributing or assigning to himself a certain status and thus attributing, inviting, and eliciting a counter-status in his viewers; and the status of both parties, of course, is subject to change. He makes himself the butt of a joke; he plays well-known roles to which his viewers already are prepared to respond by dint of repeated viewing of "the act." The star may use devices that force his audience to take sympathetic, even possibly foolish, postures—just as he does with audience-performers who are in his presence. Most subtly, the entire course of the program, or some phase of it, is surcharged with the power to force many viewers into a transitory but quite possibly deeply experienced status, or more than one. Instances are jokes at the expense of ethnic and racial groups, which usually imply a superior status of the audience, and jokes on the city-versus-coun-

try theme, which imply the superiority of the city dweller. The television comedian Herb Shriner maneuvers his audiences into the position of sophisticated urbanites patronizing, through him, the simple small-town folk. But the joke often turns back against the city, as he teases city people from the small-town perspective. He is able to play it both ways by virtue of his own carefully cultivated dual status: the small-town boy who made good in the big city without losing his small-town modesty and his innocent and candid view of the world and its ways.

Control over the persona.—The persona dominates the interaction; nevertheless, his control is not complete: the audience-performers get out of hand, refuse his gambits and his invitations, and enact unwanted roles, perhaps deliberately. They may, however temporarily, force him into unexpected interactional positions. For instance, on a recent Groucho Marx program a contestant launched upon a lengthy speech, concluding with the statement: "That's the double-talk that I use with people who obviously don't know what they're talking about." At this and at Groucho's wry expression, the audience roared, showing that it thought Groucho had been bested in the exchange. Groucho replied: "Thirty years in show business, and I'm outwitted by a sculptor with a Dutch bob," referring to the contestant's peculiar hair style. The audience roared with laughter and approval again at his adequate "comeback." Then, too, occasionally a contestant on a quiz show will deliver an impromptu "commercial," telling the name of his business firm, describing its product, and giving its address or telephone number. Such an advertisement is considered slightly illegitimate, but the contestant is given laughing approval of his "getting away with it." It is customary for the persona to make a face or a wisecrack to show that he knows he has been taken advantage of but is good-natured about it. If such "commercials" do not occur too often, they may be welcomed as enhancing the air of parasocial informality.

The studio audience can give and withhold applause, let jokes fall on dead silence, or boo a disapproved decision. Insofar as it may be asked to pass judgment upon the relative merits of contestants or to encourage them, perhaps favoring one against the others, it thereby attains at least temporary command over the program. The very illusion of intimacy and the informality of the performer's behavior which helps sustain it allow this audience occasionally to break in upon the prepared script. During a Steve Allen show, for example, while Allen was talking and during the setting-up of props for a skit scheduled to follow Allen's talk, a bed, in which a comedian lay, partly collapsed. The roar of laughter and the obvious distraction of the audience forced Allen to walk to the bed and make appropriate remarks before resuming his prepared program. This is a particularly nice incident, for the audience presumably did not force Allen's hand with any intention. They simply responded to amusing distraction and thus unwittingly drove him into an unaccustomed position.

Control by the home audience necessarily is exercised circuitously,¹³ for example, through fan mail and telephone calls to the broadcasting station or network. On the widest scale, but most indirectly, the fortunes of the star and of his program rise and fall with audience ratings and the success or failure of advertising campaigns.¹⁴

¹³ Except as the studio audience is a sample of the home audience and carries its attitudes into direct interaction with the star. To what extent studio audiences are representative of the home audience is not known. It may be that the self-selected studio audiences deviate in important respects from the audience as a whole. A star tends to develop a following of fans who attend his performances as often as possible. The metropolitan centers in which the programs are produced probably are disproportionately represented. Audience-participation programs seem likely to draw exhibitionists who hope to be chosen to perform.

¹⁴ But these measures of relative success or failure are exceedingly difficult to interpret. A host of "experts"—from company executives to program directors—intervene to interpret the audience's demands and the claims thought to be implied in the movement of ratings and sales and to determine what

In ordinary personal interaction relationships are developmental, that is, after certain status processes have transpired, the parties may stand in a changed relationship to each other. Most parasocial interaction between public performer and an established television audience probably leaves things between them unchanged. Without unequivocal and massive dissatisfaction, the program tends to be repeated with only minor alterations. But there may be consequences of status forcing as well; the audience may become dissatisfied with the program, with the star, or with both. The program may be redesigned or dropped. The star may be obliged to remake himself as a performer, adopt a new style, or change his identity; or he may simply fall from eminence or be dropped altogether.¹⁵

Television programs usually present a more or less complex social situation within which intricate collective transactions take place. They become "communications" in the technical sense, primarily because the situation and the course of action are deliberately arranged for and directed toward an audience and are made available to the major part of it by technological means. Their

should be repeated, dropped, or restyled. A difficulty in interpreting ratings is created when the program is in competition with others broadcast simultaneously. A relative failure can be attributed to the strength of the competition, to the unsuitability of the period of time allotted, or to the unfortunate effect of the preceding program in discouraging the viewers.

¹⁵ "Little stars" who are just beginning their television careers may be dropped permanently; the most successful are likely to redesign their shows during the summer hiatus. Other possibilities and complexities of movement include moving from radio and television to stage or motion pictures, and back again in a new status and identity; also there are movements from one type of performance to another (e.g., from master of ceremonies to dramatic actor, or an expansion of the sphere of action to include both). A detailed analysis of such status changes is probably worth undertaking for a better understanding of careers in the world of entertainment.

symbolic processes and meanings cannot be adequately described within the conceptual schemes currently popular for the media of mass communication (e.g., "information theory," stimulus response, and psychoanalytic conceptions). The present paper has attempted to demonstrate the usefulness of a symbolic-interactional framework for the analysis of one type of television performance, but the same, or a similar, framework will probably serve for other types of program as well.¹⁶

The social-psychological processes involved in an audience's subjective participation in the television program are not radically different from those occurring in everyday social activity, and it is not necessary to postulate special mechanisms, for example, of fantasy and dream, to understand either the behavior of the performers or the viewer's involvement in the performance. Over the course of time direct and indirect interplay between performers and audience binds them together in a common institution or, better, a common "world" of entertainment¹⁷ which has its own well-understood values and norms of reciprocal behavior derived from the common social matrix, its own history and course of mutual development. Any one program on the television screen is but a single episode, for most viewers, in this history. The relationships built up, and the understandings that sustain them, seem no different in kind from those characteristic of normal social life; and the symbolic processes mediating them are likewise the same, though their operations are modified somewhat by the special conditions of television broadcasting.

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¹⁶ We leave open the important question of the relationship between this kind of analysis and the more conventional thematic content analysis. Our own feeling is that an adequate analysis of themes depends upon a careful study of the interactional networks in which they have their setting.

¹⁷ Cf. Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (1955), 562-69.

THEMES IN COSMETICS AND GROOMING

MURRAY WAX

ABSTRACT

Cosmetic and grooming practices are universal among human societies. These practices may be analyzed according to casualness and control, exposure and concealment, and plasticity and fixity. The modern brassière illustrates the dialectic of exposure and concealment as well as the plastic manipulation of the body. Permanent waving illustrates the dialectic of casualness and control (manageability): the young girl exemplifies casualness in grooming; the older woman, control. Grooming is employed not merely in the service of sexuality but primarily to denote the status and role of the person in relationship to some audience.

This paper deals with some practices concerning highly conscious, social aspects of physical appearance, in particular the appearance of women.¹ These go under the names of "grooming" and "cosmetics," and they involve the manipulation of one's superficial physical structure so as to make a desired impression upon others.² The manipulations include bathing, anointing, and coloring the skin; cutting, shaving, plucking, braiding, waving, and setting the hair; deodorizing and scenting the body; coloring or marking the lips, hands, nails, eyes, face, or other exposed regions; cleansing, coloring, and filing the teeth; molding, restraining, and concealing various parts of the body; and so on.

As a class, these activities are universal among human beings. Some of the oldest artifacts discovered indicate the usage of cosmetics, for example, the presence of red ocher in Cro-Magnon graves and the elaborate toilette sets of the Egyptians. The Bible

relates varied instances of the use of cosmetics: Esther and the other maids being prepared for King Ahasuerus and the anointing of Jesus in Bethany.

The cosmetic and grooming practices of other peoples sometimes appear to us as peculiar or outrageous (e.g., lip-stretching, foot-binding, tattooing, head-shaping, scarification), but in every case the custom can be understood as an attempt to modify or mold the superficial physical structure of the body into patterns considered attractive and appropriate to the status of the individual.

Apparently, there has been little analysis of the meaning of cosmetics by those in the sociological-anthropological profession.³ Ethnographers have reported the tremendous variety of forms that personal ornamentation and grooming may take. More important, they have observed—and characterized as such—the association of patterns of dress and grooming with social status, noting how changes in dress and grooming are universally employed to denote the movement from one social status to

¹ For the past several years I have been intensively occupied in market research and am currently employed by a company that produces cosmetic and other items of personal care for women. The notions presented in this paper are derived from my research experience but, since the data and findings are the property of the client, cannot be offered in support of my arguments; the reader must judge validity by his own experience.

² Excluded from this paper but involved in the phenomena here discussed are certain other significant phenomena: gesture, facial expression, and demeanor as elements in the process of communication (see several articles by Erving Goffman) and physique, carriage, gait, and the development and tonus of the major muscles.

³ There is a literature, particularly in German, on the nature of physical beauty (see, e.g., Gustav Ichheiser, "The Significance of the Physical Beauty of the Individual in Socio-psychological and Sociological Explanation," *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Soziologie*, 1928, a translation of which by Everett C. Hughes appears in Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology* [rev. ed.; New York: Ronald Press Co., 1935], pp. 749-53). This literature becomes relevant to the present problem to the extent that the analyst moves from considering "natural" beauty to considering the "artificial" creation or supplementation of physical beauty via cosmetics and grooming.

another (infancy, childhood, sexual maturity, marriage, maternity, anility, death) or the assumption of special office (chief, priest, medicine man, Doctor's degree).

One of the main sources of literature on cosmetics and grooming is that of the moral critics. Throughout the recorded history of the West there have been repeated denunciations of the use of cosmetics. Isaiah's stern eschatology supplies the reader with both his attitude and a fair picture of how the sophisticated women of his time appeared:

In that day the Lord will take away the bravery of their tinkling ornaments about their feet, and their cauls, and their round tires like the moon,

The chains, and the bracelets, and the mufflers,

The bonnets, and the ornaments of the legs, and the headbands, and the tablets, and the earrings,

The rings, and the nose jewels,

The changeable suits of apparel, and the mantles, and the wimples, and the crisping pins,

The glasses, and the fine linen, and the hoods, and the veils.

And it shall come to pass, that instead of a sweet smell there shall be stink; and instead of a girdle a rent; and instead of well set hair baldness; and instead of a stomacher a girding of sackcloth; and burning instead of beauty.⁴

(The prophet grants that the effect was "beauty.")

A more or less continuous line of critical commentary runs from the Old Testament through the medieval moralists to Shakespeare⁵ ("The harlot's cheek beautied with plastering art")⁶ and on to modern times. Evidently those who employed cosmetics were less vocal and less literary than their critics but equally persistent.

The themes of this criticism are, first, that women should be interested in more spiritual matters than the vanity of beautifying their physical appearance; second, that cosmetics make women more attractive

to men and thus lead both parties from the path of virtue; third, that cosmetics are deceitful, inasmuch as they give women a better appearance than they natively have; and, fourth, a modern criticism,⁷ that cosmetics are an instrument of the ubiquitous modern drive for conformity, in which all persons must look alike and act alike.

THE MODERN USE OF COSMETICS

Some insight into the meanings of adornment, cosmetics, and grooming may be gained from three themes, expressed by opposing pairs of concepts: *casualness* and *control*, *exposure* and *concealment*, and *plasticity* and *fixity*. While these notions are not so clearly separable as might be required in a polished conceptual scheme—and, indeed, they may be but different aspects of the same theme—nonetheless, they will assist this preliminary study.

The brassière is a pointed illustration of the theme of exposure and concealment. On the one hand, the brassière is the principal one of several articles of clothing that serve to conceal the bosom from view. On the other hand, the brassière makes the bosom more conspicuous, so that, even beneath several layers of clothing, the onlooker can appreciate the feminine form. Many brassières are designed with the purposes of exposing and emphasizing certain portions of the body and skin while concealing others.

The brassière also illustrates the theme of plasticity: it molds the bosom into forms that are considered attractive and elegant but that are found naturally, if ever, only among a few. Women differ in their emphasis on one or another of the opposing terms that compose a theme; for example, in discussing how they judged whether a brassière fitted, some said that they wished to feel a firm and definite, yet comfortable, lift, while others said that they made sure the garment fitted smoothly so that there would be no underarm exposure when they wore a sleeveless dress or blouse. Incidentally, the recent fashion in bosoms has called forth critical

⁴ Isa. 3:18-24.

⁵ Gwyn Williams, "The Pale Cast of Thought," *Modern Language Review*, XLV (1950), 216-18.

⁶ *Hamlet*, Act III, scene 1.

⁷ Note on "Nails," *New Statesman and Nation*, XIV (1937), 245-46.

comment from social analysts in such terms as "infantilism" and "momism." On the other hand, the current ideal of the full yet high bosom is more mature and more sane than past emphases upon the flat chest and virginal torso.

The themes of concealment and control are pungently illustrated by the current emphasis on eliminating the odors of the body and its products. Bathing and even sterilizing the skin, reducing the rate of and absorbing perspiration, and personal and household sanitary techniques have spread widely throughout our society as devices for reducing human odor. Happily, the more old-fashioned *plastic* theme (which aims at the positive enhancement of body odor) has not been affected; the consumption of perfumes and scents seems to be increasing.

The demand for control of body odor seems to be experienced in several kinds of situations, primary among which is the enforced intimacy of heterosexual office work. In the office, people live with one another in close physical proximity for more of their waking hours than they do with their families. This minimizing of human odors may be interpreted as part of the attempt to minimize the physical being and to emphasize the social role and office. Office workers must strive to interact with each other in official roles, with a restrained personal interest, rather than as physical intimates. While physical intimacy between office personnel may occur, it is exceptional and contrary to the folkways. This does not deny to business its share of the sexual wickedness of the world but simply notes the restraints that seem automatically to be imposed when a small group of people must work hard together in the public eye.

THE PERMANENT WAVE AS AN ILLUSTRATION •

The way in which the motives for control and plasticity interlock and the efforts that women make to achieve the proper appearance are illustrated by modern "permanent"-waving customs. About two-thirds of the white women in the United States had

their hair permanent-waved last year. For most of these women it was more or less habitual; they had had the operation performed several times during the year. Most permanent waves are given at home, using kits that cost only a few dollars. The successful merchandising of the home wave kit has put the waving process within the economic reach of the large majority of American women, and most of them have accepted the invitation.

On the face of it, the situation is peculiar. The cold-waving process, employing thioglycolate salts, is simple in principle, but, in practice, much depends on the skill and care with which the operations are performed and on the condition of the hair. Most women have experienced or seen cases of over-processing that gave frizzy hair or of mis-processing that left no wave but dried the hair. Also, the waving process is unpleasant: while the odor of the waving lotion has been improved, the scent remains far from agreeable; the lotion is not kind to the skin; and the process is usually messy. Added to this is the uncertainty of the outcome.

When asked to describe what they seek, most women will answer, or accept the phrase, "A soft, natural wave." Since a majority of women have to go through the process just described in order to achieve this wave, it is difficult to agree that it is natural. But it has been a rather consistent cultural ideal of the West for some centuries that this type of wave is the natural and ideal kind of hair for women, while straight hair is natural and ideal to men. As a cultural ideal, it is as reasonable as many another, but it has little relation to sex-linked genes.

"Softness" of wave is likewise a loaded term. The student discovers painfully that a *soft wave* is by definition the kind of wave a woman wants, whether this be in fact the slightest of twists to the hair fibers or the most extreme rotation short of breakage. The soft wave is not an end in itself but only a proximate goal. Women wave their hair not merely for the wave per se but also because it gives them plastic control over their

hair. Hair that is artificially or naturally curly has what women call "body" and may be arranged in an almost indefinite variety of coiffures. That curly hair thus becomes a plastic yet consciously controllable aspect of a woman's appearance is indicated by such expressions as "It will take a set" or "You can do something with it."⁸

Although they sound contradictory, plasticity and control actually require each other. Control is not possible unless there is some way to make a plastic arrangement or modification of the portion of the body, bringing it from a less to a more controlled state, and plasticity would be meaningless unless the rearrangement accomplished through plasticity could be fixed for some period of time.⁹

In permanent waving, women differ in their emphasis on sides of the plastic-fixed, casual-control themes. Some wish just enough wave to achieve some body and manageability and are fearful that too much curl will appear unnatural, that is, not casual. Others wish a wave that will enable them to keep their hair always neat and ordered; they do not want their hair to fly casually about. The firmer the wave, the easier it is to *manage* the hair and to keep it under control. Younger women constitute the largest market for loose, casual waves; older women, for tight, curly waves. Loose waves appear softer and more "feminine" but are more difficult to manage and can best be adapted to informal casual styles of grooming. Most women seek a compromise between the wave that is too soft to manage well and the wave that is so tight (controlled) that it appears unnatural or un-

feminine, and many pursue the elusive goal of the soft wave and completely manageable hair.

WOMAN MAKES HERSELF

Among some peoples the costume proper to the socially and sexually mature man or woman is relatively fixed. It may be a tattoo or a style of dress or of coiffure; but, whatever it is, it changes only slightly, if at all, unless the person moves into a distinctly different status. In the United States fixed dress and grooming are peculiarly distinctive of religious orders and some religious sects that cling to a stylized version of what was common and decent at the time that the sect or order was instituted.

Such fixity or rigidity of grooming practices is not characteristic of all peoples, and, particularly, it is not characteristic of the typical American woman, who, following the plastic theme, tends to view her body as a craftsman or artist views his raw material. This is the matter which she can shape, color, and arrange to produce an object which, hopefully, will be at once attractive, fashionable, and expressive of her own individuality. Devices which increase her ability to mold her body (e.g., permanent waving) are received much as the *avant-garde* artist receives new techniques and modalities for his work.

The clearest expression of the (casual) plastic motif is afforded by the ideal of a girl in late adolescence. Continually experimenting with new styles of dress and grooming, she is in effect trying on this or that role or personality to see what response it will bring to her. She is most aware of new products and new styles, and she uses them to manipulate her appearance this way and that.

To some social observers, however, the teen-ager appears as the slave to fad and fashion and not as the experimenter. A more accurate formulation would be that the teen-ager follows fad and fashion—to the extent that she does, and not all do—because she is experimenting with herself and has not yet developed a self-image with

⁸ In contrast, straight hair can be controlled but not so plastically. It can be imprisoned in a braid or a bun or cut so short that it is often considered unattractive or unfeminine ("the boyish bob"). Allowed to hang free, straight hair of any length is somewhat of a problem for its possessor and her intimates, although it can be beautiful.

⁹ Hair sprays, which are a technique for applying a fixative, usually a lacquer—which is, incidentally, flammable—to hair which has been set, may change habits of hair care, but they do not substantially alter the present analysis.

which she can be comfortable. An older, more stable woman, who knows herself and her roles and how she wishes to appear, can ignore fad and follow fashion at a distance.

A clear expression of the conceal and control theme is given by the woman who is striving to eliminate her femininity and reduce herself to an *office*. She tries to minimize her natural shape, smell, color, texture, and movement and to replace these by impersonal, neutral surfaces. She is not opposed to cosmetics or grooming aids—indeed, she employs them vigorously for purposes of restraint and control—but she is critical of grooming aids when they are employed in the service of casual, exposed femininity. It is understandable that these types sometimes go with petty, bureaucratic authority, sitting as guardians of the organizational structure against the subversive influence of the less restrained of their own sex. It is interesting to compare these controlled women, who have reached the zenith of their careers, with the attractive girl who manipulates, rather than restrains, her appearance and employs it as an instrument for her upward mobility.

A different expression of plastic control, this time accompanied by a higher ratio of exposure, is afforded by those mature women who are engaged in the valiant battle against being classed as old. Our culture classifies old age as retirement from sexual, vocational, and even sociable activity, and the woman who is battling age is trying to prevent too early a retirement. She employs the techniques of grooming to conceal the signs of aging and to accentuate (and expose) the body areas where her appearance is still youthful. Some search hopefully for new techniques that will reverse the aging process in particular areas (e.g., "miracle" skin cream), others are shining examples of self-restraint and self-discipline (e.g., diet and exercise), and still others become virtuosos in the use of plastic devices of grooming (e.g., hair color rinses).

Interestingly, plastic control of grooming involves not only creativity but the application of the capitalistic ethic: beauty becomes

the product of diligence rather than an inexchangeable gift from the supernatural.¹⁰ Thus, those with an interest in the elaboration of the grooming ritual (e.g., charm schools, cosmetic manufacturers, cosmeticians, beauty shops) issue advice that has a hortatory, even a moral, character. The woman is informed of the many steps she must take to maintain a "beautiful," that is, socially proper, appearance. She is praised when she fulfils every requirement and condemned for backsliding. It is ironic to compare this moral voice of modern society, with its insistence on perfect grooming, with the moral voice of the past as represented by Isaiah.

THE SOCIAL FUNCTION OF GROOMING

There is also the social function of grooming, reported by the ethnographer: cosmetics and dress are often used to denote differences in status. So, in our society, cosmetics help to identify a person as a female of our culture and, generally speaking, as a female who views herself and should be treated as socially and sexually mature. The girl who wears cosmetics is insisting on her right to be treated as a woman rather than a child; likewise, the elderly woman wearing cosmetics is insisting that she not be consigned to the neutral sex of old age.

To some critics modern grooming practices represent cultural demands for a high degree of conformity, but this is a view based on a limited study of the case and a limited knowledge of other cultures. Most societies have rather restricted notions of what are acceptable costumes for those who are socially and sexually mature. In this respect our society is less severe than most,

¹⁰ Ichheiser notes that beauty may be "cultivated" or "denatured" and, further, that the socioeconomic position of the woman is important in facilitating or curtailing her access to the implements of cultivation (see Ichheiser's article cited above, n. 3). The mass-production society has reduced the differential due to socioeconomic position as far as access to cosmetic and personal care items is concerned. There remain significant differentials associated with ethnicity and income and perhaps most apparent in areas of aesthetic judgment (taste) and health so far as the present inquiry is concerned.

and it is very unusual in the emphasis that it gives to individual expression in the designing of appearance. The woman who has the patience, the skill, and, most important, the eager and self-disciplined attitude toward her body can—even with limited natural resources—make of her appearance something aesthetically interesting and sexually exciting.

The question is sometimes raised, usually in the feature sections of newspapers: For whom does a woman dress—does she dress for men or women? We have observed that one indispensable kind of answer includes a reference to culture, or, more concretely, to the social situation. A woman dresses and grooms herself in anticipation of a *social situation*. The situations that require the most careful grooming are those in which her peers or social superiors will be present and which are not defined as informal (casual). The woman who is isolated from men who are her peers, for example, the suburban housewife, can “neglect her appearance.” Her dress and grooming tend to be casual. When questioned, she replies defensively that she is “too busy” to worry about her appearance; but the career woman has far more demands on her time, newspaper feature editors notwithstanding. The point is that the career woman always has an audience of male and female peers alert to her appearance, while the housewife seldom has one.

It may seem as though the function of cosmetics and grooming in heightening the sexual attractiveness of one sex to the other has been neglected. This de-emphasis reflects the facts of the case, particularly as it

is in modern society. Certainly, cosmetics and grooming practices are influential in courtship, and, moreover, novel practices seem to emerge within this relationship and spread to less sexualized areas of existence. (Thus it has happened that the grooming practices of courtesans have been adopted by respectable women.) But, while sexuality is thus basic to grooming, it cannot serve to explain grooming as a social activity any more than it can the American dating complex.

The function of grooming in our society is understandable from the perspective of *sociability*, not of *sexuality*.¹¹ A woman grooms herself to appear as a desirable sexual object, not necessarily as an attainable one. In grooming herself, she is preparing to play the part of the *beauty*, not the part of the erotically passionate woman. In this sense, cosmetics and grooming serve to transmute the attraction between the sexes from a raw physical relationship into a civilized *game*.

Some may carp at the game, feeling that activity should be functional and that beauty should therefore denote the superior female, the ideal sex partner and mother. Here the question becomes evaluative: Should cosmetics and grooming be judged as a form of *play*, engaging and entertaining its participants, or should they serve a nobler purpose? We leave Isaiah to confront the sculptor of the Cnidian Aphrodite.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

¹¹ Georg Simmel, “The Sociology of Sociability,” translated from the German by Everett C. Hughes, *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (November, 1940), 254–61. •

NOTES ON A NATURAL HISTORY OF FADS¹

ROLF MEYERSON AND ELIHU KATZ

ABSTRACT

The natural history of fads or fashions, a particular type of social change, is told as a succession of chronological stages, each characterized by the interaction among producers, distributors, and consumers. The process is thus: discovery of the potential fad, promotion by the discoverers and/or original consumers, labeling, dissemination, eventual loss of exclusiveness and uniqueness, and death by displacement.

The study of fads and fashions² may serve the student of social change much as the study of fruit flies has served geneticists: neither the sociologist nor the geneticist has to wait long for a new generation to arrive.

Fads provide an extraordinary opportunity to study processes of influence or contagion, of innovative and cyclical behavior, and of leadership; this has been long recognized by social thinkers, most of whom tended, however, to regard fads and fashions as one form of permanent social change.³

To regard change in fads exclusively as a prototype of social change is to overlook several fundamental distinctions. In the first place, the process by which fads operate is typically confined to particular subgroups in society, and, although fads may

change violently and swiftly, the subgroup remains the same; the network of fad communication usually remains stable. On the other hand, patterns of communication that create new social movements—for example, a new religious sect—also create a new social structure; here both the content and the network of communication are new. This distinction is well made by Blumer, who points out that social movements, unlike fads, usually leave stable organizations in their wake:

Not only is the fashion movement unique in terms of its character, but it differs from other movements in that it does not develop into a society. It does not build up a social organization; it does not develop a division of labor among its participants with each being assigned a given status: it does not construct a new set of symbols, myths, values, philosophy, or set of practices, and in this sense does not form a culture; and finally, it does not develop a set of loyalties or form a we-consciousness.⁴

³ The long-standing interest among social thinkers in fads and fashions is seen, for example, in Tarde, who contrasted fashion with custom and showed that the transformation of tradition and custom is made possible by the form of imitation known as fashion (see Gabriel Tarde, *The Laws of Imitation* [New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1903], chap. vii). Sumner regarded a large array of human activities, beliefs, and artifacts as fashions and considered them essential determinants of the *Zeitgeist* (see William Graham Sumner, *Folkways* [Boston: Ginn & Co., 1907], esp. pp. 194–220). Park and Burgess treated fashion as a form of social contagion and as one of the fundamental ways in which permanent social change is brought about (see Robert E. Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1924], chap. xiii).

⁴ Herbert Blumer, "Social Movements," in *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology*, ed. A. M. Lee

¹ This is a publication of the Center for the Study of Leisure of the University of Chicago which is supported by a grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation. Some of the ideas presented in this paper were formulated several years ago in discussions with colleagues then at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, notably James Coleman, Philip Ennis, William McPhee, Herbert Menzel, and David Sills. We are also grateful to David Riesman and Mark Benney, both at the University of Chicago, for critical comments.

² We choose to ignore the distinction between the two concepts made by previous writers and perhaps most clearly stated by Sapir, who regarded fads as involving fewer people and as more personal and of shorter duration than fashions. He described a fad, furthermore, as "something unexpected, irresponsible or bizarre" and socially disapproved (cf. Edward Sapir, "Fashion," *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1937], III, 139–44). We apply both terms to transitory phenomena that involve a large number of people or a large proportion of members of a subculture.

Popular music illustrates this distinction.⁵ Every few months a new "content" in the form of new hits flows through the same "network" of distributors (disk jockeys, etc.) and consumers (primarily teen-agers and other radio audiences). While an occasional song may attract some distributors or consumers who are not regularly a part of the system—for example, the recently popular song "Morität" from Brecht and Weill's *Threepenny Opera* found high-brow listeners outside the regular music audience—these stray elements usually get out as quickly as they came in. The popular-music world as a whole remains unchanged and goes on as before to produce its continuous cycle of discontinuous hits.

Each new fad is a *functional alternative* for its predecessor: this hit for that hit, this parlor game for that one. On the other hand, the processes involved in broader social changes, such as religious conversions, an increase in the birth rate, or a movement toward suburban living, are too complex to permit simple substitution. Following Merton, who, in arguing against the functional indispensability of a social structure, points out that the range of possible variation is more relevant,⁶ one may say that in fashion the range of functional alternatives is far greater than in other domains of social change.

Perhaps this is so because fashions are found in relatively superficial areas of human conduct—in the trivial or ornamental.

(New York: Barnes & Noble, 1946), pp. 217–18. While fashions do not create social organizations, there is some evidence that a new set of symbols, myths, etc., is apparently often built up in the course of a fashion movement. "Bop talk," for example, could be considered a language built up by the participants of the "bop" fad, and, although extrinsic to the music itself, it nevertheless contributed to "we-consciousness."

⁵ Examples in this paper which deal with popular music are based in part on the general conclusions of an unpublished study of disk jockeys carried out at the Bureau of Applied Social Research by William McPhee, Philip Ennis, and Rolf Meyersohn.

⁶ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 52.

Many more changes have occurred in the styling of automobiles (e.g., in the length of tail lights) than in their engines.⁷ In a brilliant essay on fashion Simmel discusses the selective process whereby some cultural items are subject to fashion and others not, and he points out that the former must be "independent of the vital motives of human action."

Fashion occasionally will accept objectively determined subjects such as religious faith, scientific interests, even socialism and individualism; but it does not become operative as fashion until these subjects can be considered independent of the deeper human motives from which they have risen. For this reason the rule of fashion becomes in such fields unendurable. We therefore see that there is good reason why externals—clothing, social conduct, amusements—constitute the specific field of fashion, for here no dependence is placed on really vital motives of human action.⁸

Triviality, of course, does not refer to the amount of emotion, affect, and functional significance surrounding an object but rather to its life-expectancy, its susceptibility to being *outmoded*. Every object has a finite and estimable life-span; a pair of nylon stockings may last a few weeks, a dress a few years, an automobile a decade or two, a house much longer. It is one of the characteristics of fashion that replacement is made before the life-span ends. Such objects are acquired without regard for their durability. This is one definition of "conspicuous consumption."

Hence we arrive at one possible indication whether an item is a carrier of fashion. Simmel has illustrated this point very well:

When we furnish a house these days, intending the articles to last a quarter of a century, we invariably invest in furniture designed according to the very latest patterns and do not even consider articles in vogue two years before.

⁷ Eric Larrabee and David Riesman, "Autos in America: Manifest and Latent Destiny," in *Consumer Behavior*, Vol. III, ed. Lincoln H. Clark (New York: New York University Press). (In press.)

⁸ Georg Simmel, "Fashion," *International Quarterly*, X (October, 1904), 135. Reprinted in this issue, p. 544.

Yet it is obvious that the attraction of fashion will desert the present article just as it left the earlier one, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with both forms is determined by other material criteria. A peculiar psychological process seems to be at work here in addition to the mere bias of the moment. Some fashion always exists and fashion per se is indeed immortal, which fact seems to affect in some manner or other each of its manifestations, although the very nature of each individual fashion stamps it as being transitory. The fact that change itself does not change, in this instance endows each of the objects which it affects with a psychological appearance of duration.⁹

Since most fads are of a minority or subculture, they may of course exhibit contradictory or countervailing trends all at once. While the fashion system as a whole may rely on an incompleting life-span for a part of its *élan*, certain subsystems of fashions operate in the opposite way. Thus, the trend today may be to trade in perfectly usable automobiles; yet there are those who drive nothing but antique automobiles. Such people attempt to *exceed* the structural limits of this particular item, and their possessions are as much a part of the fashion system as the latest, newest, the "most unique."¹⁰

Several approaches to the study of fads can be distinguished. One is concerned with the function of fashion generally for society, groups, and individuals. There has been considerable interest in the question why one group rather than another is the carrier of certain fashions; for example, in most societies women are the agents of fashion in clothes, though occasionally, and particularly in deviant societies, it is the men. Simmel relates this to the presence or absence of a class system and/or the need to call attention to one.¹¹

Fashions have also been examined in terms of their specific content, and many attempts have been made to relate a particular trend, style, or motif to a *Zeitgeist*,

⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 152. Cf. p. 556 in this issue.

¹⁰ It is to such countervailing minority movements that Sapir applies the word "fad." "A taste which asserts itself in spite of fashion and which may therefore be suspected of having something obsessive about it may be referred to as an individual fad" (*op. cit.*, p. 139).

a "climate of opinion," or an ideology. The unit under examination is a particular rather than a general fashion, as, for example, in the area of dress, in which a great many attempts have been made to relate style to *Zeitgeist*. Flügel has recorded a number of such connections, such as the shift after the French Revolution from clothes as display of ornament to clothes as display of body—which he attributed to the naturalism of the period.¹²

A third approach to fashion deals not with the content of fashions but with the network of people involved. A fashion "system" may be seen in the interaction among producers, distributors, and consumers, which works as a spiral-like closed circuit. Studies have been made, on the one hand, of the several "relay stations," the producers of fashions (such as the designers, the "taste-makers"), and the media that serve them. On the other hand, there has been research on the economics of fashion and on the channels of information and advice that impinge on consumer decisions,¹³ attention usually focusing on individual choices or "effects" without emphasizing the flow from the mass media to groups and, within groups, from person to person. The latter can be done only by beginning with a specific fashion, A or B, tracing its diffusion, as in a fluoroscopic examination, from one consumer to the next.

A fourth approach to the study of fashions, one which differs from the three cited above, though it operates within their

¹¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 130-55. Cf. pp. 541-58 in this issue. See also Talcott Parsons, "An Analytical Approach to the Theory of Social Stratification," reprinted in *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 166-84; cf. Bernard Barber and Lyle S. Lobel, "'Fashion' in Women's Clothes and the American Social System," in *Class, Status and Power*, ed. Reinhard Bendix and Seymour M. Lipset (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 323-32. For an interesting historical discussion relating manners to milieu see Harold Nicolson, *Good Behaviour* (London: Constable & Co., Ltd., 1955).

¹² J. C. Flügel, *The Psychology of Clothes* (London: Hogarth Press, 1930), chap. vii.

¹³ See, e.g., Elihu Katz and Paul F. Lazarsfeld, *Personal Influence* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956).

orbits, seeks to determine the origin of a given item, the conditions of acceptance by the first participants (the "innovators"), the characteristics of those whom the innovators influence, the shifts from minority to majority acceptance, its waning, and where it goes to die. This is its natural history. The natural history of any phenomenon which is ephemeral and which comprises a specific content (e.g., popular music) with its particular network (e.g., the flow from song writers to publishing companies to record companies to disk jockeys to teen-agers, to juke-box listeners, etc.) can obviously be studied. It is based on the premise that different *stages* of a fad can be isolated and studied. In the past this premise has been used in studies of crowds, race riots, lynching mobs, and even political movements, all of which have been described in terms of discrete evolutionary steps, isolated according to their patterns of person-to-person interaction.¹⁴ Each stage, furthermore, has been described as paving the way for the next stage.

Fads and fashions, too, have been subjected to such analysis. Almost every textbook in social psychology points out how aspirants to social mobility continually try to pre-empt the symbols of higher status, thereby forcing their former holders to search ever for replacements. This is how the story of fashions, and sometimes of all consumer purchasing, is usually told.¹⁵ While it is certainly likely that one function of fashion is in the display of social ascent

and that one network for its transmission is from the upper classes downward, the extent to which this traditional view of fashion remains valid cannot be told without refined empirical study—without tracing the diffusion of particular fads and fashions in time and through their relevant social structures.

In the continuing absence of such refined empirical data, this paper presents on the basis of crude observations some notes on the stages in the natural history of any fad; beginning at the point where some change has just begun to occur, it traces very roughly the fad's probable course.

Fads are not born but rediscovered.—Where do new fads come from? In many instances they have existed all along but not as fads. For example, in the past several years a large number of songs that went under the collective title of "Rhythm and Blues" rose to the top of the "hit parade." Now these songs and this type of music were not new. The music industry had known about them for many years, largely under the title "race records." They had been produced for consumption by a Negro audience, a number of small record companies and publishers devoting themselves almost exclusively to this market. Trade journals carried separate ratings for such music, ranking each new song according to its popularity within this special category.

Then, all of a sudden, "rhythm and blues" songs invaded the general market, and "feedback points" (including the disk jockeys, fan clubs, listings of sheet-music sales, record sales, juke-box sales, etc.) all began to indicate a new trend.¹⁶ This particular new trend had existed for a good long time but in a different audience. It had been a little pocket in the music world as a

¹⁴ E.g., Blumer enumerated the stages of crowd behavior as follows: from "milling" to "collective excitement" to "social contagion" (*op. cit.*, p. 202).

¹⁵ The following may be a typical account: "In recent years status objects of a technical kind have appeared in the home, such as washing, cleaning and polishing machines, and elaborate heating and cooking apparatus. In the United States appliances to provide an artificial climate in the home are the latest in a series of status-conferring devices" (Dennis Chapman, *The Family, the Home and Social Status* [London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1955], p. 23). A discussion of the importance of fads in television sets may be found in Rolf Meyersohn, "Social Research in Television," in *Mass Culture*, ed. Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957).

¹⁶ New trends are reported at least once a week. The uncertainty of prediction in combination with the fact that financial investments are made on the basis of such prediction bring it about that any and all shifts and flutters are exaggerated, and large-scale predictions are made for each and every one of them. This is of course true of all businesses, but many of them (e.g., the stock market) are kept from excesses by various control agencies (e.g., the Securities and Exchange Commission).

whole which sustained it not as a fashion but as a "custom." What happened was that minority music was becoming majority music.

These minority social systems seem to feed many kinds of fashions to the majority. This is true not only of racial groups: the word "minority" is here used in the sense of engaging only a small segment of the population. Some "minorities" are more likely to be fashion-feeders, of course; the classic view of fashion assumes that a minority either in the upper classes or tangential to them engages in certain choices, and these are then "discovered" and made fashionable by lower strata.

This process exists in a variety of fields. The hog-breeding industry, for example, has cyclical trends, and in time a number of "dimensions" of hogs are altered in the prize-winning or champion hogs. Hogs may be well larded or have relatively long legs—results produced by variations in breeding. Some hog-breeders seem to ignore the going fashion, but most of them breed "what the public wants," making appropriate annual changes in breeding. But every once in a while the mantle of fashion descends on one of the ignorers of fashion; he becomes the fashion leader, and his hogs set the style.¹⁷

In areas of life where "new" products are in demand or vital to the continuation of the industry, such "discoveries" are clearly more frequent. Since fashions serve a symbolic function and must be recognized in order to be transmitted, their greatest motility is likely to be found in those areas which are most visible. Thus, changes in dress are likely to be more frequent than in underclothes. Furthermore, the search for something new—what Simmel has called "exceptional, bizarre, or conspicuous"¹⁸—will be greater there.

In the popular-music industry, where such a search is conducted on a monthly basis, the life-span of a "hit" being approximately

that long, new discoveries are essential. Hence, every pocket of the musical world is sooner or later "discovered." "Rhythm and blues" is one of many such pockets, if more successful than some of the others; for a time African songs were hits; South American music has followed this pattern; hill-billy music shows the same trend; even classical music was "discovered" when suddenly the first movement of a Tchaikovsky piano concerto exploded all over America.

Minorities not only provide material to majorities but are also an integral part of the total system. Not only do they offer a pretest—"If it goes well in Tangiers, maybe it has a chance here!"—but they are also a shelf and shelter for dangerous or threatening ideas. Mark Benney suggests that bohémias serve this function. For urban societies their bohémias are a kind of social laboratory. Here something new can be tried out—because it is expected—without threatening either the bohemian minority or the urban population as a whole. The city watches, Benney suggests, and confers respectability on what it likes. Wrought-iron furniture, Japanese scrolls, charcoal-gray flannel suits, not to mention new literary forms and ideological movements, have indeed been bred in these quarters.

The tastemakers.—While the community, the music industry, or the clothing world as a whole may watch and wait for new ideas in many places, the task of scouting seems to fall to one particular set of people. By the nature of their tasks, they must be intimately acquainted with two worlds, the majority and the minority. Fashions, for instance, are often transmitted by the homosexual element in the population or by others who have entree into different realms, Proustian characters who share the values of several groups.

A good example in the popular-music industry is the success of the current artist and repertoire director (the "A&R Man") at Columbia Records, Mitch Miller. A concert oboist himself, he was thoroughly trained as a serious musician. With an established reputation and a semibohemian personality which manifests itself in harmless

¹⁷ This example draws on material presented in a term paper dealing with fashions in hog-raising, by Samuel R. Guard, graduate student, Committee on Communications, the University of Chicago.

¹⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 136. Cf. p. 545 in this issue.

ways, such as the wearing of a beard and keeping odd hours, he has been able to utilize good judgment in the popular-music world not only by being better educated but by having a far broader range of minorities to draw on for inspiration. Thus he is familiar with the attributes of French horns and harpsichords, with echo chambers and goat bells, and has been able to use all to full advantage. One reason for his using esoteric "effects" is that in the music industry any popular hit is immediately copied, but his arrangements have been made so complex by the use of such "gimmicks"—as the music industry calls them—that imitation is very difficult. In addition of course, the gimmicks have given Columbia Records a unique reputation.¹⁹

In any case, certain individuals in society are equipped to scout for new ideas and products to feed the various fashion systems. What is perhaps more important is to examine the fate of the original producer of the particular minority "custom" once it has been "exported" and translated into a fashion.

The exporter becomes self-conscious.—At some time in the past Parisian clothes were "discovered" and made fashionable throughout "society" in other countries. Before that, undoubtedly, a stable relationship existed between the Paris *couturières* and their customers, and designs were made with a very particular "audience" in mind. In the course of "discovering" these designs, one element which probably attracted the early innovators was precisely the product which emerged from this relationship. But, once discovered, what happened? As Simmel said, "Paris modes are frequently created with the sole intention of setting a fashion elsewhere."²⁰ The exporter be-

comes self-conscious, tries to appeal to his wider circle of customers, and *changes* the product. Another well-known example is found in oriental porcelain. In the nineteenth century, European art collectors "discovered" Chinese and Japanese pottery, and in a very short time the potters began manufacturing "export ware," creating an industry quite separate from the production of domestic "china." Another example is the shift from the 1954 to the 1955 MG car; the most popular British car in this country, the MG had been designed in a somewhat old-fashioned way, with a square hood; but recently the British Motor Company decided to build it more along the lines of the latest American styles.

There are, of course, some occasions when the exporter does not become self-conscious. This would be most true where there is no return for more: composers who work folk songs into concert music, like Mozart, Beethoven, and Béla Bartók, do not affect the folk "producers."

What happens to the original consumers is not clear. Those who find their own customs—pizza or Yiddish melodies or canasta—becoming widely popular undoubtedly enjoy some sense of pride as well as mixed feelings about the inevitable distortions and perhaps yield to the temptation to make some accommodation from then on in the hope of being "picked up" once again.

Statistical versus real fashions: a case of pluralistic ignorance.—Who can say that something is a fashion? Who knows about it? It may happen that a number of people in various parts of this country, for a variety of reasons, will all buy a certain item. They may all "go in" for "rhythm and blues" music or good musical sound reproduction or raccoon-skin caps, all unaware that others are doing the same thing.

• Such situations, in which no one realizes that others are doing the same thing, probably occur all the time. They are similar to what social psychologists have called "pluralistic ignorance," a state in which nobody knows that others maintain an attitude or

¹⁹ In a recent essay on jazz and popular music, Adorno argued that its various forms, whether they be called "swing" or "bebop," are identical in all essential respects and distinguishable by only a few trivial variations, formulas, and clichés. He considers jazz a timeless and changeless fashion (Theodor Adorno, "Zeitlose Mode: Zum Jazz," *Prismen: Kulturkritik und Gesellschaft* [Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1955], pp. 144–61).

²⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 136. Cf. p. 545 in this issue.

belief identical with their own.²¹ If this coincidence persists long enough, however, the point will be reached at which one cannot help noticing the unself-conscious, "inner-directed" activity of large numbers of people in making identical choices.²² At this point the phenomenon which had been statistical becomes a real fad; here another important stage is reached—the labeling of a fad.

The label and the coattail.—The birth of a fad is really accompanied by two labels; the phenomenon is given a name, and it is named as a fad. The fad is defined as real and in consequence becomes so.

Such a definition, however, must be made not only real but public. It must be translated from the specialized professional, business, or trade vocabulary into more popular terms—in short, into a label or a slogan.

While there are certainly plenty of labels which do not represent fads, there are no unlabeled fads or fashions. It is usually through the label that the fashion acquires fame—even beyond its consumer audience. Thus the "New Look," "hi-fi," "motivation research," "automation," and "charcoal gray."

The ground swell immediately after the labeling is caused partly by the activities of indirectly related enterprises. Machines that yesterday were ordinary phonographs and radios are suddenly called "hi-fi"; coonskin headgear becomes Davy Crockett caps; a lever makes of an industrial machine "automation"; an ordinary open-ended question converts a public opinion survey into "motivation research."

Thus the coattails which dress the fashion. Although the original minorities—whether devotees of recordings of high quality and accurate sound reproduction or Negroes who have been hearing certain

kinds of "pop" music for years—may not recognize the \$29.95 portable radio as "hi-fi" or the ordinary hit of the week as "rhythm and blues," the respective producers have found something that "works," and every commodity within labeling distance has a chance to be included.

The flow.—Where the various fashions find their victims depends on their specific nature. Beginning in the minority, the fad is "discovered," then is labeled, and ultimately reaches the mass audiences. In the case of clothing, there is sometimes a stage, mentioned by Simmel and later by contemporary social psychologists and sociologists, which precedes or accompanies the labeling process, when the fashion is adopted by a group of acknowledged respectability. The fashion is perhaps borrowed from a fringe group within the society, or even outside it, and touted as an "esoteric" discovery. But in a society such as ours very little can be kept private, and providing clues to "better living," tips on the stock market, and advice on clothing, furniture, and virtually every other artifact is the professional job of all the media of communication. Thus, a product associated with a respected group or class is likely to spread, through being publicized, to other groups as well. From here it moves to groups which aspire to be like the advocates. These are not necessarily lower in status, although often so described. It may be that the lower group innovates—as in the "do-it-yourself" fad, a phenomenon which all farmers and lower-income groups have been aware of all their lives—but it is more likely to be a somewhat esoteric group, as the bohemians who flocked to New York's Greenwich Village after World War I, followed by the middle-class New Yorkers after World War II.

Regardless of the direction of the flow, for a time the original possessors of a fashion-to-be will maintain the fashion for themselves and their kind, for people of the same social status are more likely to hear about people of their own level, especially in the upper classes. But after a time the innovation will cross the boundary line of the

²¹ Cf. Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924).

²² An amusing portrayal of the consequences of large masses of people doing the same thing at the same time, such as crossing the George Washington Bridge on a Thursday afternoon, may be found in Robert Coates's short story, "The Law," a description of the law of averages and what might happen to it some day.

groups who adopted it and pass into other groups, in the process losing some of its distinguishing characteristics.

The old drives in the new.—The story of fads is, then, one of constant change. And the changes themselves do not change, or at least not so much that they cannot be followed.

The process of change occurs necessarily at every point, leaving, as it were, a vacuum when the fashion departs for its next point. Eventually, the vacuum is filled, even to overflowing, by its successor. When a fad has reached full bloom, its distinguishing features become so blurred that some are totally lost. If everything is called "hi-fi," nothing is high-fidelity. Furthermore, if more than just certain classes are *aficionados*, the self-conscious among the class-conscious will want something new for themselves.

Thus, at some point before a dress design hits the Sears-Roebuck catalogue, a sports car the secondhand automobile dealer, and a modern chair the suburban rummage sale, once again it is time for a change.

*The feedback.*²³—Producers notoriously see an undifferentiated audience before their eyes. They tend so often just to count that they miscalculate demand.

William McPhee and James Coleman have suggested that, while one group may be oversaturated with a fad, another may be very receptive—and only accurate reporting (feedback) about each group can tell the whole story.²⁴ For example, since teen-agers are the major purchasers of records and sheet music and the major investors in juke boxes, and since these three commodities are the major tests of demand consulted by the producers, teen-agers can make or break a song. Disk jockeys also play a role in feedback, but it is primarily the "top" jockeys with the large teen-age followings who are the key informants. Yet there is another audience for popular music

to whom the producers have almost no access—the daytime radio listeners: the housewives, traveling salesmen, commuters. Their tastes are thus inferred—of all places—from teen-agers!

In other words, the skewed feedback of the music industry is responsible in part for the volatility of its fads; exaggerating as it does the tastes of an already erratic group considered as its primary audience, its fads fluctuate beyond all expectation. With perfect information, a normal distribution of tastes can be expected at most times and for most things. In certain industries, and among certain subgroups, the distribution is less likely to be normal, in part due to the pressures for new commodities, to the superficiality of the appeals themselves, to the publicity accompanying every product, and, in the case of teen-agers, to their unstable moods. When information comes only or largely from teen-agers, who are at the fringes of the distribution curve, so to speak, then the music industry is rendered excessively phrenetic. Kurt and Gladys Lang, in studying the Chicago MacArthur Day parade of 1951, found that the television reporting of this rather slow-moving and dull event was systematically distorted to give the impression of a vast crowd, a glorious spectacle, and an unremitting enthusiasm.²⁵ Here, as in the case of the popular-music industry, the requirements to hold an audience from switching to another station or channel or losing interest in popular music or a given song force such emphasis on the manic.

Hence, while the feedback from consumer to producer makes, at first, for a frenzied increase in a fashionable product, it may also make for a more rapid saturation than is warranted or, if the gauge is placed somewhere else in society, for an oversupply.

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²³ This word itself has become something of a fad!

²⁴ "Mass Dynamics" (an unpublished research proposal on file at the Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University).

²⁵ "The Unique Perspective of Television," *American Sociological Review*, XVIII (February, 1953), 3-12.

A PRELIMINARY BIBLIOGRAPHY ON LEISURE

REUEL DENNEY AND MARY LEA MEYERSOHN

INTRODUCTION¹

In the field of leisure studies since about 1900 there have been several major streams of research, each tending to culminate in a bibliographical perspective of a specific kind.

First, there have been many studies of the general consumer market—studies which include reference to the demand for leisure goods and services, their flexibility of demand, their changing percentages, their family profile, their technological interdependence, and so on. The general impulse to such studies can be said to arise from advertising research, on the one hand, and from the theorems of institutional economics and sociology, on the other.

Second, numerous historical studies of changes have been made of American leisure throughout the life of the nation. These studies were carefully examined and listed by Dulles in his *America Learns To Play*. His emphasis is on changes that became more or less visible by about 1925.

Third, many studies have been stimulated by education, social work, and recreation, which involve surveys of organized and planned leisure. A number of these are listed by the bibliographies of the National Recreation Association, by G. M. Gloss, and by writers for the foundations, especially the Russell Sage Foundation.

Fourth, the "Play Movement," on its individual rather than its social side, has inspired studies especially along the lines suggested by Dewey. Many of the major texts in this field of study are listed by Vivian Wood.

Fifth, there has been, since 1920, an increasing volume of psychological research on leisure and on the media of mass com-

munications. There is, as far as we know, no single bibliography which, analytically or in any other way, lists the titles especially relevant to the understanding of play and leisure, although some of the titles that ought to appear on such a list occur scattered in other lists.

Sixth, many studies influenced by sociopolitical theories and doctrines have come from sources as widely separated as the work of Thoreau, Comte, Le Play, Spencer, Weber, and Marx—all of them attempts at sociological re-evaluation of the relation between work and play in the modern world. They tend to draw on figures on the utilization of manpower and resources in historical periods. Some have been cited, quoted, and analyzed in recent works, but, in general, they are to be more easily found in bibliographies of the utilization of labor personnel, theory, management, time study, industrial sociology, and related topics than under headings relating them to leisure. However, they are rather well catalogued in the bibliographies of works like *Factory Folkways*.

Seventh, an increasing number of studies have been made of the production and control side of the mass media of communication and amusements themselves, many of which are listed in Lasswell and Smith's *The Reader on Communications*, in Hugh Duncan's *Language and Literature in Society*, and in other relevant collections.

The organization of the bibliography below was devised because we have not been satisfied with the classification systems so far employed—either for own research purposes or as presenting a fair picture of the study of leisure. Even the bibliographies of leisure, play, and recreation listed above are from angular points of view that reveal

¹ By Reuel Denney.

themselves almost immediately upon perusal of the list. We ourselves have found convenient, in order to bring into focus a variety of scattered yet essential studies, plus our own point of view, the following classification system:

- I. History of Leisure
- II. The Threat of Leisure
- III. Ideals of Leisure
- IV. Cultural Norms of Leisure and Consumption
- V. The Market for Leisure
- VI. Individual Physiology and Psychology of Play
- VII. Recreation and Leisure
- VIII. Technology of Leisure
- IX. Sociology of Leisure-Time Activities
- X. American Culture and Character
- XI. Philosophy and Aesthetics of Popular Culture
- XII. Popular Culture: Movies, Music, Sports, Comics, Pulp
- XIII. Fads
- XIV. Hobbies and Arts
- XV. Games
- XVI. Research in Leisure of Small Groups
- XVII. Current Methods of Study
- XVIII. Leisure and Public Policy
- XIX. Criteria for Leisure
- XX. Bibliography of Bibliographies

Each of the headings gives what appears to be an opportunity to list as "basic" the ground-breaking studies that helped to open up research in the field. Thus, under the "History of Leisure" are cited as basic such works as those of Huizinga and Dulles; under the "Bibliography of Bibliographies" tribute is paid to works of various indi-

viduals and foundations who helped to lay the ground of the bibliographical organization of the topic; under other sections appear the basic theorists such as Thorstein Veblen, George Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and others. Thus, in each category an effort was made to provide the reader with a brief anthology of the books whose perspective we found, and continue to find, most instructive.

The organization of these categories (not all of them are reported in the following bibliography, which represents a selective effort) takes into account four major tasks. The list pays far more attention than any other that we know of to what are generally called "humanistic" sources, for we have assumed that implicit definitions of the art object tend to emerge in any discussions of standards and audiences and that, since they do, they had better be dealt with as directly and intimately as possible in a study of this kind.

Second, it will be noticed that we have made an attempt to point toward some slight foundations for the bibliography of ephemeral literature on leisure in the periodicals since 1900.

Third, we have tried not to ignore the philosophers and men of wisdom who have had a place for leisure among the good things of human life and who have taught special doctrines of it. To do research on a topic is to recommend specific views of it, which, in turn, is to take more than half a step toward the recommendation of policy. We do not mind if this bibliography is read as a recommendation to research.

A NOTE²

In passing, it will be noted that, while thirteen (I-XIII, XX) of the proposed twenty categories have been represented here, seven categories (XIV-XIX) have not as yet been explored.

The University of Chicago's influence is much felt here; the bibliography represents a long-standing local interest. The Univer-

sity's Center for the Study of Leisure has on hand at present roughly twelve hundred items collected by Mr. Denney over a period of years which were not read or assigned for research at this time. However, a number have already been weeded out of this preliminary effort. The field called "Recreation" alone, for instance, contains a vast bibliography; it is here merely to sug-

² By Mary Lea Meyersohn.

gest a few of the places one might look for further material. This holds equally true of research into the leisure habits of small segments of the population and, of course, of the psychology of play, which is a discipline in itself. Nor have we entered into the field of mass communications—press, radio, and television have all been thoroughly catalogued elsewhere.

We have tried to make suggestions for areas of study in the general field of leisure, to offer some samples of the work that has been done, to establish subdivisions, and to offer them for full study. Recreation, again, might be approached in a variety of ways; our material happened to run to recreation habits and attitudes in the depression. Perhaps this will interest someone in doing a thorough analysis of the literature of leisure in a depression economy. Fads, as a study area, have been neglected; what we include here are some manifestations, for instance, bridge or dime novels, with the hope of

stimulating full-scale research into the dynamics of a particular fad.

There have been in America a number of "little" magazines and some writers who have concerned themselves particularly with popular culture. A contribution to a theory of popular culture would be immeasurably strengthened by systematic study of works such as James Agee's on movies, George Barbarow's on jazz, and Otis Fergusson's contributions to the *New Republic*; of the writings of Edmund Wilson, Irwin Panofsky, Heywood Broun, Gilbert Seldes, and William Epes Sargeant; and of such magazines as the *Partisan Review*, *Commentary*, *Dissent*, and others.

Certain books or articles have not been annotated (e.g., *Theory of the Leisure Class*, *The Lonely Crowd*, *Social Life of a Community*, *Middletown*), since either their views are already very well known or their bearing on the study of leisure is direct and obvious.

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Moral in tone; significantly reflects businessman's attitudes toward the worker's leisure; questions the effect of large blocks of free time; and notes increased markets for leisure-time products.

³ By Reuel Denney and Mary Lea Meyersohn.

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This edition is of very little value, being outdated and never really brought up to date, but representative of recreation studies.

PLANT, JAMES S. "Recreation and the Social Integration of the Individual," *Recreation*, XXXI (1937), 339.

An odd piece for this magazine: a plea for an individual-centered culture. Interesting because of the expressed fear that totalitarianism threatens play.

RAINWATER, C. E. *The Play Movement in the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922.

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BOGART, LEO. "The Comic Strips and Their Adult Readers." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950.

A study of male workers in a New York City neighborhood and of the workings of a popular art at a social level where little else competes; finds that comic strips express the fantasy life of the reader; that readers do in part come on them by chance; that the experience is superficial. The theory that popular art, i.e., strips, promotes adjustment is contradicted.

FISKE, MARJORIE, and WOLF, KATHERINE M. "Why They Read Comics," in PAUL F. LAZARSFELD and FRANK STANTON (eds.), *Communications Research, 1948-49*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1949.

Normal children are "moderate" readers who use the comics for ego strength; maladjusted children may use them for excessive fantasy play. Analysts of the comics must not overestimate their effects; the children had problems before they read them. An outstanding effort to examine uses and gratifications of a mass medium.

FREIDSON, ELIOT L. "An Audience and Its Taste." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1952.

Solid study of the impact of movies, television, radio, and the comics on 79 children (third-generation, Polish Catholic, upper and lower class); discusses amount of time spent on each medium, content of each, favorites, favorite topics in mass media, preferred situations of contact with media, opinions and stereotypes. Data: that the determinants of response (content, the medium, particularly the social situation of contact, and the "social definitions" of respondents) determine the taste of an audience.

HAVIGHURST, ROBERT J., et al. "Leisure Activities and the Socioeconomic Status of Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (1949), 505-19.

Highly relevant study containing data on leisure activities of children at four socioeco-

nomic levels. Theses: that children in different backgrounds engage in leisure activities that differ quantitatively and qualitatively; that atypical children prepare for social mobility by interacting with children at different class levels.

WITTY, PAUL A., and LEHMAN, HARVEY C. *The Psychology of Play Activities*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1927.

Early quantitative measurement of play in a study conducted mainly among Kansas City school children, white and Negro, above and below Grade III. About six thousand interviews to determine the most common and popular play, how affected by variables of age, race, social location, etc.

X. AMERICAN CULTURE AND CHARACTER

American Social History (as Recorded by British Travelers). Edited by ALLAN NEVINS. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1923.

Thirty pieces ranging from 1789 to 1922 on American character and practices. Deserves to be read.

AMORY, CLEVELAND. *The Last Resorts*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

A witty precise "portrait of American society at play," in its natural habitats—Newport, Palm Beach, Tuxedo Park, *et al.*

BEARD, CHARLES and MARY R. *America in Midpassage*, Vol. II. New York: Macmillan Co., 1939.

Deals with such relevant topics as "sources of entertainment" within a general social and intellectual history of America from 1924 to 1939. Here is Beardian disgust with "capitalist sideshows."

COLLINS, FREDERICK L. "I've Seen America," *Collier's*, LXXIV (1924), 7 ff.

A lower-middlebrow appraisal of pre-depression America, what they were playing and applauding; moral but informative.

HUNTINGTON, DWIGHT W. "Our Prejudice against English Game Preserves," *Independent*, LXIV (1908), 292-99.

Offbeat article on American and British hunting rules, noting that the one does not imitate the other. American bias against the rich appears in laws against shooting tame birds, against excessive killing.

LYND, ROBERT S. and HELEN M. *Middletown*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1929.

———. *Middletown in Transition*. New York

Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1937.

"The Motor Number," *Country Life in America*, Vol. XXI (1911).

Whole issue devoted to cars and "touring"; representative of early inquiries into the impact of the auto on American life.

RIESMAN, DAVID, and DENNEY, REUEL. "Football in America," *American Quarterly*, III (1951), 309-19.

Subtitled "A Study in Cultural Diffusion." The authors examine the game's changes in rules, its transition from a sport of kicking and running to ball-carrying, with reference to the influence of "Taylorism" on football (momentum play) and the cultural expression in football of the increasing stratification, economic and ethnic, in America.

RIESMAN, DAVID, DENNEY, REUEL, and GLAZER, NATHAN. *The Lonely Crowd*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1950.

WALKER, STANLEY. *The Night Club Era*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1933.

Rise and fall of the gay life in New York City in the 1920's: Prohibition, the police, Winchell, and the mobs. For the sub-subworld department from a newspaper editor.

WARE, CAROLINE. *Greenwich Village*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1935.

Fully documented, well-written analysis of a famous neighborhood; little relevance for present study of leisure except for the social history of the bohemian community.

WARNER, W. LLOYD, and LUNT, PAUL S. *The Social Life of a Modern Community*. ("Yankee City Series," Vol. I.) New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1941.

WHYTE, WILLIAM F. *Street Corner Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.

Solid contribution to leisure studies, in the tradition of the Chicago school of urban sociology. The rules of the game of lower-middle-class male leisure in urban United States.

WHYTE, WILLIAM H., JR. *Is Anybody Listening?* New York: Simon & Schuster, 1952.

Excellent report on the new corporation practices with respect to executive employees and their wives, by an able social observer.

———. *The Organization Man*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956.

An extension of Whyte's previous work, solid and eminently readable.

XI. PHILOSOPHY AND AESTHETICS OF
POPULAR CULTURE

BROSSARD, CHANDLER (ed.). *The Scene before You*. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955.

A collection of essays on American culture, all reprinted from *Commentary* and similar magazines. Interesting, but some of them speak too loudly of a Greenwich Village universe.

BRYSON, LYMAN. *The Next America*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1952.

Chapters on the relationship of culture and democracy; how individualism can be preserved in a mass culture. The "liberal" antidote to T. S. Eliot.

DARTON, F. J. HARVEY. *Children's Books in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932.

Subtitled "Five Centuries of Social Life," this charming history of children's literature (which began in 1744) emphasizes the particular contribution of the Victorians.

DENNEY, REUEL. *The Astonished Muse*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957.

A work on the artistic forms in the mass media that are the bridges between producer and consumer.

DENNEY, REUEL, and RIESMAN, DAVID. "Leisure Revisited," in REUEL N. DENNEY, MILTON, MAYER, and HENRY W. SAMS, *The Tyranny of Leisure* ("University of Chicago Round Table," No. 685, broadcast May 13, 1951), pp. 12-17.

This includes a review of some shift in preoccupation with leisure in the United States in the last generation.

DUNCAN, HUGH. *Language and Literature in Society*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Theory and method of interpretation of linguistic symbols of culture. Essentially a sociology of literature with a clear debt to Kenneth Burke. Contains a bibliography of the sociology of literature.

ELIOT, T. S. *Notes towards the Definition of Culture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1949.

One of the most controversial and influential of modern works.

EMPSON, WILLIAM. *Some Versions of Pastoral*. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions.

How "Covert Pastoral" operates (putting the complex into the simple) and the resulting social ideas as used in English literature. A "sociology" of literature that is, in part, a study

of "rejection by partial incorporation." Emphasizes copying of uppers by lowers and vice versa.

FIEDLER, LESLIE. "The Middle against Both Ends," *Encounter*, III (1955), 16-23.

That the attack on mass culture is essentially the attack on the eighteenth-century novel but compounded at present with anti-Americanism. The attackers are the true vulgarians, since great art contains the same ingredients as mass art: a countervailing opinion.

GRISEWOOD, HARMAN. *Broadcasting and Society*. London: S.C.M. Press, Ltd., 1949.

An attempt to give the media a Christian approach, i.e., that principles fundamental to a Christian society must be employed by the British Broadcasting Corporation to integrate society and recover authentic European culture. Of interest far beyond the realm of radio.

HAMMOND, J. L. *The Growth of Common Enjoyment*. (L. T. Hobhouse Memorial Lecture.) London: London University Press, 1933.

The development of social amenities appeared in England so late because of a territorial aristocracy, coupled with a Puritan outlook and the drive for money-getting. Today, leisure with no tradition for it: applicable to American concerns.

HART, JAMES D. *The Popular Book*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

A history of American literary taste—unique, well executed, and fascinating. Discusses almost every book that ever sold, its imitators, the *Zeitgeist* surrounding publication. From Puritan literature, through the "sentimental" novel, to critical realism.

HOBGEN, LANCELOT. *From Cave Painting to Comic Strip*. New York: Chanticleer Press, 1949.

A study of graphic symbols in popular culture, communication, science.

HORKHEIMER, MAX. "Art and Mass Culture," pp. 290-304 in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, Vol. IX. New York: Institute for Social Research, 1941.

A brilliant reply to Mortimer Adler's thesis that great art has the ability to satisfy all levels of taste, viz., that present-day popularity has no relation to the content or truth of an artistic production. The art itself is no longer communicative but merely escapist.

HUXLEY, ALDOUS. *Brave New World*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1932.

This famous anti-Utopia projects a caricatured American middle-class moral materialism upon a British lower-middle-class climate of opinion. An effective satire on the worst aspects of mass media in English-speaking countries.

KNIGHT, L. C. *Drama and Society in the Age of Jonson*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1937.

Interesting attempt at a correlation between cultural and economic life, between dramatic literature and the modes of economic production, in this case the connection between the "economic confusion" of the reign of James I and Elizabethan-Jacobean culture.

KOESTLER, ARTHUR. "The Intelligentsia," *Partisan Review*, XI (1944), 265-77.

History of the Third Estate: its first modern counterparts, the Encyclopedists; their function, interpreting the social body; their destruction.

KRONENBERGER, LOUIS. *Company Manners*. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954.

Aspects of American culture in the urban upper and middle classes, particularly the professional and intellectual. Sensitive and acute writing on "cultural manifestations," e.g., television, the "new new rich" and American art.

LEAVIS, Q. D. *Fiction and the Reading Public*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1932.

Literary *cum* sociological analysis of the book industry, touching on its mass audience, its middlemen, journalism, and the effect on the novel and the novelist of the loss of the reading public. Bibliography draws particularly on English writers.

LEGMAN, GERSHON. *Love and Death*. New York: Breaking Point Press, 1949.

That movie censorship of everyday aspects of sexuality creates an emotional vacuum in the movie art which can only be filled by a cult of violence.

LOWENTHAL, LEO. "Biographies in Popular Magazines," in BERNARD BERELSON and MORRIS JANOWITZ (eds.), *Reader in Public Opinion and Communication*, pp. 289-98. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950.

Probably the very best content analysis available.

———. "Historical Perspectives of Popular Culture," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1950), 323-32.

A seminal plea for a historical and philosophical study of popular culture, not merely an empirical. Its starting point should be not

market data or psychologically narrow material but rather a "phenomenon of social expedients."

MCCARTHY, MARY. "Up the Ladder from Charm to Vogue," in *The Reporter Reader*, pp. 152-68. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., 1956.

One of America's talented hatchet-women takes off on women's fashion magazines, their stratification, language, and meaning for women.

MACDONALD, DWIGHT. "On Lowbrow Thinking," *Politics*, I (1944), 219 ff.

A reply to the defenders of popular culture from an outstanding radical and writer who calls acceptance of popular culture a surrender to the social system.

———. "A Theory of Popular Culture," *Politics*, I (1944), 4.

A most original essay, noted by T. S. Eliot to be the best alternative to his own, revealing the modern merger of high and low culture. That American intellectuals must not withdraw but help re-create it as it once was—a genuine folk art.

MCLUHAN, HERBERT MARSHALL. *The Mechanical Bride*. New York: Vanguard Press, 1951.

A view of the folklore of industrial life in America; a well-done catalogue of the imagery of fantasy in leisure products; and appeals to leisure impulses.

MALRAUX, ANDRÉ. "Art, Popular Art and the Illusion of Folk," in *The New Partisan Reader, 1945-1953*, pp. 438-46. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953.

Short extraordinary essay on mass man and great art. What is "born of the desire for gratification" means the death of values. Speaks of the anti-arts of present existence, "the appeasing arts."

MAN, HENRI DE. *The Psychology of Socialism*. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1927.

On "proletarian culture"—that it imitates petty bourgeois culture and wants nothing else.

MANNHEIM, KARL. *Freedom, Power and Democratic Planning*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1950.

See chapter xi under Part III for material on democratically planned leisure, neither abstinence from interference nor total planning but a "third way" of finding new values for the new mass man.

———. *Man and Society (in an Age of Reconstruction)*. London: Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1944.

See Part II, "The Social Causes of the Contemporary Crisis in Culture." The function and sociology of the intelligentsia in a mass society and the formation of the "public." Basic reading on the influence of a cultural elite on the uses of leisure.

MEYERHOFF, HANS. "The New Yorker in Hollywood," *Partisan Review*, XVIII (1951), 569-74.

Cranky but witty attack on writer Lillian Ross. More comment on the transfer of cultural values, e.g., why the *New Yorker* is held to be the apogee of culture in Hollywood.

MOTT, FRANK LUTHER. *Golden Multitudes*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1947.

An excellent history of best-selling books in America. Full of information.

ORTEGA Y GASSET, JOSÉ. *The Dehumanization of Art and Notes on the Novel*. Translated by HELENE WEYL. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1948.

An extraordinary statement of the characteristics of modern art and the relationship it bears to mass culture.

———. *The Revolt of the Masses*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1932.

ORTON, WILLIAM AYLOTT. *America in Search of Culture*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1933.

Essays, somewhat quarrelsome, on the situation of American culture. Interesting evidence of an earlier "scientific" attitude toward mass culture.

ROSENBERG, BERNARD, and WHITE, DAVID MANNING (eds.). *Mass Culture*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

A collection of essays on the mass media, advertising, and theories of mass culture (the editors themselves hold dissimilar views) that is a most solid contribution to the field.

SCHAPIRO, MEYER. "Style," in A. L. KROEBER, et al. (eds.), *Anthropology Today*, pp. 287-313. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

A first-rank art historian on attitudes toward style, its nature and significance for historians of culture. Description of variety of approaches; relation of style to national cycles and racial character; style as an explanation of social life; concludes that a true theory of style is yet to arise.

SELDES, GILBERT. *The Great Audience*. New York: Viking Press, 1951.

That mass entertainments create works to be forgotten, creation beginning after the product

has been made. A demand that the popular arts serve freedom; that the methods of quantity production be adapted to public protest. By a constant and acute observer of the mass media.

———. *The Public Arts*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1956.

More first-rate criticism.

———. *The Seven Lively Arts*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1924.

The earliest, best, and best-known attempt to give American popular culture its own measure. A ringing defense of Chaplin, "Keystone Kops" comedy, the popular song, etc. Brilliant chapter on the movies going arty. Many of Seldes' examples have since acquired respectability.

WARSHOW, ROBERT. "The Legacy of the 30's," *Commentary*, IV (1947), 538-45.

The chief function of mass culture is to relieve man of the necessity of experiencing his life directly. Discusses the Stalinist impact on intellectual life, that popular culture then drew support from the most advanced sectors of society.

WERNER, M. R. *Barnum*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1923.

Long informative biography set in the context of the ideas of Barnum's time, with material drawn from the subject's own autobiography. Excellent picture of the nineteenth-century "public."

WOLPERT, J. F. "Notes on the American Intelligentsia," *Partisan Review*, XIV (1947), 472-85.

Representative "little magazine" article on the alienation of the intellectual in a mass culture.

WRIGHT, WILLARD H. "The Detective Novel," *Scribner's Magazine*, LXXX (1926), 532-39.

A look at a unique genre—as a popular amusement, its craftsmanship, where it is best done (France), and a small attempt to provide a background for its success.

XII. POPULAR CULTURE: MOVIES, MUSIC, SPORTS, COMICS, PULPS

ADLER, MORTIMER J. *Art and Prudence*. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1937.

Aristotelian exposition of the relationship between morality and artistic purity, especially in films. Defense of the movies as "popular poetry," against educators, sociologists, and all scientific researchers into the film. In response

to Payne Fund studies (Blumer, Hauser, *et al.*) that stressed social effects of movies.

ADORNO, T. W. "On Popular Music," pp. 17-48 in *Studies in Philosophy and Social Science*, Vol. IX. New York: Institute of Social Research, 1941.

On the nature of popular music, its fundamental characteristic (unlike serious music), standardization. The dynamics of song-plugging—that standards become frozen, are taken over by certain cartelized agencies and socially enforced.

AGEE, JAMES. "Comedy's Greatest Era," *Life*, VII (1949), 70-82.

A study of the dramatic roles assumed by Chaplin, Langdon, and others in the American custard-pie period, by an outstanding writer and movie critic.

BALSLEY, GENE. "The Hot Rod Culture," *American Quarterly*, II (1950), 353-59.

A study of the classes of design and rank and of the hot-rodder as critic of mass-produced things. Hot-rodding as a protest against Detroit's hegemony. That the hot-rodder also manipulates mass culture although manipulated by it.

BECKER, HOWARD S. "The Professional Dance Musician and His Audience," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (1951), 136-44.

Analysis of a service occupation and the feeling of alienation among its members. Isolation and self-isolation, particularly painful since outsiders exert control. Interesting sidelight on an entertainer's view of the leisured.

BISHOP, W. H. "Story Paper Literature," *Atlantic Monthly*, XLIV (1879), 383-89.

"Lower-class" literature in the late 1890's, its effect on youth, its popularity, the social problems it creates; should be compared to present attitudes toward paper-backed books. (See Cecil Hemley's essay in *Mass Culture*.)

"British Youth Dislikes Love in the Movies," *Literary Digest*, III (1931), 22-25.

Unimportant investigation of the likes and dislikes of movie-going British children deploping the lack of education received from the movies.

BROWN, SLATER, "The Coming of Superman," *New Republic*, CIII (1940), 301-2.

Pedestrian description of the comics' hero, that he combines entertainment and answers a desire for primitive religion. Message: the Germans take him seriously.

COZENS, FREDERICK W., and STUMPF, FLOR-

ENCE S. *Sports in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953.

Cumbersome and not sociological in intent but largely for students of physical education.

CURTI, MERLE. "Dime Novels and the American Tradition," *Yale Review*, XXVI (1937), 761-78.

A historian defends dime novels as nearest to a "proletarian literature." That there is strong emphasis in the books on America as the emancipator from feudal masters. Relevant to the study of the democratization of culture.

DURANT, JOHN, and BETTMAN, OTTO. *Pictorial History of American Sports*. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1942.

A good performance in this genre of history—good pictures, good reproduction, and readable text.

FRANK, JOSETTE. "Let's Look at the Comics," *Child Study*, XX (1942), 76-78.

An admittedly "unnervous" educator on the comics: that all children are bound to read them sometime, since "reading comics is part of our mores," and bound, too, to relinquish them in growing up.

HAMPTON, BENJAMIN B. *A History of the Movies*. New York: Covici, Friede Publishing Co., 1931.

Good early history of films. Should be read in the context of the beginnings of psychological insight into movies. (See also Terry Ramsaye, *A Million and One Nights*.)

HARVEY, CHARLES M. "The Dime Novel in American Life," *Atlantic Monthly*, C (1907), 37-45.

Lively piece on the Beadle books in the 1860's. Discussion of the influence of the dime novel, what it represented. Interesting effort to describe dynamics of the fad.

HAYCRAFT, HOWARD. *Murder for Pleasure*. New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1943.

On the subject of the "practitioners" of detective-story writing from Poe to the present. Trivial.

HERSEY, HAROLD B. *Pulpwood Editor*. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1937.

An insider describes how pulps are published and by whom; who writes, illustrates, and distributes. Breezy—not good as a sociological study.

HOBSON, WILDER. *American Jazz Music*. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939.

Solid, evocative treatment.

- KRACAUER, SIGFRIED. *From Caligari to Hitler*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1947.
Psychological history of German film, 1918-33, to determine the dominant influences. Use of film as index to study of mass behavior. Fascinating, if overextended.
- LEWIS, FREEMAN. *Paper-bound Books in America*. (16th R. R. Bowker Memorial Lecture.) New York: New York Public Library, 1953. (Pamphlet.)
Traces the development of the paper-backed reprint industry. Reliable.
- MACMULLEN, MARGARET. "Pulps & Confessions," *Harper's*, CLXXV (1937), 94-102.
Content analysis of the pulps and their audience and examination of the sudden success of Macfadden confession magazines. Connects these to leisure time, their function to obscure reality.
- MAYER, J. P. *Sociology of Film*. London: Faber & Faber, Ltd., 1945.
An excellent attempt to analyze films for once through the audience and not through film content. Interesting investigation of film influence, particularly interviews conducted through *Picturegoer* magazine in Britain which asked for the influence of movies on personal decisions and on dreams.
- MERZ, CHARLES. *The Great American Bandwagon*. New York: John Day Co., 1928.
Incidental commentary on American manners and mores. Out of date (its fads have been replaced) but sheds light on the consistency of fashion movements in the United States.
- "The Motion Picture Industry," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. CCLIV (1947).
Interesting to compare this issue with a similar number in 1926: the present pessimism, seriousness about the power of the industry; sophisticated sociological material.
- PAPASHVILY, HELEN. *All the Happy Endings*. New York: Harper & Bros., 1956.
sidelight on female literature in America, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—written for and by women, mainly, the author claims, as an outlet for intense hostility to men.
- PEARSON, EDMUND. *Dime Novels*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1929.
Pleasant and competent history of a fad in America, its authors, its founder (Beadle), and its plots—from *Malaeska* to Frank Merriwell—roughly, 1860-70.
- RIESMAN, DAVID. "Listening to Popular Music," *American Quarterly*, II (1950), 259-72.
A sketch of the way in which music and musical opinion is used as a form of communication in groups of young people, based on interviews in Chicago.
- ROSTEN, LEO. *Hollywood*. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1941.
Three years' firsthand research in the movie city has produced a major presentation of the life, practices, and values of the community.
- SCHULBERG, BUDD. "Hollywood," *Holiday*, V (1949), 34-49.
Useful as a touchstone to both public and professional views of Hollywood, 1946-49, when the film industry was under its greatest postwar pressure to reform.
- TUNIS, JOHN R. "Changing Trends in Sports," *Harper's*, CLXX (1934), 75-86.
The era 1920-30 in American sports and what happened after—the end of the super-champion.
———. *Sports*. New York: John Day Co., 1938.
The business and association bases of organized sport, the class of people financially involved, industries within, the snobberies and the status of amateurs. From a veteran writer on sports as popular culture.
- WOLFENSTEIN, MARTHA, and LEITES, NATHAN. *Movies: A Psychological Study*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950.
A pioneer, content-analysis study of the public daydreams of American movie-goers, e.g., "The Good-Bad Girl." Analysis of all American "A" films with an urban setting from 1945* to 1950. Recurrent problems; comparison with European movies. Statement of themes; statement on the psychological processes of movie-makers and audiences; some assumptions about life-patterns in American culture.

XIII. FADS

- BRODY, CATHERINE. "With Benefit of Clergy," *Collier's*, CI (1938), 44-47.
About "Bingo" in America, the most popular money game, and the income it brings to the churches.
- BURANELLI, ROGER. "They Started the Crossword Puzzle Craze," *Collier's*, LXXV (1925), 12 ff.
Written by one of the game's originators. History: from obscure beginnings on the *New*

York World to a national madness. Reasons: self-education and a time-killer.

DAVIS, ELMER. "Miniature Golf to the Rescue," *Harper's*, CLXII (1930), 4-14.

Describes the "only success story of the Depression year." (All cheap amusements flourish in bad times.) Offers reasons for a fad: novelty plus cheapness, co-educational, sport of the aristocracy reduced in price.

———. "Purest of Pleasures: Contract," *Harper's* CLXV (1932), 287-95.

Charming defense of the game of bridge as an intellectual exercise.

KIERAN, JOHN. "The Ski's the Limit," *American Magazine*, CXXIII (1937), 22 ff.

Description of a "new" American craze with a short history of its well-publicized beginnings at Dartmouth and Sun Valley. Skiing as a popular sport has changed since 1937.

MERZ, CHARLES. "Mah Jongg," *New Republic*, XXXV (1923), 255.

Easy-going little essay on the American way with a fad that notes particularly how mah jongg accelerated the pace of faddism.

PURDY, KEN W. *The Kings of the Road*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1952.

About sports cars, little cars, supercharged cars, almost any car not made in Detroit; their inventors, people who race them, etc.

ROSENBAUM, BELLE. "Why Do They Read It?" *Scribner's Magazine*, CII (1937), 23.

Gone with the Wind outsold all other best-sellers because "it returned literature to the people after misuse by Joyce or Proust": a still-current literary argument.

WARDEN, WILLIAM L. "The Cruiser Craze," *Holiday*, XVI (1954), 61-64.

Thoughts on the fact that there are 800,000 power boats in America—anyone with a few thousand to spare can buy one. Description of how a millionaire's toy is accessible to the masses.

WEED, THURLOW. "Our Great American Sweepstakes," *Commonweal*, XXVIII (1938), 69-70.

On the "prize contest" in America and its popularity after the depression; mild inquiry into the sport of entering contests.

XX. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BIBLIOGRAPHIES

ANONYMOUS. "Bibliography on the Comics," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XVIII (1944), 230-55.

BERELSON, BERNARD R., and JANOWITZ, MORRIS. *Reader in Public Opinion and Communications*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950. Contains bibliography.

GLOSS, G. M. *Recreational Research*. Baton Rouge, La.: Ortlieb Printing Co., 1940.

KNIGHT, H. R. *Bibliography on Amusements*. (Bulletin 151.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1920.

MENEFEE, LOUIS A., and CHAMBERS, M. M. *American Youth*. Washington, D.C.: American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, 1938. (Annotated.)

MEYERSOHN, ROLF. *Research in Television: Some Highlights and a Bibliography*. New York: Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, 1953. (Annotated.)

———. "Social Research in Television," in BERNARD ROSENBERG and DAVID MANNING WHITE (eds.), *Mass Culture*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1957.

NATIONAL RECREATION ASSOCIATION. *A Bibliography for the Recreation Library*. New York: National Recreation Association, 1946.

NICHOLLS, C. P. "List of Recent Researches." Los Angeles: March, 1939. (Mimeographed.)

PAULU, BURTON. *Bibliography on TV and Radio*. Urbana, Ill.: National Association of Educational Broadcasters, 1952.

ROBBINS, FLORENCE GREENHOE. *The Sociology of Play, Recreation and Leisure*. Dubuque, Iowa: Wm. C. Brown Co., 1955.

SMITH, BRUCE L., LASSWELL, HAROLD D., and CASEY, RALPH D. *Propaganda, Communication and Public Opinion*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1946. (Annotated.)

SUTTON-SMITH, BRIAN. "Bibliography of Games." Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1953. (Mimeographed.)

WILLIAM, M. P. *Bibliography of Recreation*. (Bulletin 156.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1927.

WOOD, VIVIAN. "Leisure and Creativity Bibliography." Family Study Center, University of Chicago, 1953. (Mimeographed.)

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

FRIEDMANN'S *INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY*

January 18, 1957

To the Editor:

The review (September, 1956, p. 238) by Harold Wilensky of Georges Friedmann's book, *Industrial Society*, has moved me for the first time to take public issue with a reviewer.

I am sincerely puzzled by the review, because I regard Wilensky as one of the ablest critics writing in the field of industrial sociology. It seems curious, then, that he should write something which appears to be more of a caricature than a serious review of what is widely regarded as a very important book.

The nature of the caricature is indicated in an opening paragraph:

The villains of this piece are the Thinking Department, where mechanization is planned, and the Instruction Card, on which the manual worker's simplified job is spelled out. Add the "present conditions of capitalism" and Friedmann's portrait of industrial society is almost complete. Almost, because the author does not always let his pessimism and his penchant for brittle Marxist slogans block a careful assessment of studies and cases.

It is true that Friedmann sees more to be gained for workers from government ownership than do most United States students of industry, but the phrase "brittle Marxist slogans" suggests that he takes a doctrinaire approach. This is a highly misleading and unfair impression.

It is the very non-doctrinaire nature of the book which seems to be at the base of Wilensky's difficulties. The reviewer holds that Friedmann is inconsistent and self-contradictory at various points. One of the important functions of the book is to sum-

marize the conclusions of a wide variety of studies—many of them unknown to most of us in the United States. Friedmann is so conscientious in reporting on each study and in keeping his own comments separate that a careless critic may mistake the opinions of others for the opinions of Friedmann—as Wilensky apparently did. (See the quotation that he gives us on p. 276 of the Friedmann book.)

Since Wilensky has made up his mind that Friedmann takes a pessimistic view of man's work, he sees a contradiction in the author's discussion of automation. Here Friedmann sketches the possibility for more creative jobs as man is relieved from the assembly line. What is contradictory about this? Friedmann is simply continuing with his analysis of the impact of different types of technology upon workers—the very type of analysis for which Wilensky is calling.

Wilensky also makes this comment: "American readers will find the treatment of the Hawthorne studies and the somewhat repetitive analysis of scientific management old stuff." To be sure, the criticisms of scientific management are now quite familiar, although it seems to me that no one has presented them as systematically. The Hawthorne case is another story. While many other critics were attacking Mayo and his associates for their alleged anti-union bias, Friedmann presents a criticism that seems to me much more fundamental from a scientific point of view. He argues that the Hawthorne researchers were in error in their effort to account for worker attitudes entirely in terms of the experience of those workers inside the factory walls. He insists that we must understand the workers' community life as well as their in-plant ex-

periences if we are to account for their attitudes toward work and toward management.

So far as I know, no one else has presented this type of criticism of the Hawthorne Study. Of course, the critique is not new. It first appeared when Friedmann's book was published in France in 1947. Does a lapse of eight years between the original edition and the American translation make Friedmann's critique "old stuff"?

WILLIAM F. WHYTE

*New York State School of
Industrial and Labor Relations
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REJOINDER

February 8, 1957

To the Editor:

In the short space allotted:

1. Friedmann's opinions come through in his selection, use, and phrasing as well as in his interpretations of studies and findings. Whyte mentions page 276. Here Friedmann says "observers" show that "in large towns the average worker in rationalized industry" is in a "stunned condition" in leisure to compensate for job frustration. This is Friedmann's interpretation based on (a) a 1930 finding in a German factory that 89 per cent of twelve hundred women workers read women's magazines and/or pornographic literature (was there a control group, data on reading of women not working, working on different jobs, etc.); (b) Stuart Chase's 1929 opinion that United States men's interest in politics has declined; and (c) an assertion (no data, no reference) that German workers before 1914 "deteriorated" and that earnings declined around age forty, but now the downturn comes earlier.

2. What other opinions of others do I mistake for Friedmann's? That he re-

echoes the traditional indictment of the industrial revolution—dehumanization and alienation of labor, etc.? That, on balance, he believes that "skill degradation," "despiritualization," and "mental slavery" are "victorious" even today—and that he frequently invokes such phrases as "scientistic illusion" and "technicians' abstractions" to justify his pessimistic mood in the face of data suggesting that continuing mechanization, including automation, reduces drudgery and increases jobs requiring intelligence? See, among others, his final chapter. Perhaps "present conditions of capitalism," for the purpose of explaining the relation of technology to job satisfaction, is less brittle than spongy.

3. "Old stuff." Leaving aside the twenty-odd articles which parallel or repeat Friedmann on Taylorism and Hawthorne, were Marx, Durkheim, Weber, or, in America, Commons or Mayo himself unaware that workplace conduct affects and is affected by non-work roles? Is anybody? The problem since Engels posed it in 1845 is to specify this interplay and its variations systematically, which neither Engels nor Friedmann does. To repeat my review summary: "One wishes the author had taken more space to describe the European cases. . . . These, with the very extensive European bibliography, reflecting a refreshing cosmopolitanism, constitute the book's main value for the American reader."

It seems to me that Whyte, who is one of the most sensitive sociological observers in America, is not equally sensitive to ideological positions. His ardent defense of Friedmann, whose intellectual roots have so little nourished Whyte's own work, will surely confound Whyte's own ideological critics.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

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FARM RESIDENCE AND ASPIRATION

February 15, 1957

To the Editor:

I wish to thank Professor Joel Smith of Michigan State University for discovering and reporting a computational error in my recent article in collaboration with William H. Sewell, "Farm Residence and Levels of Educational and Occupational Aspiration."¹ The error does not alter the conclusions of the article, but it necessitates the following changes in the text:

1. The chi-square value in the line at the bottom of Table 1, page 409, should read:

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 10.65 > \chi^2_{1(1)}.05 = 3.84 .$$

It now erroneously reads:

$$\chi^2_{0(1)} = 1.06 < \chi^2_{1(1)}.05 = 3.84 .$$

2. This means that all of the first complete paragraph in the second column of page 409 is misleading. Using italics to indicate changes or additions to the text, it should read:

"As indicated by the data presented in

Table 1, the first hypothesis *must be rejected tentatively* because $\chi^2_{0(1)} \doteq 10.65 > \chi^2_{1(1)}.05 = 3.84$. *The percentages apparently indicate that farm girls are less likely to have high educational aspirations than are other girls. However, a more rigorous test of the hypothesis indicates that this is not the case. For this test, chi-square values were computed for each of three equal-sized intelligence groups (I.Q.'s: high = 133-113, middle = 113-105, low = 105-62). These were summed, following the system presented on page 410, providing an over-all test of the hypothesis. Since*

$$\chi^2_{0(3)} = 4.50 > \chi^2_{1(3)}.05 = 7.82 ,$$

the hypothesis must be accepted. Hence the level of educational aspiration of girls planning to enter the non-farm labor market is not associated with residence."

3. There is one more minor error. With the missing word italicized, lines 1 and 2 of page 411 should read: "... among boys, occupational achievement *aspiration* cannot be predicted from information. . . ."

I assume the entire responsibility for these difficulties.

ARCHIE O. HALLER

Michigan State University

¹ *American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (January, 1957), 407-11.

NEWS AND NOTES

Brandeis University.—The Department of Psychology will inaugurate a series of summer-session institutes on psychology this year. "Organismic Theory in Psychology" will be the theme for the six-week session of 1957, which will run from June 24 to August 2. Seminars for graduate, postgraduate, and advanced undergraduate students will be offered by Abraham H. Maslow, Philip Meyers Professor of Psychology, and two psychiatrists, Dr. Andras Angyal, of Boston, and Dr. Kurt Goldstein, of New York City. Information may be had by writing to Summer School, Hayden 125, Waltham, Massachusetts.

Paul Radin, who has been named Samuel Rubin Visiting Professor in Anthropology, joined the Brandeis faculty in February. He will teach two courses, "The World of Primitive Man" and "Philosophical Speculations among Primitive People."

University of Chicago.—In March, Philip Hauser, chairman of the department, left on a tour of South America in order to help organize studies on problems of urbanization for UNESCO and the United Nations. These projects will be considered as a seminar on urbanization to be held in South America in the summer of 1958, at which Professor Hauser will be general *rapporteur* and editor of a projected volume of the proceedings. He has accepted, too, the chairmanship of the Technical Advisory Committee for the 1960 Census of Population at the invitation of the Director of the Census.

Peter Blau, assistant professor of sociology, will be out of residence in the Spring Quarter.

In the Summer Quarter, Everett C. Hughes and W. Lloyd Warner, professors of sociology, and James S. Coleman, assistant professor of sociology, will offer courses and seminars.

Anselm Strauss, assistant professor of sociology, will spend the Spring Quarter in Kansas City in connection with research at Community Studies, Inc.

Donald Bogue has been made a consultant to the Bureau of the Budget, the Division of Statistical Standards, regarding plans for the 1960 Census.

Peter Rossi, assistant professor of sociology, has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council for the study of political sociology.

Samuel C. Adams, Jr., Ph.D. in sociology (University of Chicago, 1953), received an Arthur S. Fleming Award in Washington, D.C., on February 14, 1957. Ten young men in the federal government were given such awards for outstanding public service.

The Society for Social Research will hold its annual Institute on May 30 and 31 at International House, 1414 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago. Papers will be read by sociologists working in the Midwest on such topics as social psychology, social organization, ecology, and political sociology. Among the speakers already committed are Amos Hawley, G. C. Homans, A. Gouldner, and E. C. Hughes. Programs are being mailed to institutions and individuals in the Midwest. Those wishing programs may write to the Society at 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago 37.

City College of New York.—Adolph S. Tomars has been promoted to the rank of associate professor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Sanford Bates has joined the staff of the department to offer courses in criminology in the Police Academy.

Clarence C. Sherwood, lecturer, will also offer courses in the Police Academy.

College Entrance Examination Board.—The Board once more announces its interest in considering preliminary statements of research plans in the general area of non-intellective factors related to college success. Investigators considering submitting preliminary statements of research interests should request a copy of the announcement delimiting the Board's interest.

Preliminary statements received by July 1, 1957, will be considered for support beginning on July 1, 1958. All investigators submitting preliminary statements will be informed of the Board's decisions by December 1, 1957. Address all correspondence to Joshua A. Fishman, Assistant Director, College Entrance Examina-

tion Board, 425 West 117th Street, New York 27, New York.

Duke University.—At its recent silver anniversary meeting the Durham Social Planning Council presented Howard E. Jensen with a bronze plaque commemorating his twenty-five years of service to the organization as founder, first president, and director.

Ecological Society of America.—The Section of Animal Behavior and Sociobiology has been organized to advance, co-ordinate, and assist research and publications on the subject of animal behavior and social organization basic to theoretical science and human welfare and to act as a liaison agency between workers in the various scientific fields concerned.

At its first organizational meeting the Section elected the following officers: chairman, Dr. J. P. Scott, Roscoe B. Jackson Memorial Laboratory, Bar Harbor, Maine; vice-chairman, Dr. A. M. Guhl, Kansas State College, Manhattan, Kansas; secretary, Dr. M. W. Schein, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

The Section immediately concerned itself with three major problems of behavior studies: publications, terminology, and teaching. Lester R. Aronson, American Museum of Natural History, is the chairman of a committee to continue the search for new publication outlets for papers dealing with animal behavior. A. M. Guhl, Kansas State College, has been appointed chairman of a committee on glossary and terminology designed to discourage the coining of new terms or the misusing of old. W. N. Etkin, Albert Einstein College of Medicine, has been named chairman of a committee to look into the needs and possibilities of publishing a textbook on animal behavior and sociobiology for upper-classmen or students beginning graduate study. Persons interested in any phase of behavior studies are invited to become members. Any member of any class of the Ecological Society of America may become a member merely by writing to the secretary of the Section; others, by becoming members of the Ecological Society (associate member, \$2.00) and then informing the secretary of the Section of their action. Further information may be obtained from the secretary, Martin W. Schein, Section of Animal Behavior and Sociobiology, Department of Poultry Husbandry, Pennsylvania State University, University Park, Pennsylvania.

International Council for Building Research Studies and Documentation.—The technical secretariat of the Studies Section has recently completed an inquiry on sociological surveys on needs and desires as to housing, carried out since the war in several European countries. The results of the first phase of the survey have been embodied in a series of reports, presented and discussed at a special meeting of the Studies Section convened in Paris in February, 1956. This survey, following the recommendations made by members, will be extended to works of a more general nature and to countries not yet covered. With this purpose and to collect a comprehensive documentation on the subject, the technical secretariat would greatly appreciate detailed information concerning the specialized research on housing sociology carried out during the last few years.

Kent State University.—James Fleming has returned to the University after a year of teaching on the campus of Ohio State University in the Department of Sociology.

Paul Oren's book, *Parisian Youth*, based upon research conducted in Paris, France, under a Fulbright grant in 1952-53, is approaching completion.

University of Michigan.—The Survey Research Center's tenth annual Summer Institute will be on "Survey Research Techniques." The Institute will be from July 22 to August 17, with an introductory session from June 24 to July 19, 1957. The Institute is designed to meet some of the educational and training needs of men and women engaged in business and governmental research or other statistical work and of graduate students and university instructors interested in quantitative research in the social sciences. All courses are offered in conjunction with University departments. Students who do not hold a Bachelor's degree or do not wish to take the courses for credit will be granted admission on the basis of their qualifications and experience. Students desiring graduate credit must be admitted by the Graduate School.

For further information write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

National Institutes of Health.—The Center for Aging Research was established at the National Institutes of Health during the fall of

1956, to stimulate research in aging and coordinate intramural research programs on it, to provide liaison between the Institutes and other organizations conducting such research, to collect and disseminate the scientific data, and to foster research training.

All the national advisory councils have approved the establishment of the Center, and the National Advisory Heart Council approved in principle a proposal that a few interested university groups be encouraged to develop large centers for interdisciplinary research and training to be operated by the universities and supported in part by research grants. It is expected that research will be only a part of their functions and that they will extend beyond the university to include other educational institutions, public and private organizations devoted to the furtherance of public health, and other community activities.

The present staff of the Center consists of three professional persons. The Center has no funds of its own to make grants to investigators. The existing mechanism of competitive review by the Study Section and Council will be followed in the usual manner for all grants concerned with aging.

University of New Mexico.—The Behavioral Science Division, Air Force Office of Scientific Research, will sponsor an eight-week conference and work session to be held at the University from June 17 to August 10, 1957. Persons with demonstrated ability in interdisciplinary research will engage in planning and initiating the first phases of research problems of special importance to the Air Force. About thirty research scientists will attend from colleges, universities, and private research organizations, representing psychology, social psychology, sociology, anthropology, physiology, and psychiatry.

Correspondence should be addressed to Paul Walter, Jr., Department of Sociology, University of New Mexico, Albuquerque, New Mexico.

Ohio State University.—A summer program on Latin America will be held from June 18 to July 24 primarily for non-specialists, such as students, teachers, and journalists, who wish to broaden their understanding of this vital area.

The formal academic program, embracing geography, economics, political science, the fine arts, anthropology, and sociology, will be supplemented by lectures by distinguished scholars

and officials, motion pictures, art exhibits, and informal social gatherings with Latin-Americans. More than thirty special scholarships of \$150 each will be available for qualified persons.

Further information concerning the program may be obtained from the Chairman, Summer Program on Latin America, 142 Hagerty Hall, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Roosevelt University.—S. Kirson Weinberg has been granted a research fellowship to study intimate relationships.

St. Clair Drake has returned after spending a year and a half in Liberia and the Gold Coast, where, under a Ford Foundation grant, he taught and conducted research. His wife, Elizabeth Johns Drake, who accompanied him, also undertook research there.

Arthur Hillman was promoted to the deanship of the College of Arts and Sciences.

Rose Hum Lee has been made chairman of the Department of Sociology.

Harry B. Sell and St. Clair Drake have introduced a sequence of courses on Africa, Russia and the East, and Latin America.

Alva M. Maxey and Bernard Baum have joined the staff as part-time lecturers.

Several members of the department participated in a resurvey of the North Kenwood-Oakland community of Chicago, funds for which were granted by the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation to the Kenwood-Ellis Community Center.

Rutgers University.—In the 1957 summer session a six-week resident workshop in human relations will be directed by Simon Marcson, associate professor of sociology. Assisting him are W. Neal Brown, of the Rutgers Graduate School of Social Work, and Andrew W. Gottschall, Jr., associate director of the New Jersey Region of the National Conference of Christians and Jews. •

For further information write to the Director of the Summer Session, Rutgers University.

Seattle University.—Anita Yourglic, assistant professor of sociology, is currently on leave, completing her doctoral studies at the University of Oregon on a Danforth Foundation grant.

Virginia Watson is now teaching the anthropology courses in the department. She succeeds June M. Collins, who has accepted a position at Pennsylvania State University.

Robert Larson, assistant professor of sociology, has been awarded a grant by the Danforth Foundation. He will be on leave of absence during 1957-58 to complete his studies for the doctorate at the University of Washington.

Second International Congress of Group Psychotherapy.—The Congress will meet in Zurich, Switzerland, on August 29-31, 1957, immediately before the Second International Congress of Psychiatry. Officers of the Congress are: president, J. L. Moreno (U.S.A.); program chairman, S. Lebovici (Paris).

For further information write to W. J. Warner, 812 Stuart Avenue, Mamaroneck, New York.

Temple University.—Leonard Blumberg, who has been promoted to assistant professor, is currently engaged in the development and teaching of a general education course, an integration of the social sciences, to Sophomores. He has a faculty grant-in-aid for research on leadership in Philadelphia.

Negley K. Teeters in collaboration with John Shearer, of the Eastern State Penitentiary at Philadelphia, are publishing *The Philadelphia Prison: Cherry Hill*, a historical study of separate confinement which began with the opening of the Cherry Hill Prison in 1829 and continued until 1913.

Claude C. Bowman has recently accepted appointment to two advisory committees concerned with mental health facilities and treatment in the Philadelphia area.

Edwin Eames has been appointed instructor in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

David Matza has been appointed instructor in the department.

UNESCO.—A center has been opened in Calcutta, India, to enable scholars to learn of the scientific work in the region. American sociologists traveling or located in India are invited to visit it and make use of its services. Opportunity will be given to visiting scholars, when appropriate and convenient, to attach themselves to it for brief periods as expert consultants. American sociologists planning to visit India are requested to give information of their intentions to T. H. Marshall, Director of the Department of Social Sciences, UNESCO, 19 Avenue Kleber, Paris 16, France.

University College of the West Indies.—*Social and Economic Studies* is a quarterly journal published by the Institute of Social and Economic Research of the University College. The Institute was established in 1948, when research into economic and social problems in the West Indies was an urgent need. Its staff consists of workers trained in the social sciences.

Social and Economic Studies, which has now completed its fifth volume, publishes the results of research undertaken by the staff as well as contributions from outside sources. Its editorial board includes M. Fortes, D. V. Glass, H. M. Gluckman, R. Merton, Talcott Parsons, and Margaret Mead. The journal considers for publication papers or book reviews from scholars in the social sciences and would be glad to have them. Please address: The Editor, *Social and Economic Studies*, Institute of Social and Economic Research, University College of the West Indies, Jamaica, B.W.I.

Washington University.—The Social Science Institute has been established to aid research and related applications in the social and behavioral sciences to be administered within the graduate school. Its services may be used by faculty and students, regardless of department or school affiliations. Its main objectives are to contribute to the general scientific understanding of man in society by aiding faculty research and publication; to promote a fuller utilization of social science knowledge in business, government, health, welfare, and other enterprises; to give graduate students firsthand experience with various methods of inquiry; and to seek financial support to attract and hold faculty and students of notable achievement and promise in the sciences of social man.

N. J. Demerath has been appointed director. For the present academic year the faculty board includes Marion E. Bunch (psychology), Demerath (sociology-anthropology), Thomas H. Eliot (political science), William Emory (business), Werner Hirsch (economics), Richard Lyman (history), Gerald Nadler (engineering), Robert J. Schaefer (education), and Robert E. Shank (medicine). Deans Lewis Hahn (Graduate School), Thomas Hall (Liberal Arts), and Carl Tolman (Faculties) will be *ex officio* members. An advisory Council composed of leading St. Louis citizens and social scientists from other universities will be appointed in the near future. The University will provide minimum financing each year, in addition to which grants and contracts will be sought.

BOOK REVIEWS

Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America.

Edited by BERNARD ROSENBERG and DAVID MANNING WHITE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press and Falcon's Wing Press, 1957. Pp. x+561. \$6.50.

With the publication of this anthology the major arguments about *Kultur* are at last laid out. Bernard Rosenberg mentions in his Introduction that the splintering of theories on mass culture neatly approximates political division. There are the radicals, Dwight Macdonald and Clement Greenberg; the conservatives, Ortega y Gasset and T. S. Eliot; and the liberals, David Riesman and Gilbert Seldes. Within its 561 pages (one-third of it new material) mass culture takes on all comers—the antis, the pros, and the vital center. And if this trichotomy is more in the minds of the editors, who themselves hold opposing views, than in mass culture itself, at least most of what is worthwhile has been represented. Rather few people have given serious thought to mass culture, but almost all who did are here. There are some omissions—Max Horkheimer or Dennis Brogan, for instance—and one might quarrel with some inclusions—why Robert Warshow on comics, not movies?—but the field of mass culture has no end, and selecting from it is inevitably somewhat arbitrary.

The book is divided in two sections: the theory of mass culture and its practice. In going through the first section, the reader is called upon less and less to learn from each succeeding piece and more and more to judge its presentation and marshaling of evidence. One of the mixed blessings is that everybody cites everybody else. Macdonald in his classic essay, "A Theory of Mass Culture," cites Leo Lowenthal and Gilbert Seldes. Seldes cites Macdonald, and Lowenthal cites De Tocqueville; only De Tocqueville refers to no one. Such inbreeding is probably a reflection of the fact that, apart from Lazarsfeld and Merton ("Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action"), almost nobody can be said to be writing from what Weber called "ethical neutrality." There is no attempt to formulate a socio-

logical theory of mass culture. The questions that a theory of mass culture would pose—above all, what happens to the high-brow "minorities" within such a system?—are not touched on here or among social scientists in general. There has been all too little research; good and bad effects of mass culture are usually imputed, never deducted, let alone isolated; the functions of High Culture in mass societies have not been systematically explored; the relationship of High Culture to general problems of deviant behavior remains unexamined; and the structure of the cultural professions and the sociology of high-brow knowledge are never dealt with—not in this book or anywhere else. It is unmistakably clear that our best thinking has not attacked these questions with sociological intent.

The most exciting thoughts on the subject of mass culture have come, as this book demonstrates, from non-academic people, belletrists, names that appear in obscure journals and, overwhelmingly, in "little" magazines. And they, of course, are the antis. Their vision of mass culture is a total, existential one. The pros, or the liberals, on the other hand, deal more often with the specific, and frequently they are on the defensive.

The anti-mass culture position—mass culture debases and is debased—is upheld by Rosenberg, who presents the leading strains of the argument in his excellent Introduction. And the argument, as it unfolds throughout the book, is formidable: that mass culture threatens both High Culture and Folk Culture (Macdonald); that democracy leads inevitably to destructive mass culture (De Tocqueville); that the masses destroy the values of the cultural elite (Ortega y Gasset); that mass culture replaces artistic production with *Kitsch* (Clement Greenberg); that mass culture provides vicarious experience and ruthlessly depersonalizes (Ernest van den Haag); that mass culture develops stereotypes and caricatures contemporary tendencies (Kracauer, Hortense Powdermaker); and that mass culture invades privacy (Murray Hausknecht), induces a flight from

reality (Henry Popkin), adheres rigidly to a middle-class ideology (Adorno), manufactures a cult of violence and power (Orwell), and degrades true art (everybody).

The defense, on the other hand, is rather weak. It centers around (1) it is not new; (2) it is not so bad; (3) it is getting better. David White, whose position (stated in his Introduction) is that the uses of the mass media steadily improve, and who sees himself as a champion of the beleaguered, does not marshal a strong argument. The question of whether High Culture can endure television is hardly answered by citing the cost to N.B.C. of producing *Richard III*. Granted, the pros are backed into a corner by the overwhelming number of top-flight antis, but the men of the defense, regardless of the brilliance of their replies, do not confront *directly* the questions raised by mass culture: the mass media are occasionally intellectually virtuous (D. M. White); the democratization of culture is good per se (White); the *characteristics* of the new media (film, broadcasting, television) enlarge the range of experience, open "magic casements" (Henry Rabassière, Marshall McLuhan); middle-brows hate mass culture as heartily as High Culture (Leslie A. Fiedler); the mass media do not exhibit the degree of social power attributed to them (Lazarsfeld and Merton); mass-culture forces adherence to social law by offering free play to the life of the unconscious (Irving Howe).

The articles in the other half of this volume, the practice of mass culture—the mass media—range from mass literature (paperbacked books, comics, detective novels, magazines) to movies, radio, television, advertising, and "divertissement"—jazz, popular music, card-playing. More erratic than the theoretical inquiries, it includes selections that might appear in a reader on communications—some did—as well as material that has been or will be or ought to be published in *Dissent* magazine. There are some strange bedfellows here—Edmund Wilson and Leo Bogart, for instance; arguments on mass culture bring into alliance eighteenth-century man and twentieth-century social scientist. •

Each of the eight sections contains a bibliography. This is a fine idea, a much-welcomed effort, and the editors' choices are excellent. That there is no index, however, is unforgivable; it is vital in a book such as this, with its high proportion of overlap in ideas, concepts, and authors. Still, with or without index, *Mass Culture* is in-

dispensable to the cultured mass. Here is an extraordinary, thoughtful book, the first successful one of its kind. The writing is a delight.

M. L. MEYERSON

Chicago, Illinois

The Loyal and the Disloyal: Social Boundaries of Patriotism and Treason. By MORTON GRODZINS. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1956. Pp. x+320. \$4.00.

In America, in a nation founded by traitors and populated by those recently uprooted from other lands, self-consciousness about patriotism is understandable. But in recent years it has soured into anxiety: congressional and state legislative investigations, loyalty oaths, loyalty-security programs, political vigilanteism, and pervasive fear. But what have Americans been worrying about? What is national loyalty? What explains its hold on so many people? Why are a few disloyal? It is with these large, critical, and generally unexamined questions that this book is concerned.

"It is a contradiction in terms to speak of a man without loyalties," begins Morton Grodzins. Society and social structure of every sort rest upon "attitudes and actions directed at supporting groups, ideas and institutions," and loyalties "are given in return for gratifications received." But national loyalty is always in competition with other loyalties, so that "disloyalty to one cause and loyalty to another are but two views of a single act."

Why, then, is national loyalty so strong, disloyalty to nation so rare? Because national loyalty is "a by-product of satisfactions achieved within non-national groups, because the nation is believed to symbolize and sustain these groups." But, admittedly, there is danger in patriotism through pluralism, attachment to other institutions being always a competitor: the Communist party used face-to-face groups to lead the unwitting into acts of espionage. In a disaster the normal political leaders of a community are likely to be more concerned with the safety of their own families than with the welfare of the community as a whole. When the Japanese evacuees were asked during World War II to choose between loyalty to America and Japan, a surprising number chose Japan in response to family or neighborhood pressure or as a protest against the shattering of democratic

ideals wrought by evacuation—the last, an especially sharp illustration of the “loyalty of disloyalty.”

The totalitarians have been aware of these dangers since Plato. In place of many loyalties, they have proffered only one—to the nation. Family, church, trade union, fraternity, sport clubs—all genuinely voluntary groups have been a major target. But their efforts to destroy all spontaneity in human relationships have never been entirely successful, which, paradoxically, helps account for the strength of loyalty to totalitarian regimes.

What makes a traitor? While never forgetting the role of chance, personality, and idiosyncrasy, Grodzins offers three criteria for locating potentially disloyal groups: the extent of their satisfactions and dissatisfactions, the extent to which satisfactions and dissatisfactions can be related to the nation, and the extent to which an alternative to national loyalty exists. A simple typology is constructed on these criteria and applied, among other phenomena, to our present loyalty and security programs, Grodzins concludes that the standards “weaken national loyalties rather than strengthen them; they undermine, not increase, competence; they create more traitors than they uncover.”

To summarize the main drift of this book may leave the erroneous impression that it is merely two more cheers for democracy and pluralism. It does contain these, for it is written with a political point of view for a wider audience than most social scientists care to or are able to reach. But it contains much more. It presents a fresh and promising way of looking at an old problem, a wealth of illustrative detail (one hair-raising analysis of Chicago's night-club waiters is guaranteed to keep you from the fleshpots for a long time!), and enough testable hypotheses to exhaust a generation of empirically minded graduate students. It is, of course, but the beginning of a sociologically and psychologically oriented study of national loyalty. It is a good beginning.

DONALD R. MATTHEWS

Smith College

The Growth and Structure of Motives: Psychological Studies in the Theory of Action. By JAMES OLDS. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. 277. \$5.00.

Working Papers in the Theory of Action, by Parsons, Bales, and Shils, is referred to (p. 22) as the predecessor of this book. The relationship between Olds's problem and that of Parsons *et al.* is, of course, formal rather than one of content, as illustrated by the following: “. . . There is a general logic of homeostatic and communicating systems (action systems) which transcends the distinction between phylogenetic levels, or between biology, psychology, and sociology, for that matter” (p. 22). He attempts “to show how a set of definitions and theorems developed by Parsons, Bales, and Shils, primarily on the basis of data from families, other small groups, and larger societies, can be usefully employed to formulate certain problems of S-R psychology [which] is the study of the smallest-scale habit (or cognitive) structures within a single organism . . . to show, specifically, that a single, elemental habit of S-R psychology can be treated as a system of action; and that, as such, it has all the general properties attributed to a system of action by Parsons, Bales, and Shils” (pp. 137–38).

The problem is to understand learned motivation—why it is that rewarded behaviors tend to be repeated. Olds's “limited theory” draws heavily upon Hebb's interpretation of the cell assembly as the structural unit for both “ideas” and “wants,” which, it is argued, differ structurally only in that “wants” have higher “motive force.” Olds notes certain contradictory predictions from Hull's and from Tolman's theories and is led by his own theory to accept the latter's rather than the former's predictions, while retaining Hull's “objectivism” and not Tolman's “subjectivism.”

The argument here is closely reasoned, and many sociologist readers will find their psychological sophistication stretched to the limit. Olds's “motive force” is not, as one might first suspect, merely a *deus ex machina* invented to explain what had to be explained but rather a promising solution to psychology's ancient problem of how later events (rewards) modify the neural connections that determined behavior preceding the rewards. He avoids the problem of implying that “time in the central nervous system flows backwards” by arguing that “when cell assemblies are established in a communicating chain of circuits by the succession of their stimuli in the environment, then motivational flow will be from the representor of the successor to the representor of the antecedent” (pp. 133–34). Motive force is that kind of facili-

tator and it operates contemporaneously, not backward in time. The author is careful to note, however, that motive force is "postulated but not explained."

The remaining half of the book (chaps. iv, "The Elemental Action Systems of S-R Psychology," and v, "The Structure of Intrapersonality Action Systems") develops the details of elemental action systems. Structural traces are left in organisms by regularly repeated sequences of stimulus, response, and outcome. These, labeled "concepts," are regarded as the interacting units of elemental action systems. "Thus the antecedent concept plays the integrative-adaptive role, the action concept plays the instrumental-adaptive role, and the outcome concept plays the gratificatory role" (p. 182). The three together constitute a system. Each concept both represents a specific stimulus and controls a more or less specific response. The main states of the orbit of each are latency, conceptualization of the stimulus, presentation of the stimulus, and refractoriness. The system as a whole performs in cycles consisting of four main phases—the three just-mentioned "roles," together with a latent phase. Four measurable system dimensions are related to these four phases. This analysis is presented as a psychological interpretation of the action system of Parsons, Bales, and Shils.

The final chapter, as implied by its title, is more wide-ranging than the foregoing, sometimes more speculative, and sometimes more formal. Much of it is devoted to a theory of "object systems," particularly as contrasted with "temporal systems." At several points analogies to Parsons' pattern-variable dichotomies are drawn. Here, as in earlier chapters, the reader may not be convinced that the author's most important contributions to the psychology of motivation have been very greatly influenced by his analogies from Parsons.

The book has many engaging qualities: intellectual humility and a respect for common-sense about human behavior are combined here with unusual creativeness and intellectual venturesomeness. Despite proofreading errors and inconsistent mannerisms of punctuation, it is well written, attractively made up, and well indexed. It is too early to say whether it represents a contribution to systems theory.

THEODORE M. NEWCOMB

University of Michigan

Nonverbal Communication: Notes on the Visual Perception of Human Relations. By JURGEN RUESCH and WELDON KEES. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956. Pp. 201. \$7.50.

In this volume Ruesch, the psychiatrist, and Kees, the critic and movie producer, are concerned with making an educated public, which is generally well aware of the subtleties of verbal communication, more perceptive of non-verbal modes of communication. Toward this end they have used a great number of photographs which illustrate the running commentary of the text and at the same time focus attention upon such revealing cues as bodily movement, posture, hand gestures, gestures substituting for words, and the non-verbal accompaniments of speech itself. Fully half the photographs depict various material objects—rooms, household goods, advertisements used, whether intentionally or not, as signs in non-verbal communication. Some of these, especially those illustrating subtle personal differences in the decoration of rooms, are particularly striking.

The text itself is divided into five sections. In "The Frame of Reference," Ruesch's psychiatric or clinically oriented view of communication is presented, differences between verbal and non-verbal communication and varieties of non-verbal languages are discussed. "Message through Non-verbal Action" and "Message through Object and Picture," deal with non-verbal bodily expression, bodily movement, the role of the social context in the interpretation of action, and the use of material objects as a language to be read by those who have eyes to see. A fourth section deals with "The Language of Disturbed Interaction," and a fifth is a theoretical statement.

Ruesch's views of communication are more fully expressed in his and Bateson's book (*Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry*), and the present volume is useful primarily for its illustrations showing what to look for in observing social interaction. The authors regret that they are unable, instead, to use motion pictures: "In studying the communicative significance of the ways in which people actually move and act, even direct, first-hand observation leaves a great deal to be desired; the use of motion pictures of real and unstaged events is almost mandatory if accuracy and fresh insights are to be achieved. Few are trained to look steadily and searchingly at the visual world and really to see what passes before the eyes. The

nature of action is inherently transitory, and our very familiarity with our everyday surroundings prohibits us from forming an accurate estimate of them. The highly consequential act of putting a 'frame' around a person or group or an object concentrates and emphasizes." Not even documentary films, the authors point out, are adequate for training purposes.

ANSELM STRAUSS

University of Chicago

The American Business Creed. By FRANCIS X. SUTTON, SEYMOUR E. HARRIS, CARL KAYSEN, and JAMES TOBIN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1956. Pp. xii + 414. \$6.75.

One of the striking differences between the social structure of the United States and that of other societies is the high status of the American businessman and the uninhibited way in which he raucously proclaims his own virtues. In the absence of a hereditary aristocracy, American businessmen encountered little difficulty in capturing the imagination of a rapidly growing nation. Certified cultural heroes, they have never hesitated to proclaim publicly their social philosophy; but the media of mass communication gives them devices for saturating the atmosphere with slogans advertising the achievements and virtues of American business enterprise. This phenomenon, peculiar to the United States, is the subject of an interesting analysis by four collaborators: the senior author is a sociologist, the others are academic economists.

The announced purpose of the study is a sociological analysis of the ideology of American business. Why do the spokesmen of American business say and write as they do? How can the themes, symbols, and arguments of their public statements be explained? The authors attempt to answer these questions, beginning by defining "ideology" as "any system of beliefs publicly expressed with the manifest purpose of influencing the sentiments and actions of others," thus identifying it with propaganda. All ideologies, according to them, are selective; they oversimplify; they direct their appeal to the emotions; yet at the same time their content is limited to the publicly acceptable.

In Part I the authors expound the content of the business ideology, drawing upon a wide selection of advertisements, books, articles, pam-

phlets, speeches, and statements by businessmen and their representatives before congressional hearings, mainly in 1948 and 1949. Although no attempt was made to employ any statistical sampling procedure, the authors' claim that their material is representative seems justified; their choice of sources seems to reflect no bias. Detailed exposition of the creed takes up nearly two-thirds of the book. The authors present a systematic analysis of major aspects of the business viewpoint: from pronouncements about profits, labor relations, and the role of government in economic activities to beliefs about business cycles and monetary issues, from the paeans extolling the achievements of the "enterprise system" to moral convictions about the values of a good society. Throughout, they recognize that business ideology is not monolithic. Distinguishing between an older, classical, and a more recent, managerial point of view, they offer a thorough, objective analysis of both these variants of the faith, contrasting their interpretation with the social scientists' version.

Part II, however, engages the primary interest of the sociological reader. Here the authors develop their answer to the question "What determines the content of business ideology?" They contend that self-interest cannot explain important tenets of the business creed, for example, the passionate belief in the necessity of a balanced federal budget. Instead, they argue that business ideology must be explained by its psychological functions. Businessmen adhere to their particular ideology because of their occupational strains and anxieties and the conflicting demands of other roles which they must play simultaneously in family and community: "The content of the ideology is shaped so as to resolve these conflicts, alleviate these anxieties, overcome these doubts." Although this point seems well taken and the motivational analysis offered in three lucidly written chapters is perceptive and closely reasoned, the one-sided emphasis on ideology as a means of coping with the individual's emotions gives only half an explanation. The business ideology has not only psychological but also social functions, which they have ignored. It serves as a social cement, uniting businessmen as a class, providing them with a justification for their actions and a defense against the competing ideologies of New Deal, Fair Deal, etc.

It is unfortunate that the evident desire of the authors to escape any Marxist taint has led

them to bypass major sociological facts in favor of a purely psychological explanation. Even so, this sophisticated, well-written book is a major contribution to the sociology of knowledge.

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Service and Procedure in Bureaucracy: A Case Study. By ROY G. FRANCIS and ROBERT C. STONE. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1956. Pp. 201. \$4.00.

This empirical study of an office of about one hundred officials of the Louisiana Division of Employment Security tests two hypotheses derived from Weber: that the members of bureaucratic organizations will tend to conform rigidly to official procedures and that their relationships will be predominantly impersonal. The finding that personal bonds and close friendships are frequent among officials casts serious doubt on the second hypothesis. The authors also conclude that the first hypothesis should be rejected, but their evidence here is equivocal. For example, they emphasize the finding that a large proportion of the personnel of the agency is, in respect to many duties, oriented toward service rather than toward procedure, yet the majority in seven out of eight comparisons is oriented toward procedures.

In their last chapter, Francis and Stone attempt to reformulate the theory of bureaucracy. They suggest that primarily middle management in a bureaucracy will be oriented toward procedure, while orientation toward professional service will characterize operating officials. They also distinguish between impersonality in the bonds of organization, which tends to be found in professional as well as bureaucratic systems, and impersonality in the social relations between employees, which is not necessarily associated with bureaucracies.

The major contribution of this study is that it combines empirical research and theoretical analysis, though marred by serious shortcomings in research design. To test a hypothesis requires evidence that variations in the independent variable are associated with those in the dependent variable. Such evidence can be obtained in a case study, although it is, of course, not representative of bureaucracies in general. Thus Francis and Stone could have tested, on the

basis of data from a single agency, their suggestive hypothesis that supervisory officials are more likely to be oriented toward procedures than are non-supervisory personnel. Instead, however, they chose to test the hypothesis that the bureaucratic form of organization leads to emphasis on procedures. But since there were no variations in the form of organization in this one office, it is not at all clear what kind of empirical findings—how much identification with procedures—would have confirmed the hypothesis. One may also raise the question whether personal ties prevailed uniformly among all kinds of employees or whether they were largely confined to peers, while the relationships between superiors and subordinates were much more often impersonal. This, too, could have been empirically tested with the available data. Unfortunately, the authors' laudable concern with research on theoretically derived propositions suffers from their failure to formulate differentiating hypotheses.

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

Petits fonctionnaires au travail: Compte rendu d'une enquête sociologique effectuée dans une grande administration publique parisienne ("Minor Officials on the Job: Report of Research in a Large Public Agency in Paris"). By MICHEL CROZIER. Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1955. Pp. 126.

This is a report of a pilot study of women clerical workers in a government-run industrial enterprise in Paris, made in 1954 by the Center for Sociological Studies of the National Center for Scientific Research in Paris. The sampling ratio for background analysis varied from 20 to 50 per cent, according to the category of work the women were engaged in; the 5 per cent sample selected for interviewing was drawn at random from the 12 jobs considered representative of the production sector of the enterprise. Of the 60 women thus selected, 57 were interviewed for $1\frac{1}{2}$ – $1\frac{3}{4}$ hours with a schedule of 52 open-ended questions. Co-operation was good.

In recruitment, a great change was revealed by a comparison of the backgrounds of the older with the younger workers. The former workers tended to come from families of white-collar workers; very few had farm, artisan, or business

family backgrounds. But the latter are increasingly of farm, artisan, and business family backgrounds. The level of education had also risen. An increasing proportion of workers come from the southwest, fewer from Paris itself.

An analysis of the interviews lead to the conclusion that prestige and social status are important in promotion. Although, theoretically, social class does not enter into the objective examinations on which admission to higher jobs rests, actually, subtle and indirect cultural forces operate in favor of some women and against others: women from higher social backgrounds tend to be the most critical of working conditions. Interest in unionism was more closely related to attitude toward discipline and general judgment of the enterprise than to work satisfaction or attitude toward supervisors or spirit of camaraderie; it was not a result of work-generated frustrations. Participation in a strike in August, 1953, seemed to be related to a congeries of conditions which governed the integration of the worker into her environment.

The old morale of the "public service" has disappeared: the workers in this government enterprise view the administration as an ordinary employer; they do not look upon themselves as government functionaries. The old conception of government work as almost a liberal profession could not survive in the great modern bureaucracies.

The foregoing summary does not do justice to the ingenious questions and analyses which constitute the core of the book. Where but in Paris would "elegance" be viewed as an important variable for study? Four categories were distinguished, ranging from "négligées" through "peu élégantes," and "standard moyen parisien," to "élégantes." (Elegance was not related to age, to seniority, or to job; it was slightly related to education; it was highly related to social origin and also to sociability, though not to camaraderie. The women who had the least leisure and the most amorphous cultural life attached least value to elegance.)

This study reflects the stimulating influence which Georges Friedmann has had on modern research in France in the field of industrial sociology. It illustrates also the increasing emphasis on empirical data in current French sociology.

JESSIE BERNARD

Pennsylvania State University

Social Relations and Morale in Small Groups. By ERIC F. GARDNER and GEORGE G. THOMPSON. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1956. Pp. xi+312. \$6.00.

The authors of *Social Relations and Morale in Small Groups*, both professors at Syracuse University, one in education and psychology and the other in psychology, say, "This book introduces a decidedly new approach to the measurement of social relations in small groups." They believe that they have avoided certain "pitfalls of classical sociometry" by using an "equal interval" scale to secure an "intercomparison of different groups' potentialities for satisfying their members' psychological needs."

The study tests two general hypotheses that the greater the perceived potential of each member to satisfy the others' social needs, the greater will be the group's *esprit de corps* and that the greater and more homogeneous the basis of attraction between members, the greater will be the group's effectiveness.

The potential for satisfying certain needs of members of nine social fraternities at Syracuse are compared with measures of each group's effectiveness and *esprit de corps*. Eight indexes of an individual's social relations and nine of group structure are derived from the combinations of means and variances of members' ratings of each other. Three of the measures of group structure based on mean ratings show consistently high correlations with four criterion measures of *esprit de corps* and one measure of group effectiveness. Correlations of the three mean ratings with two other group-effectiveness ratings were low and correlations between measures of variance and all criterion measures tend to be negative and not significant.

Unfortunately, when the authors check the equality of the intervals in their scale by the Edwards-Thurstone method, they find that, although the scales do not differ in size between needs, they all have larger intervals at the positive end and fraternities differ in average interval size. Although these differences between intervals are statistically significant, the authors believe that "socially important outcomes are not likely to be vitiated by such small differences in interval size." Time and expense seem to have prohibited extensive testing of reliability of the instrument, since most of the reliability estimates are based on the test-retest scores of five to ten members of one fraternity. The authors' factor analyses of the ratings show

that no more than three factors may be necessary to describe the basic needs underlying the ratings. A factor analysis could also be applied to the correlations between indexes derived from the scales to detect redundancies.

Although the authors' main purpose has been to demonstrate the relationship between need satisfaction and *esprit de corps* and group effectiveness through the use of the "equal interval" scale, they have introduced other techniques as their criterion measures, of which two actually have higher correlations with some of the measures of group-effectiveness and are easier to administer than the scales.

A. PAUL HARE

Harvard University

The Nurse and the Mental Patient: A Study in Interpersonal Relations. By MORRIS S. SCHWARTZ and EMMY LANNING SHOCKLEY, with the assistance of CHARLOTTE GREEN SCHWARTZ. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1956. Pp. 289. \$3.50.

Morris Schwartz, a research sociologist, has combined efforts with Emmy Lanning Shockley, a psychiatric nurse and former director of nurses at Chestnut Hill Lodge, where much of his research took place. The Lodge, which is a private mental hospital with an unusually high ratio of nurses to patients, serves approximately seventy in-patients at a time, most of whom are schizophrenic. A large proportion of the examples cited in this book were taken from experiences in one ward of this small hospital, a ward for fifteen highly disturbed patients, it being assumed that the observations and experiences will be helpful to psychiatric nurses elsewhere.

A second assumption is that mental illness, as Harry Stack Sullivan defined it, is not a disease like a virus infection but rather a chronic distortion in interpersonal relationships. Granting this, an important aspect of therapy must be providing the patient with opportunity for successful relationships on a realistic and healthy plane. For the hospitalized individual it may be with his attendants.

An important difference between this book and certain others is that, where the latter dealt with the total social system of the hospital, Schwartz and Shockley have removed the nurse-patient relationship from its social context and attempt to deal with it separately. What is the nurse to do when a patient becomes physically violent? When the withdrawn patient is virtually inaccessible? Quotations are used in illus-

tration; their vividness and immediacy are designed to arouse all the normal emotional reactions of nurses with like responsibility. The authors insist that it is perfectly natural for nurses to harbor negative feelings toward their patients and that the important thing is to recognize feelings for what they are and to deal with them appropriately.

The authors move on to a careful analysis of the attitudes and behavior of both patient and nurse, with an appraisal of possible alternatives which might relieve the tensions between them, one of which the nurse is encouraged to select, act upon, and then appraise the threats and promises in the resultant new situation. They assure the reader that there is no formula for handling any problem. The nurse is thus raised to the level of a therapeutic professional who acts upon her own judgment and initiative.

The last half of the book is more theoretical. Here facts presented earlier are used to construct and illustrate generalizations concerning the nature of mental illness, personal relationships, and the arts of communication.

A problem facing all who are at present engaged in medical sociology, the communication of fundamental concepts taken from the behavioral sciences in language that is at once lucid and not condescending, is met by Schwartz and Shockley with colors flying. Their book is readable, exciting, and, one would think, guaranteed to give a fresh perspective to the psychiatric nurse.

Esther Lucile Brown in her Preface states that its emphasis upon the therapeutic role of the nurse should enhance the reputation of the profession. But does it? This presents a second major problem of the medical sociologist: hospitals are highly structured institutions; one must respect their integrity as institutions and move gingerly, lest in helping one group one injure the relationships between it and others. Now the authors carefully state in their Introduction that the nurse-patient relationship occurs within a social context and apologize for presenting it as if it occurred in a vacuum. They plead that this is necessary to hold down the size of their publication. At this point, however, a weakness of their work results in a serious distortion in perspective. They define the word "nurse" to include all who carry on personal relations with patients and are responsible for their daily care. This includes the professionally trained nurse, the nurses' aide, and the attendants who may have had no training whatsoever in the care of the mentally ill. They ignore the fact that dis-

inctions of status as well as of education among them present serious limitations upon freedom of action. Similarly, the book almost never mentions the word "psychiatrist." No reference is made to the needs of the hospital organization as such. On the last page the authors advise the nurse to discuss the details of her "observations, evaluations and interventions with her colleagues." They do not define the word "colleague," and one is left wondering whether they meant to include the psychiatrist and at what point he is to be brought into the nurse's confidence. In other words, the authors have created an imaginary hospital situation where there are no figures of authority whatever and where all employees are equally capable of independent or quasi-independent therapeutic activities. They probably assumed that sensible readers would recognize the need for organizational discipline, but this is a dangerous assumption. If a sociologist overlooks the importance of group structure and the necessities of formal organization, who can be expected to remember?

The authors suggest that the book's best use might be in small discussion groups led by psychiatric nursing educators, supervisors, head nurses, or psychiatrists (note the order in which these possibilities are considered). One can see the merit of the kind of discipline which would so arise. If a psychiatrist were to lead such a discussion group and if he were in sympathy with this basic approach and if he succeeded in stimulating the intelligent participation of the total nursing group in the therapeutic task, then, surely, patient care in mental hospitals might be greatly advanced. However, these are "mighty big ifs." Meanwhile, the expectations of the nursing occupations are being raised and their appetites whetted for a bigger part of the therapeutic task than has thus far been allotted them.

Can nurses take on the task of therapy without encountering the serious opposition of medical specialists? Of course they can, and Schwartz and Shockley have elsewhere made important contributions toward this end. It is to be hoped that their subsequent publications will show the nurse-patient relationship within a more realistic perspective. Their enthusiasm and insight are desperately needed, but one cannot help patients by tearing apart those who must work together in mutually acceptable relationships if the patient is to recover his health and sanity.

EDITH M. LENTZ

University of Minnesota

The Give and Take in Hospitals: A Study in Human Organization. By TEMPLE BURLING, EDITH M. LENTZ, and ROBERT N. WILSON. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1956. Pp. 355. \$4.75.

This analysis, a detailed study of several hospitals, ranging in size from 50 to 850 beds, representing metropolitan, small-town, and rural areas, is not simply a survey of hospital organization; it is an attempt to study closely problems so complex as to require collaborative research by investigators in a number of disciplines.

In their description of the decision-making bodies and the various hospital departments, the authors argue that rapid changes in the structure and functions of modern hospitals account for the difficulties in co-ordination and definition of roles. By placing hospital organization in its historical setting, they avoid overemphasis on the mechanics of interaction. For them, "communication" is more than a telephone exchange system; it is a process that evolves among the men and women who face almost daily new challenges and new tasks in emergency as well as in routine. However, by emphasizing the historical roots of present conditions, the authors give perhaps insufficient attention to authority and status relations. Throughout the book, there is a search for "causes" extraneous to present social structure. For example, the authors account for the differences between the medical and the surgical floors by pointing to new postoperative techniques and to the differential impact of illness on the nurse. The question arises, however, whether, in addition, one could not explain such differences on the level on which they occur, namely, social interaction: an analysis of authority as between doctors as well as doctors and nurses of both floors might contribute to sociological knowledge and point to remedies. For if the focus is mainly on "origin" or on therapy, suggestions for improvement on the social level will not arise from the analysis.

This criticism is not to detract from the value of the book. The authors point, in the last chapter, to the need for more effective communication both formal and informal within the hospital and recommend improvements in organization, such as consistent supervision, training, and staff meetings. The book is highly to be recommended not only to social scientists but to all those who make the decisions in hospitals. It is well written; the authors take the reader with

them, so to speak, to participate for a while in the life of a modern hospital.

ROSE LAUB COSER

Wellesley College

Théorie générale de la population ("General Theory of Population"), Vol. II: *Biologie sociale* ("Social Biology"). By ALFRED SAUVY. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. Pp. 397. Fr. 1,200.

For long, France was the only country in which the excess of deaths over births so freely predicted not long ago for all countries "of incipient population decline" had actually begun to materialize during the 1930's, but a vigorous pro-natalist campaign, with the demographers in the forefront, aroused widespread public concern and prodded the French government into action. In 1939, on the eve of World War II, a new family code providing substantial family allowances was adopted; in 1940 a Family Ministry was created; and in 1945 the French government also established a National Institute for Demographic Studies. Under the able leadership of Alfred Sauvy this institute quickly developed into one of the world's leading demographic research centers, with a most impressive record both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The book under consideration here forms the second part of a general treatise on population. The first volume, which appeared in 1952, analyzed demographic phenomena from the point of view of economic theory. Volume II, somewhat curiously subtitled "Social Biology," emphasizes the sociological aspects of population problems. Most of the topics treated here are familiar to the American reader, although Sauvy has added interesting chapters on occupational and social mobility and on the relationship between war and population and a brief but valuable analysis of the Soviet viewpoint toward the customary discussions of mortality, fertility, and migration. But his analysis of standard demographic subjects differs considerably from the treatment which such topics usually receive on this side of the Atlantic.

The entire book clearly reflects France's demographic experience, and Sauvy writes as a patriotic Frenchman as well as a sophisticated social scientist. Although he is well aware of the problems of high fertility which confront many

underdeveloped countries, his main concern is precisely with the opposite: throughout the book he consistently and vigorously expounds the dangers of low fertility and demographic stagnation. A declining birth rate produces an aging population and saps its vitality. It induces a spirit of Malthusianism—a concept which is given a very wide interpretation—not only in demographic but also in economic and social affairs. Demographic stagnation and Malthusianism are reflected in economic restrictionism which defends vested interests and obstructs social progress. Moderate population growth, on the other hand, is viewed as an asset. In developed countries the stimulation of demographic pressure on resources promotes technological progress. The postwar resurgence of the birth rate is attributed to a collective will to survival as much as to economic prosperity. Sauvy believes that the sustained high level of fertility in the United States and the British dominions can be partly explained as a defensive reaction against the Soviet threat.

The book is well written and very ably argued. Although American social scientists may find themselves in lively disagreement with some of the arguments, the book proves refreshing; it demonstrates how much the interpretation of demographic data depends upon a national point of view. A few minor errors have crept in: the Swiss canton Appenzell, which split apart in 1592 as a result of the Reformation into a Catholic half (Inner-Rhoden) and a Protestant half (Auser-Rhoden), cannot be adduced as a case of coexisting populations, since Swiss half-cantons are fully autonomous and sovereign states just like full cantons (p. 231); and Clyde V. Kiser may be amused to find that his first name has become Frenchified to Claude (p. 126).

KURT B. MAYER

Brown University

Trends and Differentials in Mortality: Papers Presented at the 1955 Annual Conference of the Milbank Memorial Fund. New York: Milbank Memorial Fund, 1956. Pp. 165. \$1.00, paperbound.

Spectacular declines in mortality and gains in life-expectancy have occurred in the last decade in several underdeveloped regions. In most of these, fertility levels have remained high.

Their resulting actual and potential increases in population, many of which combine high density with a low standard of living, have inevitably attracted wide attention, an evidence of which is this report of the round table on mortality trends and differentials at the 1955 annual meeting of the Milbank Memorial Fund. Appropriately, the first of the three sections into which the papers have been divided is concerned with mortality in underdeveloped areas. It is followed by four papers on mortality in highly developed countries. The concluding section contains summaries of two mortality studies and the outline of a third. Discussion of two papers is included.

Part I constitutes a well-integrated summary of past, present, and probable future trends of deaths in selected underdeveloped countries for which data are available and of the relation between these trends and historical mortality experience in modernized nations. There is general agreement that sharp declines in death rates in non-Western nations reflect primarily the recent introduction of specific health measures, such as the use of insecticides to combat malaria and postwar gains in the amount and certainty of food. The authors place emphasis, very properly, on the non-comparability of these rapid declines in mortality and the more gradual downward trends in the West. The question remains whether the gains through the rapid reduction of the death rate can be maintained in the long run in countries which are not simultaneously undergoing any marked improvement in levels of living. Obviously, what happens to fertility will be as important as what happens to mortality.

Part II contains a conventional but sound summary of recent mortality trends and their causes in the West, a paper on differential death rates by occupational categories, and reports on deaths of sufferers from cancer and physical and mental impairments. These competent papers make it clear that there is much to learn about the etiology of diseases and the role of biological and social conditions.

Part III combines unrelated reports of research in mortality. Ansley Coale demonstrates the consequences of typical observed age patterns of mortality improvement. Vasilios Vala-

oras has derived from national life-tables for 60 areas standard age and sex patterns of declining mortality which can be used to establish levels of average mortality rates by age and sex for regions with incomplete or apparently inaccurate mortality data. Rupert Vance and Francis Madigan describe an intriguing attempt now under way to explore differences in life-style, as distinct from differences in social status, as causes of the sex differential in mortality. Life-style is held constant by using data for Brothers and Sisters who are teachers in American Catholic religious communities.

This volume maintains the high standards of Milbank conference reports. Aside from its utility as a general statement of current knowledge about mortality, let us hope it will serve to demonstrate the need for more and better data on death trends and causes in modernized as well as in underdeveloped areas and particularly for an ecological approach in which both biological and social factors of health and death receive consideration.

VINCENT HEATH WHITNEY

Brown University

Population. By DENNIS H. WRONG. New York: Random House, 1956. Pp. 128. \$0.95.

As a brief introduction to the subject of demography, this book conveys a perspective which is comprehensive enough to give the reader an understanding both of the rudiments of demographic study and of the significance which demography has for social science and human relationships. Written clearly in a style easily read, it is organized around the three basic demographic processes—fertility, mortality, and migration. At the same time, it presents information on world population growth and distribution and on the Malthusian problem of people and food. For one interested in population, whether social scientist or not, the book can be recommended as introductory reading.

IRVING A. SPAULDING

University of Rhode Island

CURRENT BOOKS

- AIYAPPAN, A., and RATNAM, L. K. BALA (eds.). *Society in India*. Madras, India: Social Sciences Association, 1956. Pp. vi+252. \$5.00; 30s.; Rs. 15. Compilation of papers read at the first All-India Conference of Anthropologists and Sociologists, organized by the Social Sciences Association, Madras, November 5-7, 1955.
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